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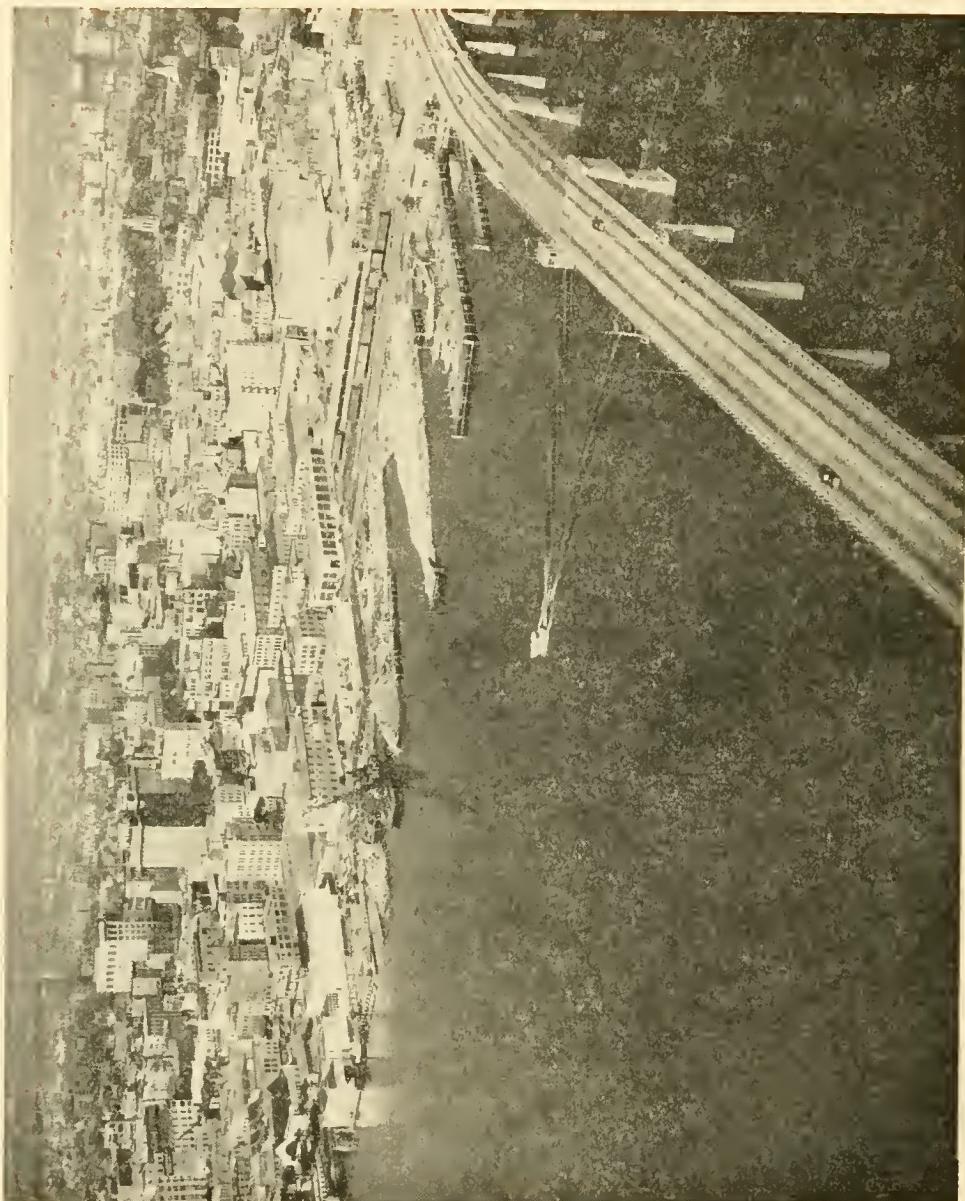
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THE HISTORY OF
LOWER
TIDEWATER VIRGINIA

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NORFOLK—WATERFRONT AND TUNNEL BRIDGE



THE HISTORY OF LOWER TIDEWATER VIRGINIA

ROGERS DEY WHICHARD, Ph.D.
Author and Editor

*Non est propheta sine honore
nisi in patria sua.*

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VOLUME I

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1959

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DEDICATION

FOR GILLIE
WITH ALL MY LOVE



FOREWORD

This Lower Tidewater area of Virginia is closely knit together by the common harbor of its component communities, Hampton Roads. It is, both from the cultural and economic points of view, one of the most interesting parts of Virginia, and in those regards second to few areas of the English-speaking territories of the North American continent.

Here were made some of the first explorations outside the English settlement at Roanoke Island in 1585. Here the Colonists sent out by the London Company made their first landings in 1607, before arriving at Jamestown. Here the Anglican communion and the English common law gained their earliest footholds, second only to Jamestown, and here one of the four great corporations was laid out in 1619 and three of the eight original counties were established in 1634. Here are preserved the third oldest continuous county records in Virginia dating from 1637; here are located the two oldest existing municipalities, established by law in 1680, one of which was to become the second of the only two chartered in Virginia before the American Revolution. Here is located, also, the oldest continuous settlement in British America, dating from 1610.

This area contained some of the oldest grammar schools and private libraries in Virginia, dating from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Its public and parochial school systems are unsurpassed, and it has two collegiate institutions of higher learning and the State's oldest normal school for the education of Negroes and Indians.

The port of Hampton Roads, served by first-class highways, bridges, ferries, tunnels, and many rail, steamship, bus and air lines, is the best on the Atlantic coast. Here is the world's greatest harbor, the world's largest coal-dumping port, the world's greatest peanut market. Here is some of the most beautiful dairy and truck farm land in Virginia. Here is the home of the famous Smithfield ham, Lynnhaven oyster, Hampton crab and Ocean View spot. Here are many other commercial and industrial enterprises: ship-building, fertilizer, seafood, lumber, pulp, paper, just to mention a few. Here are the oldest Naval Shipyard and Naval Hospital, the largest Naval Base in our country, the headquarters of all its Ground Forces, and one of its most important Air Force Bases. Here are also some of the most famous vacation and resort areas on the Atlantic coast and the Chesapeake Bay shore.

This is the first attempt to bring together in one work the many facets of the life, past and present, of the diversified communities of this area, which certainly should—but unfortunately do not always—work in unison for their common advancement. If the present effort can succeed in a small way in promoting internal goodwill, as well as putting an important economic

FOREWORD

area in proper focus in the eyes of the outside world, it will not be deemed in vain.

It was partially—though not entirely—a coincidence that the preparation of the present volumes occurred at almost the same time as the celebration of the 350th anniversary of the founding of the first permanent English settlement in the western hemisphere. That year of grace, 1957, marked other significant memories as well. It was the fiftieth anniversary of the Tercentennial Exposition of the Jamestown settlement and the fortieth anniversary of the establishment, on the very site of that Exposition, of the great United States Naval Base on Hampton Roads. At the same time, we should not lose sight of that earlier English settlement in Virginia, and that little girl—the first English child born on this side of the world three hundred and seventy years ago—who was christened Virginia Dare after the name of the land where she was born; and we should be thankful that our good neighbors to the south, the people of the Sovereign State of North Carolina, have now inherited that hallowed ground and so zealously keep its memories green.

When I was first approached four years ago with the idea of publishing a history of this area, it was suggested to me that I should perform the dual function of both author and editor, writing certain sections myself and obtaining the collaboration of other local historians in the preparation of other parts. The difficulty of readily obtaining such assistance, coupled with my own interest in the project, made me decide to attempt the whole work without assistance. This was a mistake. It soon became apparent that the full-time duties of my profession—with its class preparation, examinations, committee meetings, administrative duties, and summer school—left inadequate spare time for writing history, and that the completion of the manuscript could drag on indefinitely if assistance were not made available. Thus the publishers decided, with my hearty concurrence, to obtain the assistance which I had originally hoped to do without, and we enlisted the services of three able and experienced writers to give the required boost to our time schedule. Fourteen chapters, comprising well over half of the total volume of this work, were written by me from research done by me over a period of many years, and for them I stand personally responsible. The other chapters, under their authors' "by-lines," have been carefully reviewed and edited by me so as to conform to the general plan of the work, but the responsibility for facts and interpretation is that of the individual authors. I wish to pause at this point and express my gratitude for their efforts in behalf of this project. Dr. Marvin Schlegel of Hampden-Sidney is an able teacher, writer and historian, and an old friend of long standing—a former colleague back in the days of William and Mary's St. Helena Extension. Mrs. Katherine Fontaine Syer of Princess Anne has long had a keen interest in the present and past lore of the area in which she lives. Mr. Floyd McKnight, author and historical

writer of New York, took on a difficult task and, in my opinion, performed it in a most creditable manner. I am especially grateful to Dr. Winfield Scott Downs of the Lewis Historical Publishing Company; he has been my contact with the publisher and his never-failing helpfulness and his boundless patience with my chirography and other idiosyncrasies have smoothed the way on many occasions.

We have given credit, insofar as possible, in the form of footnotes to all sources used. There is much, however, which cannot be acknowledged in that way. We, therefore, wish to thank the many Secretaries of Chambers and Associations of Commerce, the municipal and county officials, the librarians and newspaper editors, all of whom have freely and generously made available the material in their custody. I wish personally to thank Mr. Marshall W. Butt of Portsmouth, Virginia, for offering valuable suggestions. I am greatly indebted at this point to the late George Carrington Mason, historiographer of the Episcopal Diocese of Southern Virginia, and especially to the late Rev. Dr. W. H. T. Squires, Presbyterian minister and Virginia historian; the free exchange of ideas with these two authorities on local history in years gone by—though we were not always in agreement—has made possible the solution of many problems of interpretation. And, last but far from least, my thanks go to the members of the Advisory Committee, who have extended their time and energies when called upon.

The greatest debt of all—one which I can scarcely put into words, much less repay—I owe to my wife, Virgilia Nash Whichard. There have been times during the past few years when I know she must have felt as if she were living alone, times when "The History" had to be put ahead of other inclinations and considerations. And through it all she has been ever ready with loving sympathy, understanding and forbearance which have been a source of constant inspiration and encouragement.

Whatever the merits—or faults—of this history, there is one thing which I shall take credit for, and that is the coining of the term "Lower Tidewater." The meaning of the phrase and reasons for its use are sufficiently explained in the opening paragraphs of Chapter I. It was first used in the material which I prepared during the summer of 1955 for the publisher's brochure, which was printed and distributed in September of that year. I feel impelled to mention this circumstance, because of the fact that various local sources have since then employed the term as if it were in every day usage, whereas it never appeared—to my knowledge—before the time above mentioned. But enough of introductory remarks, and *vesti la giubba!*

ROGERS DEY WHICHARD

Norfolk, Virginia
26 May 1959.

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P A R T O N E
B A C K G R O U N D



Chapter I

Geographical

LET IT BE SAID at the outset that, in any study of a restricted local area, it is frequently difficult to confine one's self to the limits one has set, and the temptation is great to consider not only the area itself, but also the history of the state, of which it is an integral part, and of the nation as a whole. It is the plan of the present study to consider only local events, circumstances and conditions, and to mention state and national history only insofar as it bears directly upon the history of Lower Tidewater Virginia.

It might not be out of place at this point to explain what we mean by the term "lower tidewater." The tidewater region of any locality is that part whose water courses are affected by the tides; this means, of course, the coastal plain, the area between the coast and the fall line. Just as the term "Lowcountry" has come to mean only the coastal region of South Carolina, and the term "Outer Banks" means only North Carolina, so "Tidewater" applies almost exclusively to Virginia. We of the Hampton Roads area refer glibly to our section as "Tidewater Virginia," which is not strictly speaking correct. The other extreme occurred not many years ago, when there appeared a beautifully illustrated little volume titled simply *In Tidewater Virginia*,¹ which actually was the story in pictures of the lovely old homes on the Rappahannock River. All that part of Virginia between the coast and the fall line—which, for example, occurs at Richmond on the James and at Fredericksburg on the Rappahannock—can rightfully be called "Tidewater Virginia." Hence, our title *The History of Lower Tidewater Virginia* clearly indicates that we are limiting ourselves to the Hampton Roads area and the mouth of Chesapeake Bay in the southeast corner of the state.

The area which specifically forms the basis of the present study comprises the Counties of Elizabeth City, Warwick, Isle of Wight, Nansemond, Norfolk, Princess Anne and Southampton, and the cities which were formed from territory originally part of these counties. For, in Virginia, cities are independent of the counties from which they are formed,² and as a matter of fact two of the above counties have ceased to exist, having become part of municipal corporations by annexation and consolidation. When the first eight shires—

Va. 1

or counties, as they soon came to be called—were established by the General Assembly in 1634,³ this area was represented by only three counties: Elizabeth City, Warwick River and Warrosquyoack (Isle of Wight); the others mentioned above came into existence through subsequent subdivisions. We might even say that, with one exception, this area represents one of the four original territorial divisions of Virginia in 1619, the Borough of Kecoughtan, the name of which was changed to the Corporation of Elizabeth City in 1620.⁴ The exception above noted was the original County of Warrosquyoacke, which most authorities assign as a part of the Corporation of James City. All these are matters which will be thoroughly discussed and documented in the appropriate place.

That part of Virginia east of Chesapeake Bay, the Eastern Shore, an important historical and economic area, has not been included here simply because it was considered in another recent study from the press of the present publishers.⁵ Likewise we have excluded the Counties of James City and York, which contain the important Jamestown-Williamsburg-Yorktown Colonial National Monument. That section is, of course, of prime importance in state, national and world history, and certainly should be—if it is not already—the subject of a separate study.

This mid-section of our Atlantic coast, just halfway between Maine and Florida, has had a geographical identity for over four centuries. It is true that one of the first maps, the so-called "Admiral's Map" of 1513⁶ (just twenty-one years after Columbus), while depicting the West Indies with a fair amount of accuracy, was very vague as to the Atlantic coast above Florida, and what place-names it shows are not identifiable with any names now or formerly in use. However, the Diego de Rivero map of 1529⁷ gives a name to the area in which we are interested, and shows various natural features of the coast which can be identified with places known to us today. Thus, this whole part of coast was called *Tierra de Ayllón*, "Ayllón's Land" after an early colonizer of whom more will be said later;⁸ also seen on the Rivero map are *Cabo de Arenas* (Cape of Sands) which suggests Sandy Hook, *Bahía de Santa María* (St. Mary's Bay) identified by some with Chesapeake Bay as will later appear,⁸ *Río del Príncipe* (Prince's River) also to be mentioned later,⁸ *Cabo de San Román* (Cape Romain, South Carolina), and *Cabo de Santa Elena* (Cape Saint Helena) suggesting Saint Helena Sound, also in South Carolina. Some of these names and others are mentioned by Gómara, a historian writing in the mid-sixteenth century:⁹ *Punta de Bacallaos* (Cod Point) for Cape Cod, *Río Fondo* (Deep River) suggesting the Bay of Fundy, *Cabo de Santa María*, *Cabo de Arenas*, *Puerto del Príncipe*, and *Cabo de Santa Elena*. Unfortunately, neither the Rivero map of 1529 nor the Gómara description of 1552 is sufficiently clear and accurate to permit exact identification of any of these places.

We are on firmer ground, however, when we come to the map of Ralph Lane's explorations from Roanoke in 1585-6. This map, which exists in several versions, was done by the engraver, Theodore de Bry, appearing first in 1588 and 1590.¹⁰ It takes in the coastal area from the Chesapeake to the Neuse River. Here is seen for the first time the name *Chesepiooc Sinus* (Chesapeake Bay), and the land between the Bay and the Albemarle Sound, which includes Lower Tidewater, was called by the Indian name of Weape-mec. No details are shown on this map of the land on the Peninsula north of Hampton Roads, since Lane's explorations did not extend that far.

The manuscript map made by the gunner, Tindall, in June of 1608,¹¹ the first detailed map of the land and water courses from the Capes up the river above Jamestown, shows the location of "Cape Henneri," Point Comfort, and Chehotanke (Kecoughtan). However, it is not accurate with the Indian settlements south of Hampton Roads, and Nassamonge (Nansemond) and Oriskeek (Warrosquyoacke), both of which were placed too far to the east. The map which Captain John Smith made, based on his explorations of about the same time, is one of the most important maps of Virginia and Maryland, and was reproduced and published in many versions (1612, 1613, 1619, 1624, 1625, etc.).¹² The 1624 version appeared in Smith's *Generall Historie of Virginia*, which also contained another map of particular interest. The latter was based on and covered the same territory as that of Lane's travels of 1585-6, and was liberally sprinkled with English place-names which have not survived nor did they ever actually come into general use. The most interesting part of this 1624 map, however, is its title "Ould Virginia," indicative of the custom which grew up, after the Jamestown settlement, of distinguishing between the area from Hampton Roads south and that to the north. Most of what we have designated as Lower Tidewater was in Old Virginia.¹³

In 1646, there was published in Florence a map titled *Virginia Vecchia & Nuova* (Virginia Old and New),¹⁴ which has three unusual features. The land between the Chesapeake and Delaware Bays was designated "Virginia Orientale," while that to the west and south of the Chesapeake was "Virginia Occidentale." The ocean was called "Mare di Virginia." The well-known Farrer map, *Ould Virginia & New*, published in 1651,¹⁵ also has some remarkable features; the most unusual of these are the appearance of the term "Rawliana" for the territory south of the Chesapeake, and the designation "Carolana" at the upper reaches of the Roanoke, Chowan and Meherrin rivers.

There are many other early and interesting maps of Virginia which show Lower Tidewater, but we shall mention only one more, that of Virginia and Maryland by Augustine Herman published in 1673.¹⁶ In it were shown these counties and other localities in our area of interest: Lower Norfolk, Cape Henry, Willoughby's Point, Seawell's Point, Lynnhaven River, Elizabeth River, Tanner's Creek), Nansemond (Nansemond River and its branches), Isle of

LOWER TIDEWATER VIRGINIA

Wight (Pagan Creek), Elizabeth City (Hampton River), and Warwick (Warwick River). This was, of course, before the formation of Princess Anne and Southampton Counties.

It may be interesting and informative at this point to note the words of Robert Beverley, the Virginia historian who wrote about 1703. He said that Virginia was the name originally given to all the northern part of the continent of America, and as grants were made to other colonies, their names served only to distinguish them as so many parts of Virginia until the colonies became more familiar to Englishmen at home. In the course of time, continued Beverley, the name came to apply only to the land on the Chesapeake, both Virginia and Maryland. In the most restricted sense, the name Virginia was applied in Beverley's time to the territory bounded on the south by North Carolina, on the north by the Potomac River, which divided it from Maryland, on the east by the Main Ocean or Virginia Sea, and on the west and northwest by the California Sea!!!¹⁷

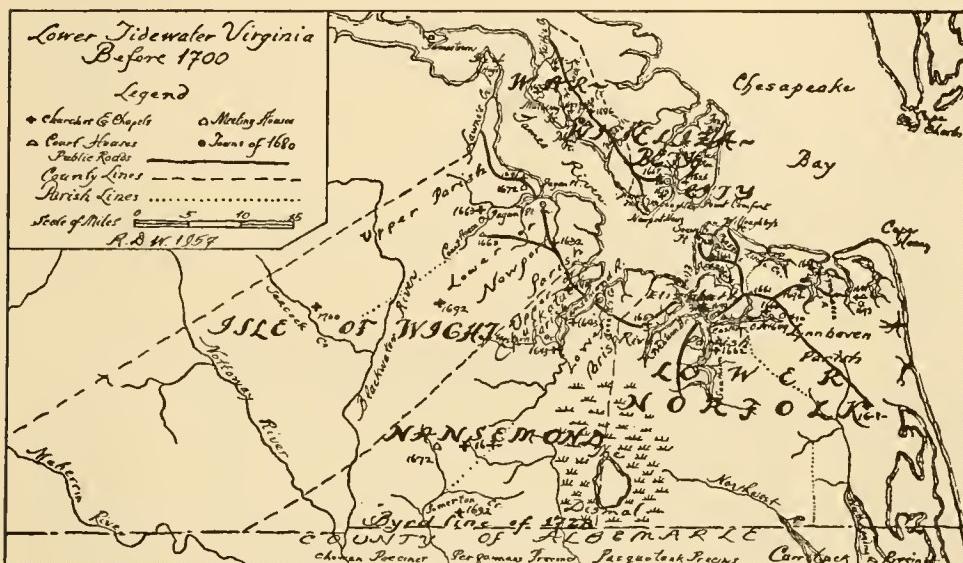
Geologically, the easternmost part of our state is a part of the Great Coastal Plain, which stretches from New York to the Rio Grande, and which here covers approximately 11,000 square miles known as "Tidewater Virginia,"¹⁸ as we have already noted. The Lower Tidewater area covers about one-fifth of the above, and is here shown in its component parts compared with an early eighteenth century census:

County	Present Area ¹⁹ (in square miles)	1703 Area ²⁰
Elizabeth City	54	45
Norfolk	415	175
Princess Anne	279	154
Nansemond	423	205
Warwick	69	60
Isle of Wight	314	223
Southampton	604	—
Totals	2158	862

The above totals include, of course, the areas of the cities which have been formed from these counties. It should also be noted that two counties—Elizabeth City and Warwick—have ceased to exist,²¹ and that Southampton was not formed until 1749.²² Hence, it can be concluded that only about 40% of the area had been settled by 1703.

The coastal plain represents two different levels in its geological development. After it had risen above sea level to a greater height than now occurs, it was much cut into by streams, then sank again allowing the seas to invade the resulting valleys. This is the origin of the so-called "drowned valleys" like the Potomac, the Rappahannock, the York and the James. The Chesapeake Bay itself is nothing but the drowned lower course of the river which

we now call Susquehanna, to which the other streams mentioned were tributary. All of these drowned lower courses form excellent navigable harbors.²³ The smaller rivers and creeks of Lower Tidewater are tidal streams for the most part, and have no current other than that caused by the ebb and flow of the tide. Here are the names of some of them which will become very familiar as our story progresses: Lynnhaven River and its branches, Little Creek, Mason's Creek, Tanner's Creek, Elizabeth River and its branches, Nansemond River and its branches, Pagan River, Warwick River, and Hampton Creek.



The coastal plain is poorly drained in the southeast, and this is why we have there the Great Dismal Swamp, a fresh water marsh of over 700 square miles, with Lake Drummond at its center, over two miles in diameter. Generally in the Lower Tidewater area, the shores of the Chesapeake Bay and the Atlantic Ocean are composed of low sandy beaches enclosing lagoons or salt marshes.²⁴ Captain John Smith noticed in 1607, probably from his place of confinement in the brig aboard the *Susan Constant*, that the coast of Virginia was composed of white hilly sand very much similar to The Downs, that part of the English coast between Dover and Ramsgate.²⁵

The first explorers and settlers of this virgin land were obviously interested in its natural resources, and their early reports were full of description of the flora and fauna of the region. As early as 1529, it was noted that the natives of the Atlantic coast lived on maize, fish and game (which they had in great abundance), and dressed in wolf and fox skins.²⁶ Arthur Barlowe, who wrote about the first Roanoke expedition in 1584, mentioned seeing

white cranes, bucks, conies or hares, and various varieties of fish, as well as fruits, melons, walnuts, cucumbers, gourds and pease. "Our pease," he said, probably referring to what had been brought from England, "grew fourteen inches in ten days."²⁷ A truly remarkable statement, if true! Unfortunately Barlowe did not reach the Chesapeake country, and Ralph Lane, who followed him in 1585-6, visited this area but did not report on it in any detail. He mentioned "multitudes of beare (being an excellent victual) and great woodes of sassafras and walnut-trees" but nothing more.²⁸ When the Jamestown colonists arrived in 1607, they reported great cedars and cypress, many-hued wild flowers, strawberries four times larger than those at home, squirrels, conies, "blackbirds with crimson wings," and they even found turkey eggs.²⁹ In 1616, Strachey told of the taming and breeding of wild turkey by the Indians, and the catching of apes.³⁰ Since there was no variety of ape native to this country, it is to be assumed he was referring to the raccoon, or more likely the opossum. When Captain John Smith explored the Elizabeth River in 1608, he said he saw the greatest pine and fir trees he had encountered in this land;³¹ since the fir does not occur this far south, he must have been referring to the cedar.

In addition to those mentioned above, we are indebted to Beverley (1703) for a very complete list of the game birds and animals familiar to Virginians in the seventeenth century: deer, rabbit, fox, raccoon, squirrel, opossum (describing the pouch for carrying the young); beaver, otter, muskrat and mink; swans, geese, and many varieties of duck; cranes, curlews, herons, and sandpipers; pheasants, partridge, pigeons, turkeys and larks.³² He also mentions the "mock-bird," which, he said, so loves society that it will always make its home near the habitation of man, and "sing the sweetest wild Airs in the world."³³ Many of these are still with us today. Bear and deer are still hunted in the Dismal Swamp. Every hunter, depending upon his inclination, is familiar with the pheasant, partridge and turkey, or the rabbit, squirrel, 'coon and 'possum, in these fields and woods; or the swans, for which there is no open season, and the geese and ducks, in the coastal lagoons and marshes. The mocking-bird still sings his sweet wild airs near our homes. And we can add a few from our own experience: the brilliant cardinal, the industrious robin, the melodious song-sparrow of the beaches, the catbird and thrasher (cousins of the mocking-bird), the woodpecker, the lowly sparrow and starling, the ruby-throated hummingbird, the crow, the eastern Turkey vulture (here called turkey buzzard), many varieties of seagull, the American egret (here called white heron), the great blue heron, the osprey (here called fish hawk), the marsh hawk, and the bald eagle. Beverley tells of the fishing habits of the eagle, who waits for a hawk to catch a fish and then takes it from him,³⁴ a thing which has been seen on these shores in the memory of persons now living. And last but not least, there is the purple or bee martin

which, after a reconnoitering visit about the Ides of March, returns with his consort during the last days of that month to raise a family, his arrival being timed as faithfully and accurately as that of his cousin with a better press agent, the swallow of San Juan Capistrano. As a matter of fact, of the four hundred odd birds which have been observed in the state of Virginia, about half are to be seen in the Lower Tidewater region; this number includes both common and uncommon, migratory and resident.³⁵

It was recognized by the colonists from the very beginning that the trees of this area were an invaluable source of material for shipbuilding. As early as 1620, a shipbuilder applied for land on the Elizabeth River, because of the abundant supply of timber for building and water for launching ships.³⁶ Later, Beverley mentioned the importance of naval stores, such as pitch, tar, rosin, turpentine, and planks and timber for hulls, masts and yards.³⁷ One of the best sources of information on trees in this locality is found in the land grants and deeds of sale in the seventeenth century and later. In the recital of the metes and bounds of a piece of land, the old surveyors were accustomed to citing marked trees at corners, rather than driving a stake or setting a stone; here are some of the trees thus used in early surveys: pine, white oak, cedar, gum, holly, dogwood, mulberry and chinquapin.³⁸ The list of trees mentioned by Beverley is somewhat longer: oak, poplar, pine, cedar, cypress, sweet gum, holly, sweet myrtle, live oak, mulberry, chestnut, hickory and black walnut.³⁹ The sweet myrtle, says Beverley, yields a grayish berry which, when cooked, makes sweet-smelling green wax that is much favored for candles;⁴⁰ this tree and berry are more familiar in other localities as the bayberry. In the early eighteenth century, a Norfolk County gentleman bequeathed to one of his heirs a chair made of "black wornot,"⁴¹ giving a historical basis for an old-fashioned pronunciation still much favored in these parts.

The two plants which made the most profound impression and had the greatest influence on the early settlers were tobacco and maize or Indian corn. In 1620, an observer described tobacco as "a stinking, nauseous, and unpalatable weed, . . . certainly an odd Commodity, to make the Staple and Riches of a Country. It is neither of Necessity nor Ornament to human Life; the Use of it depends upon Humor and Custom, and may be looked upon, as one of the most singular and Extraordinary pieces of Luxury, that the Wantonness of Man hath yet invented or given in to."⁴² In spite of this opinion, the "weed" became exactly that, the staple and riches of the Colony, for it was at the same time both currency or medium of exchange and principal exported commodity. The earliest method of curing tobacco was in the sun,⁴³ and here is a note on a revolutionary innovation in the process: "This year [1617] one Mr. Lambert made a great Discovery, in the Trade of Planting, for the Method of Curing Tobacco then was in Heaps. But this Gentleman found out, that it cured better upon Lines; and therefore the Governor

[Argall] wrote to the Company to send over Line for that purpose."⁴⁴ As for maize, it was, said Beverley, "the staff of food" of the Indians;⁴⁵ it soon came to be so for the settlers who learned to make "pone" and other things from it. Beverley also told of a kind of peas which were kidney shaped and were sown "in the intervals of Rows of Corn."⁴⁶ These peas, which are more properly beans, are still called by many "cornfield peas" but more commonly black-eyed peas. The same writer lists a number of edible fruits, most of which are known here today: huckleberries, cranberries, cherries, plums, persimmons (called by Hariot "Indian plums"), raspberries, strawberries, several varieties of grapes, watermelons and muskmelons (cantaloupe, called incorrectly "mushmelon").⁴⁷ He also mentioned the gourd which was not eaten but its shell served to make cups or flagons.⁴⁸ Nowadays this shell is used as a water dipper and, hung high from the ground, as a nesting place for the bee martin. One other fruit described by Beverley was the pod of the honey-tree.⁴⁹ In times not too far gone, every small boy in this neighborhood, who could climb, was familiar with this tree which we called the honey-pod tree, and at one time or another tasted the sweet juice of its pods.

Perhaps the most important natural resource of this region is represented by the fish and other seafood found in its waters. The first English visitors to Roanoke in 1584 told of the abundance of fish,⁵⁰ but did not report on individual species when the Chesapeake area was visited a year or so later. On the very first day of their arrival at Cape Henry in April 1607, the Jamestown colonists saw and tasted roasted oysters which they said were large and delicious.⁵¹ This opinion of the famous Lynnhaven oyster is still widespread, and this bivalve has become so intimately associated with these parts that it is called scientifically the *ostrea Virginiana*.⁵² These earliest colonists also observed mussels, sturgeon and other fish. Captain John Smith mentioned the abundance of sturgeon in the spring and summer, and it was soon pointed out that "the Rowes of the said Sturgeon make Cavearie," for the English had been importing this delicacy from the Baltic countries. Smith furnished the first complete list of fish in these waters, most of which are still here: sturgeon, porpoise, stingray, mullet, white salmon, eel, catfish, perch, crab, toadfish, herring, shad, rock, trout, flounder, bass, and sheep's head.⁵³ Smith had good cause to know of the stingray, as he was seriously wounded by its sting on one occasion.⁵⁴ Later in the seventeenth century we hear of the drum, the croaker, and the tailor (now better known as bluefish).⁵⁵ In the early eighteenth century, we meet for the first time the famous and delicious spot, then called "old wife."⁵⁶ This should not be confused with the alewife, another local fish used chiefly for fertilizer (here pronounced *ellwie* to rhyme with "necktie"). Smith said of the toadfish that it "will swell till it be like to brust [burst] when it cometh into aire."⁵⁷ One authority states that the Atlantic right whale was killed in numbers off the coast in colonial times.⁵⁸

In 1698, the Governor was petitioned to prohibit the killing and stripping of whales in the bay because of the pollution of the waters,⁵⁹ and Beverley mentioned large exports of sperm oil, blubber and whale bone from Virginia to England.⁶⁰ Beverley's remarks on shad are interesting: "The Shads at their first coming [up the rivers to spawn] are fat and fleshy; but they waste so extremely in milting and spawning, that at their going down they are poor, and seem fuller of Bones, only because they have less flesh."⁶¹ Those who have eaten shad will appreciate this statement. A visitor to Norfolk in 1794 remarked on the abundance and cheapness of food fish, and another, two years later, noted that the Chesapeake Bay was remarkable for the excellence of its crabs.⁶² With very few exceptions, most of the varieties mentioned above are known here today. Three of them have become famous under names closely associating them with this locality: the Lynnhaven oyster, the Ocean View or Norfolk spot, and the Hampton or blue channel crab. The sturgeon and whale visit these shores but rarely now. The white salmon mentioned by Smith has been identified by one authority as the spotted sea trout,⁶³ probably the same as the speckled salmon trout which was caught here occasionally a few years back. Smith's toadfish was what we call the swell toad, and is known in other places as the puffer or blow fish. The stingray was erroneously identified with the thornback by some of the very early observers.⁶⁴ The trout is the gray or sea trout, elsewhere called weakfish because of its tender mouth. The spot and croaker are still caught in large numbers with hand line or tackle, the mullet and alewife by seine, and the bluefish by trolling. Another well known food fish common to these waters, the hogfish, was not mentioned by the early writers, nor was the menhaden which is a valuable source of fertilizer material and is caught chiefly by trawlers. The blue channel crab is highly esteemed as a food in both its hard and soft states; when hard, it is taken abundantly by handline and commercially by the trotline. The dogfish, a small variety of shark and not generally used for food, is seen occasionally and was mentioned by Beverley.⁶⁵

The varieties of freshwater fish which occur here are fewer in number than the saltwater species, and belong generally speaking to four families: bass, perch, pike, and sunfish. Of the first, there are both large- and small-mouth black bass, the former predominating; of the second, the yellow, speckled or calico, and blue-nose perch; of the third, the pickerel and muskellunge; of the fourth, the bream and robin. There is also the grindle or bowfin, which does not belong to any of the above groups.

The present writer, like Beverley,⁶⁶ does not pretend to write in an expert or technical manner on the geography, flora, and fauna of Virginia or of this restricted locality. The above remarks are based on the observations of laymen, past and present, and the different varieties and species mentioned are those

which are most familiar; the lists are, of course, far from being exhaustive or complete.⁶⁷

NOTES ON CHAPTER I

In order to conserve space and avoid the confusion of too many details, sources consulted will be cited in these notes only by author's last name and a short title. The reader will be able to refer to the Bibliography at the end of Volume II for complete details as to author's full name, complete title of work cited, place of publication, and date of publication.

1. Jett, *In Tidewater Virginia*.
2. Eubank, "Virginia's Towns and Cities," Part I, 23.
3. Hening, *Statutes at Large*, I, 224.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 115, 119.
5. Clarke, *The Eastern Shore*.
6. Sams, *First Attempt*, p. 40.
7. *Cartografía de la América Central*
8. *v. infra*, Chapter III.
9. Gómara, *Historia de las Indias*, pp. 162-3.
10. Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 4.
11. Mook, "Tindall's Map," p. 371.
12. Verner, "First Maps of Virginia," p. 10; Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 2.
13. Verner, *loc. cit.*; Sams, *op. cit.*, p. 124.
14. Verner, *op. cit.*, p. 9.
15. *loc. cit.*
16. Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 31.
17. Beverley, *History of Virginia*, p. 117.
18. *Encycl. Brit.*, XXVIII, 117.
19. *Virginia Historical Markers*, pp. 195-207, *passim*.
20. Beverley, *op. cit.*, p. 253.
21. *v. infra*, Chapters VII and XXV.
22. *v. infra*, Chapter XXIX.
23. *Encycl. Brit.*, *loc. cit.*
24. *Ibid.*
25. Sams, *Second Attempt*, p. 107.
26. Rivero Map of 1529; *v. supra*, note 7.
27. Sams, *First Attempt*, p. 63.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 107.
29. Sams, *Second Attempt*, p. 139.
30. Sams, *First Attempt*, p. 322.
31. Sams, *Second Attempt*, p. 485.
32. Beverley, *op. cit.*, p. 153.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 198.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 151.
35. Rountrey & Richardson, *Birds of Tidewater Virginia*.
36. Butt, "Norfolk County."
37. Beverley, *op. cit.*, p. 318.
38. *Norfolk County Records*, *passim*.
39. Beverley, *op. cit.*, pp. 123, 130-1.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 137.
41. *Norfolk County Records*, Book 10, p. 12.
42. Stith, *History of Virginia*, pp. 182-3.
43. Beverley, *op. cit.*, p. 145.
44. Stith, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

45. Beverley, *op. cit.*, p. 143.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 144.
47. *Ibid.*, pp. 129-30, 133, 141.
48. *Ibid.*, p. 142.
49. *Ibid.*, p. 136.
50. Sams, *First Attempt*, p. 63.
51. Sams, *Second Attempt*, p. 127.
52. Webster.
53. Pearson, "Fisheries of Colonial Virginia," Part I, p. 215.
54. Sams, *Second Attempt*, p. 45.
55. Pearson, *op. cit.*, Part I, p. 216.
56. *Ibid.*, p. 218, quotes Beverley.
57. *Ibid.*, p. 215.
58. *Encycl. Brit.*, *loc. cit.*
59. Pearson, *op. cit.*, Part V, p. 281.
60. Beverley, *op. cit.*, p. 76.
61. Pearson, *op. cit.*, Part I, p. 218.
62. *Ibid.*, pp. 219-20.
63. *Ibid.*, p. 215.
64. Sams, *Second Attempt*, p. 457.
65. Beverley, *op. cit.*, p. 147.
66. *Ibid.*, p. 129.
67. In addition to the sources cited, the writer is indebted for information on birds to Dr. W. Gerald Akers of the Faculty of the College of William and Mary (Norfolk Division), President of the Virginia Ornithological Society; and for data on freshwater fish to Jordan A. Pugh III, Attorney-at-law and former President of the Norfolk Chapter Izaak Walton League. Much of the information on saltwater fish is from the writer's personal knowledge and observation.

Chapter II

Aboriginal

HAVING TOLD OF the geography, flora and fauna of Lower Tidewater Virginia, we shall turn to a consideration of the people who lived in this region before the Europeans arrived. Our main interest at this point will be in the races or tribes—their habitat, life and language—before the permanent settlers arrived in April of 1607, and matters of later occurrence concerning the Indians will be treated in their chronological sequence. However, since present knowledge of the aboriginal life in this area depends largely on the observations of the first settlers, their writings may properly be quoted as being indicative of circumstances prevailing prior to their arrival.

The first description we have of the Middle Atlantic coast and its people—not too far removed from Lower Tidewater—was that given by Giovanni da Verrazzano. He was in these parts in 1524, as will be noted in the next chapter, and while he did not enter the Chesapeake Bay, he did land both below and above its entrance: in the neighborhood of Cape Fear and of Chincoteague Island. His words on localities so near should therefore be of interest here. In glowing terms he described the beautiful fields, the sweet-smelling flowers, the tall trees, the wholesome air and temperate climate, and the plentiful game—both deer, rabbit and fowl. He told of the fine sand sloping upward from the shore in high dunes, with aromatic baytrees and cypresses beyond. The sea on this coast, when Verrazzano observed it was not rough and boisterous, but he pointed out that there were many shoals and no good harbors—thereby proving beyond all doubt that he did not see the Chesapeake Bay! He described the natives as being of average height, the men going naked except for a loincloth and wearing garlands of feathers on their heads; he saw an Indian girl who was tall and beautiful and said the women generally were clad in mossy foliage (what we would call Spanish moss) picked from the cypress trees. He said the natives' skin was russet-hued and their hair black, straight and worn knotted behind; they ate fish, game and wild peas, used reed arrows tipped with bone, and made their canoes from whole tree trunks, first charred and then hollowed out with shells.¹

The Rivero map of 1529, previously mentioned, bears only a few brief notes on the natives, but some significant ethnological comparisons were made at that time.² It was then pointed out that the Indians of our coast were of greater stature than those of Santo Domingo, while those of the northern part of South America were more warlike than either and used poisoned arrows. It was also stated, as we said before, that the natives of our area lived chiefly on maize, fish and game, and dressed in wolf and fox skins. Practically speaking we have few further details on the aborigines of Virginia before the arrival of the first English expedition at Roanoke in 1584.

This first expedition was the one despatched under the sponsorship of Sir Walter Raleigh, and its explorations of the coast between Cape Henry and Cape Lookout took place in July and August of 1584. It was under the joint command of two Captains, Master Philip Amadas and Master Arthur Barlowe. The latter addressed to Raleigh a fairly complete report³ of his observations of the land and its people, which gives the first intimate glimpse of the geography and political divisions of these Indian territories as they must have existed before the arrival of the white men. Since the inhabitants of the area of interest of the present History formed a part of this whole, a complete picture of what Barlowe observed will not be out of place at this point. The obscure language of the description and the writer's unfamiliarity with the land sometimes cause a certain amount of confusion, and this should be constantly borne in mind.

It appears that this small part of the American continent, first visited by the English, was divided into five principal provinces or kingdoms, each of which was ruled over by a king or chief; these divisions were Weapemeoc, Chawanook, Secotan, Pomoic and Newsiooc.⁴ At first we get the impression that the whole land, then called Virginia by the English, had been known as Wingandacoa—probably because this was their first contact with the Indians—but it is soon evident that Wingandacoa was just another name for the part called Secotan.⁵

Secotan (or Wingandacoa) was ruled over by Wingina, two of whose principal towns were Dasamonquepeuc and Pomeioc, the latter probably being his capital. These two towns were located on the mainland just opposite Roanoke Island and some distance to the southwest on Pamlico Sound respectively. Wingina had a brother, Granganimeo, who resided at Roanoac, a town on the northeast shore of the island of the same name.⁶ Secotan covered the area between what we now know as the Albemarle Sound and Roanoke River on the north, and the Pamlico River on the south, including the islands or banks to the east.

To the north of Albemarle Sound was the land of Weapemeoc, bordering on the Ocean and extending probably as far as the south shore of Chesapeake Bay. Barlowe did not actually give the name of this province—it is learned

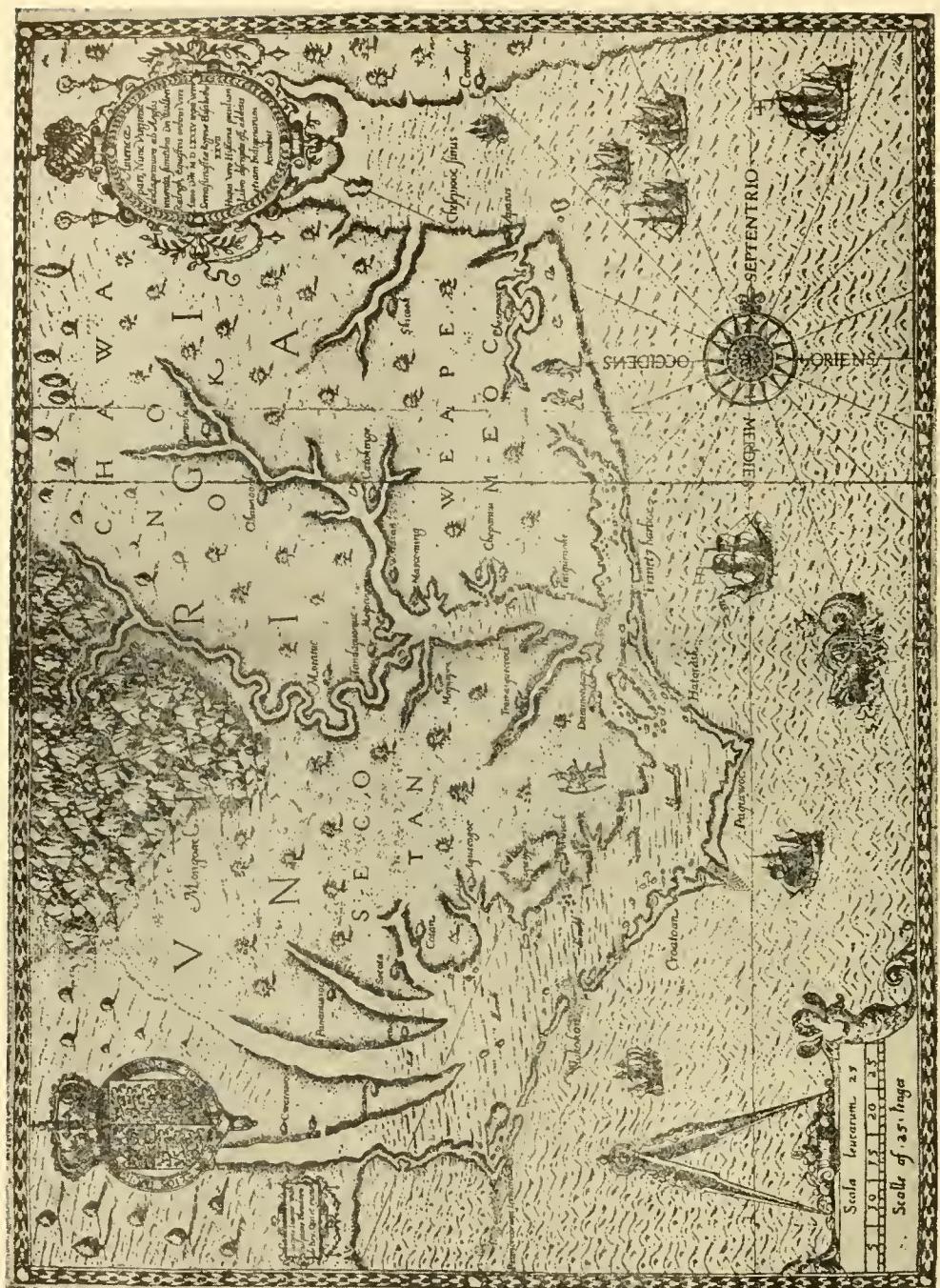
from later accounts—nor did he know the name of its ruler. He did know (from hearsay only) that here was the most important town of the whole land, Skicoak by name, which the Indians affirmed to be so large that it would take an hour's journey to encompass it, an improbable exaggeration.⁷ More will be said of its exact location later.⁸

To the west was territory which was likewise not given a name, though we are told its chief town was Chawanook, a name which survives in the present Chowan River. Its ruler was Pooens, an independent chief; another neighboring chief, probably to the west, was Menatonon. These two formed part of an apparently very loose three-way confederacy with the chief Wingina.⁹

Southwest of Secotan was the land of Pomouic, ruled by Piamacum; this was between the present Pamlico and Neuse Rivers. And south of the Neuse was the land of Newsiooc, whose name survives in that of the river, and whose chief was not identified by name. The rulers of Pomouic, Newsiooc and another unnamed land to the west "have mortal war" with Wingina. In spite of the fact that a peace had been concluded with Piamacum in 1582, the Secotans still bore malice toward his people on account of what we would call "atrocities" committed by them, and to which the Secotans undoubtedly retaliated to the best of their ability.¹⁰

In addition to the bodies of water mentioned above, some other Indian names should be noted. They called by the name Occam River the body of water known to us as Albemarle Sound, together with its extension to the west, the present Roanoke River, the upper part of which was called Mora-tuck. Into this body emptied the Nomopana (present Chowan River) and the Cipo (present Currituck Sound), of which latter more will be said later.¹¹

We have written of this first English expedition in 1584 as if it were the first occasion on which white men had become intimately familiar with the Virginia coast and its inhabitants. Of this we cannot be sure, however, as will amply appear in Chapter III, following. Especially should it be mentioned at this point the story the people of Secotan told Captain Barlowe of the shipwreck of some white men on their coast some twenty-six years earlier, which would be in 1558. This occurred on an island of the Outer Banks called then Wokokon, just to the southwest of the inlet now called Ocracoke. After being saved by the Indians, these white people remained on the island for three weeks, during which time they improvised a vessel by lashing together two Indian canoes, fitted them with masts to which they attached sails made of their own clothing, and attempted thus to make their departure. They were evidently unsuccessful, since remains of their boats were found shortly thereafter on another nearby island. Other than these ill-fated visitors, the people of this region affirmed that they had never seen any white men before the arrival of the English.¹²



DE BRY'S ENGRAVING OF THE WHITE MAP (1590)
CHESAPEAKE BAY TO NEUSE RIVER

It is interesting that Barlowe confirmed the statement of the earlier source already mentioned, in that he noted the arrows used on this coast were made of small canes (reeds) tipped with a sharp shell or a fish tooth.¹³ It is significant that the Indians of the immediate coast used this type of weapon more than the traditional stone arrowhead, material for making which was not so readily available here.

The second expedition to Virginia under Raleigh's sponsorship stayed on these shores almost exactly a year, from June of 1585 until June of 1586. It was led by Raleigh's kinsman and neighbor, Sir Richard Grenville, as "General of Virginia," with Master (Captain) Ralph Lane as "Deputy General," and Captain Amadas of the previous expedition as "Admiral." Like Barlowe, Lane wrote a complete account of the land and its inhabitants based on his observations and explorations.¹⁴ From this account may be obtained many more details to be added to what we already know.

The most interesting part of Lane's account was the map based on his explorations, drawn by John White and engraved by Theodore De Bry. This map accompanied the narrative of Thomas Hariot, another member of Lane's party, which was done in 1588.¹⁵ We give a reproduction of it here, so that the places mentioned may be located by the reader. In spite of its inaccuracies and crudeness from a cartographical standpoint, this map is in many cases a sound basis for the pin-pointing of Indian sites in Old Virginia, the area between the Chesapeake Bay and the Neuse River.

This map, based on Lane's explorations of 1585, confirms much of Barlowe's account, but omits some details given by him; on the other hand, it indicates a greater knowledge in certain parts than Barlowe had a year earlier. Here we see clearly defined the three chief provinces of Virginia, which were Weapemeoc, Chawanook, and Secotan. Weapemeoc was bounded east by the Atlantic Ocean, south by Albemarle Sound, north by Chesapeake Bay (Chesepiooc Sinus) and west with an uncertain line from present Chowan to present Elizabeth River. Chawanook was the area between the present Roanoke and James Rivers on both sides of the Chowan's tributaries, the Meherrin, the Nottoway, and the Blackwater Rivers, as they are now known. Secotan was contained between Albemarle Sound and Roanoke Rivers on the north, eastward to include Roanoke Island and the Outer Banks, southward to the Pamlico River, and westward to Mangoack or the land of the Mangoaks, "another kind of savages dwelling more to the westward . . ."¹⁶ No further mention was made of the two territories to the south observed by Barlowe, indeed Lane stated in his account that Secotan was the southern limit of his explorations, just as to the north he went no further than to the "Chesapeakeans," and to the northwest the province of Chawanook.¹⁷ The Lane account mentions more towns than are shown on the map, but the most significant thing is that there are shown only three towns in what is now the lower Tidewater

area of Virginia. The reference above to the Chesipeans was evidently intended for the inhabitants of the town of Chesepiooc, with an Anglicized suffix substituted for the Indian one. It may be inferred from the map that this town was somewhere up the eastern branch of the present Lynnhaven River, probably in the vicinity of London Bridge. The second of these towns was Apasus, in the Chesapeake Beach or Ocean Park area, and the third and most important was Skicoak, mentioned in the Barlowe account. Skicoak is stated by most local historians to have been the exact spot later (1680) chosen as the site of Norfolk Town, on the north side of the Elizabeth River where its Eastern and Southern Branches flow together.¹⁸ Examination of this map will show that only in a very approximate manner can this claim be made. It is clear that Ralph Lane did not actually reach the Chesapeake Bay: his own statement that his farthest northward exploration was to the Chesipeans so indicates, and this opinion is shared and confirmed by later writers.¹⁹ It is my guess that the site of Skicoak was farther down Elizabeth River, maybe between Fort Norfolk and Lamberts Point.

Further evidence of Lane's lack of familiarity with the Bay is seen in the representation of land beyond it to the north and northwest, which does not coincide with the way it is known to have been. Nor can we identify the town of Comokee which is shown over there almost due north of Apasus; there is a bare possibility that this may be the same as Accomack, with suppression of prefix and addition of suffix, a thing not beyond the realm of probability as will be shown when we come to discuss the language of the Indians.²⁰ All in all this map of Lane's travels is a curious and interesting document, with its mixture of English, Latin and Indian nomenclature: the Indian names have been sufficiently enumerated, but note "Trinity harbor," for instance, and "Chesepiooc Sinus" for Chesapeake Bay, and "Promontorium tremendum," the "fearful cape," remembrance of which still survives in the name Cape Fear, although unfortunately for local tradition the term in Lane's day was applied to what we now know as Cape Lookout, as comparison with a modern map will clearly show. The little box on the lefthand side of the map shows it was authored by John White (Ioanne With) and engraved by Theodore DeBry (Theodoro de Brij). And finally we shall give a free translation of the Latin legend or title:

A part of America, now called Virginia, first discovered by the English at the expense of Sir Walter Raleigh, Knight, in the year of our Lord 1585 and of the reign of Her Most Serene Highness, our Queen Elizabeth, the 27th, whose history, moreover, is related in an extraordinary book, to which pictures of the Natives have also been added.

The pictures referred to are, of course, the DeBry engravings of the well known John White water colors.²¹

Ralph Lane, like his predecessor, told the names of some of the chief men among the natives of the various Indian provinces. Here for the first time are mentioned Ensenore, father of Chief Wingina and Granganimeo; Osacan, Tanaquiny and Andacon, lieutenants and chief advisers to Wingina; Okisko, chief of Weapemeoc, who has been identified somewhat improbably with Opachisco, a brother of Powhatan.^{21a} It is implied that Menatonon was now sole king of Chawanook, and no further mention is made of his former neighbor, Pooens, and we learn that Menatonon had a son named Skyco.²² We are told that Wingina changed his name to Pemisapan for some obscure reason after the death of his brother Granganimeo.²³ It now appears that there was a confederacy between the Chawanoaks and the Mangoacks, the people of another race or stock previously mentioned.²⁴ Especially noted in this connection were the people of the town of Moratok, on the north side of the present Roanoke River, then called Moratok River after them.²⁵ The Chesapeakes, according to Lane, would not join in any alliance against the English; in fact, they on one occasion assisted him against the other tribes, as will later be related.²⁶ Of prime importance is Lane's explanation of the term "Renapoak": "for so they call by that general name all the inhabitants of the whole main [land] of what province soever."²⁷ Renapoak, derived from a word meaning "man" or "mankind," has great significance in establishing the relationship between these peoples and the tribes to the north, as will appear below.²⁸

John White, artist of the map and water colors, came again to Roanoke in 1587 as governor of Virginia at the head of the company of colonists which has come to be known as the Lost Colony. In his report²⁹ of the voyage to Sir Walter Raleigh are to be found names which appear on his map of the previous exploration: the island of Croatoan, the bay of Chesapiok, the inlet of Hatorask (surviving in the name of Cape Hatteras at a different location), the island of Roanoke, and several of the Indian towns (Secota, Aquascogoc, Pomeiok, and Dasamonquepeuc). White called Pemisapan by his former name of Wingina, and told of the christening of the friendly Indian, Manteo, who was invested with the feudal title of "Lord of Roanoke and Dasamonquepeuc." Also mentioned was Menatoan, undoubtedly identical with Menatonon, king or chief of Chawanook.³⁰

No less than four natives of Old Virginia visited England during this period. Manteo and Wanchese went back with Barlowe and Amadas in August 1584, returning to Virginia with Ralph Lane a year later.³¹ In June 1586, the latter carried Manteo (his second visit) and another named Towaye. They were with John White upon his arrival at Roanoke in July 1587.³² In 1586, Sir Richard Grenville made his second visit to Roanoke to see the colony left under his deputy, Ralph Lane. This group had already been taken back to England by Sir Francis Drake a few months earlier, and apparently Sir

Richard took with him to his home in Bideford, Devonshire, a native "Winganditoian" (native of Wingandocoa or Secotan) as a personal servant. This native was on 26 March 1588 christened at Bideford under the name of "Raleigh," and died there in April 1589.³³

It is a most significant circumstance that in all these early accounts there is no mention of Powhatan, ruler of the great confederacy to the north of Chawanook and Weapemeoc, and this in spite of the fact that there is later presumptive evidence he had a hand in the still unknown fate of the Lost Colony of Roanoke.³⁴ It is also noteworthy that the only tribe of present Tidewater Virginia mentioned by the explorers from Roanoke was that of the Chesapeakes with its three villages of Skicoak, Apasus and Chesapeake, located in what was later to become Lower Norfolk County (present Norfolk and Princess Anne Counties).

We catch our first glimpse of the inhabitants of the James River and Hampton Roads area from three principal sources: an account of explorations that took place late in May, 1607, usually attributed to Captain Gabriel Archer;³⁵ a map of explorations made in May, 1607, and February and March, 1607/8, drawn by Robert Tindall in 1608;³⁶ and lastly Captain John Smith's account of his explorations of 1608, first published (with the now famous Smith map) in 1612.³⁷ For comparative purposes, it seems convenient to list the names of the thirteen Indian habitations shown by Tindall, their names as given by Archer and Smith, and the usually accepted modern spelling:

<i>Tindall</i> ³⁸	<i>Archer</i> ³⁹	<i>Smith</i> ⁴⁰	<i>Modern</i>
North Bank James River above Jamestown:			
Paspeheagh	Paspeiouk	Paspahegh	Paspahegh
Pamonke	Pamaunche		Pamunkey
Arrahatteak	Arahatecoh	Arrohateck	Arrohatock
Poetan	Pawatah	Powhatan	Powhatan
South Bank ditto:			
Tappahanna	Tapahanauk		
Wynagh	Winauk	Weanoc	Weyanoke
Mattica	Apamattecoh	Appamatuck	Appomattox
Below Jamestown, both sides of River:			
Oriskeyek		Warrascoyack	Warrosquyoacke
Nassamonge		Nandsamund	Nansemond
Chehotanke		Kecoughtan	Kecoughtan
York River:			
Poetan	Pawatah	Powhatan	Powhatan
Chescoyek	Chescaik	Kiskiack	Kiskiak
Pamonke	Pamaunche		Pamunkey

Some explanatory comments are necessary here. It will be noted that there are two duplications in the Tindall list. The first of these was caused by the fact that Tindall followed some misinformation which Archer had concerning a

Pamunkey Town on the James.⁴¹ The Pamunkeys have always been, and their reservation still is, on the neck of land between the two branches of the York River.⁴² The duplication of the name Powhatan was a fact, and arose from the circumstance that Powhatan's son, Tanxpowhatan (Little Powhatan), ruled the town at the falls of the James where Richmond now is, whereas, the other Powhatan on the York, a town better known as Werowocomoco, was the seat of the overlord or "emperor" Powhatan, the capital of his confederacy.⁴³ One must not confuse Tappahanna with the settlement by a similar name on the Rappahannock River; this town, across the James from Jamestown, was more properly called by Smith and others Quiyoughcohanock.⁴⁴ It will be noted also that Archer does not mention the three Lower Tidewater tribes—Warrasquyoacke, Nansemond and Kecoughtan⁴⁵—although he did mention four not shown on Tindall's map: Chessipian (Chesapeake), Monanacah or Monacan (whose name survives in Maniken above Richmond), Matapoll (Mattaponi, whose reservation still exists on the river of the same name, called by Smith Mattapament), and Youghtamong (Youghtanund according to Smith), from the headwaters of the Pamunkey River.⁴⁶ Of all these tribes named so far, only two (Chesapeake and Monacan) did not belong to the Powhatan confederacy, and only one (Monacan) belonged to a different linguistic stock.⁴⁷

Of course, Smith's map shows more detail as to Indian villages than any other source, and confirms Strachey's statement as to the bounds of Powhatan's empire: from the north end of Chesapeake Bay to the Chawons (Chawanook) and the land of the Mangoags on the south, and from the Atlantic Ocean to the fall line. In this territory, Smith shows approximately thirty "kings' houses" (tribal capitals) not to mention many "ordinary houses" (subordinate towns) too numerous to give here; there are also ten more tribal capitals in what is now Maryland, but it is doubtful that the overlord's power reached that far from his capital on the Pamunkey (York) River.⁴⁸

The Powhatan confederacy, as it is now called by historians, was a strong and closely knit nation (if we may use the term), quite different from the loose and unstable alliance already noted between Chawanook and Secotan. Of the thirty tribes under Powhatan's domination, there was a hard core of six (Powhatan, Pamunkey, Mattaponi, Arrohatoc, Appamatuck, Youghtanund), which could be classed as his oldest subjects and under the most trusted of the subordinate rulers, since they were his by inheritance.⁴⁹ All the others owed him allegiance by right of conquest. The rulers over inherited and conquered alike were in many cases closely allied by blood or marriage to the overlord. There were, for example, his five brothers: Opechancanough, chief of both Pamunkey and Chickahominy; Kequotough and Taughhaiten, two of the former's deputies; Opitchapan (whom Beverley calls Itopatin⁵⁰),

a councillor, and Jopassus, chief of Patawomeck (Potomac); there were also his sons: Tanxpowhatan, chief of his own native tribe; Pochins, chief of Kecoughtan; and Nantaquaus, chief of Accawmack; there was a brother-in-law, Opachisco, as well as a son-in-law, Tomacomo, both among his chief councillors.⁵¹

A word should be said here about the great chief or overlord of this confederacy. While Indian word etymologies are doubtful at best, it is generally agreed that his name originated in *pauātán*, "leaps of water" or falls in a river current.⁵² This is a logical explanation in view of his town and tribe already mentioned, located at the falls of the James River, going by the name of Powhatan. It follows also that the name would be applied to the river (which is shown on Smith's map as "Powhatan flu."), the tribal chief, and to the confederacy of his conquests. These things being so, it may properly be concluded that the tribe at the falls was the emperor's own tribe and that he turned its leadership over to his son when he himself became overlord. This is why Tindall's map shows the name Poetan (Powhatan) twice, the one on the York River being the capital of the confederacy, Werowocomoco, as already indicated. It is an amazing fact that the name of the great chief survives in an almost unrecognizable form in Purtan Bay,⁵³ on the north side of York River about sixteen miles above Yorktown; on this little bay is the exact site of Werowocomoco.⁵⁴

The name of the overlord which is most familiar to us today was not his only name, in fact it was not his most usual name. He was called Powhatan by neighboring chiefs just as the head of a Scottish clan might be called by its name, the MacGregor or the MacTavish, for example. His own people, however, referred to him as Ottaniack or Mamanatowick, ". . . but his proper right name, which they salute him with, himself in presence . . ." was Wahunsunacock.⁵⁵ No account of Powhatan would be complete without a passing mention of his favorite daughter, Pocahontas or Matoaka, who was to play an important part in the early history of the Virginia colony, as will be related in the appropriate place.⁵⁶

Powhatan's inherited tribes, the nucleus of his empire, occupied the territory on both sides of the middle reaches of the James and York Rivers, but as the English became more firmly entrenched on the lower banks of the rivers, he found it advisable to move his chief residence from Werowocomoco farther inland to another of his towns, Orapax by name, in what is now Hanover County.⁵⁷ The territory ruled by Powhatan was called "Attanoughkomouck" by his people in the early seventeenth century, according to the inscription on the de Passe engraving of Pocahontas's portrait done in 1616.⁵⁸ Powhatan died in April 1618, having designated his brother Opitchapan (or Itopatin) to succeed him. Thus the brother Opechancanough, who was next in seniority, was passed over for having tried to win away from Powhatan the powerful

Chickahominy tribe of which he (Opechancanough) was chief. However, Opitchapan was not strong enough to hold the confederacy together, and Opechancanough eventually seized the power for himself.⁵⁹

Having noted very sketchily the composition and political structure of the Powhatan confederacy, let us consider in more detail those tribes which were in our area of chief interest, Lower Tidewater Virginia. Here again, the best source of information is the Smith map of 1612, and for sake of convenience the Indian locations are here classified as to the counties, which were established much later. It should be borne in mind that these locations are very approximately indicated.

In the former Elizabeth City County, there was only one place of Indian habitation, the town which was the residence of the chief of the Kecoughtan tribe, which (as was customary) bore the name of the tribe. This chieftain was Pochins, as before stated, said to be son of Powhatan. The location of Kecoughtan, as given on the very inconclusive Smith and Tindall maps, seems to have been on the east side of the mouth of Hampton Creek; however, recent archaeological research casts some doubt on previous interpretations of these maps, and strongly suggests that the Indian village may have been on the west side of that creek. This is a matter to be more fully discussed at a later point. The Kecoughtan tribe was at first meeting very friendly and well-disposed toward the English.⁶⁰

In present Isle of Wight County, were shown three Indian villages of the Warroscoyack tribe. The tribal capital, residence of chief Taukonekintaco, bore the name of the tribe, and seems to have been located inland a little to the south and west of where Smithfield now is. The other two villages of this tribe were near the James River on either side of the mouth of Pagan Creek: Mathomauk upstream, and Mokete downstream. The Warroscoyack tribe was also friendly in the beginning and was willing to barter much needed corn to the English.⁶¹

In present Nansemond County, there were four Indian villages. Here again the tribal capital bore the name of the tribe, Nandsamund, and was located approximately seven miles north of Suffolk on the west side of the great bend of Nansemond River. The other three towns of this tribe were: Treacosick, on the west side of the river a little to the north of Suffolk; Mattanock, near the present Chuckatuck; and Mantoughquemeo, on the east side of the river's bend. The name of the Nandsamund chief was apparently not recorded by the early settlers. This tribe was also willing to trade with the English, but on one occasion joined with the Chesapeakes in attacking a party led by Captain John Smith.⁶²

In the former Lower Norfolk County (now Norfolk and Princess Anne and the cities carved from them), there was the Chesapeake tribe. It will be recalled that Lane's map of 1585 showed three villages here: Skicoak, Apasus

and Chesepiooc. It would be natural to imply from the latter name (being that of the tribe) that it was the capital, but early accounts make it clear that Skicoak was the most important of the three. Smith's map shows only one habitation in this locality—with the usual symbol for "king's house"—apparently at the same spot where the former map showed Skicoak, but it was called Chesapeak. It can only be inferred that Smith arbitrarily gave the tribe's name to the town. In any case, the name of Skicoak was not again recorded by any of the early writers.

Powhatan made it clear that the Chesapeakes were not of his confederacy but were "an Enemye generally to all thes Kyngdomes."⁶³ In 1585, according to Lane, the Chesapeakes and the Mangoaks were in an alliance with Pemisapan (Wingina), chief of Secotan, against the English. It was pointed out then that Okisko, chief of Weapemeoc, refused to join this group, but the "rest of his province"—presumably the Chesapeakes—did so. As a matter of fact, when Lane delivered his final blow against Pemisapan, the Chesapeakes were on his (Lanes's) side, and it has been inferred by some that they switched sides when they found out that the conspiracy had been discovered.⁶⁴ Later they were the perpetrators of a hostile attack when the First Colonists landed at Cape Henry on the 26 April 1607,⁶⁵ and there is evidence that they joined with the Nandsamunds (who were Powhatan's subjects) on another occasion, as before noted, to attack an exploring party under Smith.⁶⁶ Apparently the Chesapeake tribe was a very independent breed of men!

The tribes or clans of the Powhatan confederacy belonged to the Algonquian group or stock, whereas many—though not all—of their neighbors belonged to unrelated stocks. Taking them from the southeast in a clockwise direction, with one exception the tribes of Old Virginia (Chesapeake, Weapemeoc, Secotan and Chawanook) were Algonquian.⁶⁷ The exception was the Mangoag (Mangoak, Mandoag) tribe, who Lane said were "another kind of a savage living more to the westward."⁶⁸ Smith's map places them more northerly than does Lane—just to the west of the Chawons (Smith's spelling of Chawanook); it is the general opinion that they were of Iroquoian stock, and identical with the Nottoways,⁶⁹ although it must be borne in mind that the Tuscaroras (also Iroquoian) were in the same neighborhood until early eighteenth century, when they went north to join their kin and form the Six Nations confederacy.⁷⁰ On the Roanoke River near the present Virginia-North Carolina boundary were the Occaneechees, a tribe of Siouan stock, of whom more later.⁷¹ Above the falls of the James were the Monacans (whose name survives in the village of Manakin) and at the falls of the Rappahannock were the Mannahoacks, both said to be also of Siouan stock.⁷² Above the Potomac were those later called Conoy, and on the Eastern Shore, north of Powhatan's subject tribes of Accawmack and Accohannock were Tockwoghs and Kuscarawaoks (or Nanticokes) in what is now Maryland, and Atquana-

chukes (probably Lenilenape) on the Delaware, all of these northerly neighbors were of the related Algonquian family. It has been said that the Atlantic coast Algonquians bordered southerly on those of Muskhogean stock⁷³ (Choc-taws, Chickasaws, Seminoles and Creeks), and although the habitat of the latter has generally been stated to be Georgia and the Gulf States, it might well be so that those tribes of Pomouic and Newsiooc, who were "at mortal war" with Secotan in 1584,⁷⁴ were of the Muskhogean family.

The classification of races according to language is an ancient and convenient method; in the case of the North American Indian tribes it is the only practicable one. Indeed, it has been pointed out that "in no other part of the globe did language tally so nearly with kinship" as in North America.⁷⁵ More than fifty ethno-linguistic stocks have been counted on our continent north of Mexico.⁷⁶ Of these, the three most important on the Atlantic coastal plain were the Iroquoian, the Siouan and the Algonquian.

The Algonquian family derives its name from the Algonquin or Algonkin, a tribe originally seated near the site of the present city of Ottawa. Champlain in 1603, and other French explorers shortly thereafter, used the term (Algoum-mequin or Algomméquin) to refer to this tribe and its kin,⁷⁷ and Robert Beverley late in the same century knew in a slightly confused way that the Tidewater Virginia Indians belonged to a stock which he called "Algon-kine."⁷⁸ The Algonquian family formerly occupied a more extensive territory than any other in North America: a rough triangle having its apexes in the Province of Alberta and at the mouth of the Saint Lawrence River in Canada, and in Pamlico Sound in North Carolina. This vast territory was not solidly occupied by them but interspersed here and there by other stocks. Just to give some idea of the extent and composition of the Algonquian stock, here are the names and the geographical distribution of some of the better known tribes:⁷⁹

- a. Western Division (east slope of Rocky Mountains)
Blackfoot Confederacy (Siksika, Piegan), Arapaho, Cheyenne.
- b. Northern Division (north of Great Lakes)
Chippewa or Ojibwa Group (Cree, Ottawa), Algonkin Group.
- c. Northeastern Division (Quebec and Maritime Provinces, Maine)
Montagnais Group, Abnaki Group (Micmac, Passamaquoddy, Penobscot).
- d. Central Division (south of Great Lakes)
Sauk Group (Fox, Kickapoo), Miami Group (Illinois, Peoria), Menominee, Potawatomi, Shawnee.
- e. Eastern Division (Atlantic coast south of Maine)
Pennacook, Massachuset, Natick, Narranganset, Montauk, Mahican, Unami, Unalachtigo, Lenilenape, Nanticoke, Conoy, Powhatan Confederacy, Roanoke Group (Chesapeake, Weapemeoc, Secotan, Chawanook).

It must be remembered that we are dealing with two stages of chronology in listing the above tribes. The east coastal tribes from Maine to the Carolinas,

being the first to stand in the way of colonization, were early defeated and their organization broken up; they gradually withdrew to the west and to Canada while a few scattered remnants were left on reservations and were soon to lose their identity.⁸⁰ The other tribes were able longer to maintain their identity in the face of westward expansion, and indeed large communities of them still carry on the language and customs of their forefathers. In 1910 information was available from Algonquian speakers of the following tribes: Piegan and Cheyenne (Montana), Arapaho (Wyoming), Menominee (Wisconsin), Micmac (Quebec), Chippewa (Minnesota), Fox (Iowa), and Sauk, Kickapoo and Shawnee (Oklahoma); at the same time there were, at the Carlisle School, Carlisle, Pa., representatives of the following: Arapaho, Cree, Menominee, Sauk, Chippewa, Ottawa, Potawatomi, and Abnaki.⁸¹

In considering the extinct groups, it is difficult to distinguish—especially in the Atlantic coastal area—between confederacy, tribe, band and clan; the early writers frequently designated settlements of the same tribe as separate tribes, and most often, as has been seen, tribe and village bore the same name, which occasionally was that of a neighboring stream or other feature.⁸²

Much has been written along general lines about the Algonquian stock; the reader who would further satisfy his curiosity is referred to the excellent publications (bulletins and handbooks) of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, which contain much information and bibliography. However, our immediate concern here is with the Indian of Lower Tidewater Virginia at a remote period, and the best source of information on this subject, as on many other seventeenth century Virginia matters, is the historian Beverley, who has been and will continue to be frequently quoted in these pages. Robert Beverley (1673-1722), whose principal land holdings were in Gloucester and King and Queen Counties, spent much of his early manhood in Jamestown, where he held various minor political offices; it is important to us that he also owned land in Elizabeth City County.⁸³ His History was published in 1705, from a manuscript completed by 1703, so it can be said that his work was based chiefly on observations of the latter decade of the seventeenth century. Beverley is credited with being a "careful and accurate observer, possessed of considerable scientific curiosity."⁸⁴ While he is somewhat removed in time and space from our area and period of interest, it may be said that his remarks on the aborigines of this country represent a fairly accurate picture of Indian life in Tidewater Virginia about the time of the Roanoke and Jamestown settlements. What follows is based on Beverley's observations except where otherwise specifically indicated.⁸⁵

The aboriginal natives of this area were of the "middling and largest stature of the English" (five feet eight to six feet, according to other sources); their skin was naturally of a tawny hue, but usually turned much darker from the use of grease and the effect of the sun. Their hair was straight and

both hair and eyes black. They kept their faces clean-shaven and delighted in fanciful haircuts, such as the "cock's comb," for example. Their shaving and haircutting was apparently accomplished by the use of a mussel shell with which they pulled the hair out by the roots. For clothing they wore only a loincloth for modesty and buckskin shoes called *moccasin*. In cold weather they would wear a mantle or cloak of deer or other skin or fur.

Like the men, the women went naked save for a short skirt reaching from navel to mid-thigh, "by which means they have the advantage of discovering their fine Limbs and compleat Shape."⁸⁶ For ornament they wore necklaces and bracelets of beads. Their hair was long, and was permitted to hang down the back, or done up in a net of beads, or neatly tied in a knot. They kept their skin clean with oil, whereas the men were "commonly bedaub'd all over with Paint." The "upper class" of people of both sexes wore coronets or headbands of bead or fur, while the "common people" went bareheaded, occasionally with large turkey feathers stuck in their hair. Beverley opines that the Indian women were beautiful, "wanting no Charm, but that of a fair Complexion."

These Tidewater Indians were mainly sedentary and agricultural, but subsisted as well on the results of their hunting and fishing. They settled in towns of varying size ruled by a "king" or chief (called *werowance*). The chief over more than one town usually had a lieutenant or "vice-regent" in each. These towns were fortified by palisades of logs ten to twelve feet high. Their houses (*wigwangs* according to Beverley) were of two styles: small or conical like a bee-hive, and large or oblong with a vaulted roof; both were made of saplings covered with bark.

Concerning their food, Beverley said, "Their Cookery has nothing commendable in it, but that it is perform'd with little trouble. They have no other Sauce but a good Stomach, which they seldom want."⁸⁷ They boiled or broiled all their meat and usually boiled fish or flesh with *homony*, which was Indian corn broken in a mortar, soaked, and boiled ten or twelve hours. They would dress and draw their game, plucking fowls and skinning animals, but cooked fish without cleaning or scaling. They baked bread (*oppone*) in cakes or loaves, covered with leaves, warm ashes and hot coals. They had no salt or seasoning save the salt ash from hickory and several other woods. They knew no drink but water until the arrival of the English. They ate with their fingers or with a cockleshell spoon holding half a pint. Said Beverley, "They laugh at the English for using small ones, which they must be forc'd to carry so often to their Mouths, that their Arms are in danger of being tir'd, before their Belly."⁸⁸

The Indians had no iron or steel before the English came. They used knives made of shell and hand-axes (*tomahawk*) made by binding a stone head to a wooden handle with a glue made of turpentine. They usually

made their bows of locust, a very hard wood, and their arrows of reeds, fledged with wild turkey feathers and pointed with a "white transparent stone" or with the spur of the wild turkey cock. They made fire by turning a piece of hardwood or spindle against a soft, dry piece with dry leaves to help it kindle. Their household utensils were chiefly baskets woven from grass, gourds to hold water, and earthenware pots for cooking. Beverley said he saw both birch and log (dugout) canoes, but it is doubtful that the Lower Tidewater Indians made other than the latter; it will be recalled that the English Colonists saw one in late April of 1607 near the site of Hampton—"a canoe which was made out of a whole tree, which was five and forty foot long by the rule."⁸⁹

Our Indians regarded their marriage bonds very highly, and while separation (divorce) was quite easy, it was very rare. Beverley believed the accusation of prostitution made by some people was unfounded, and based on the freedom of manners of the Indian maidens, who were full of mirth and good humor. He believed that it was this freedom "which uncharitable Christians interpret as Criminal upon no other ground, than the guilt of their own Consciences."⁹⁰ The Indian children were bound to a board until several months old. They were carried on their mother's backs in the open in fair weather, but under the fold of the cloak in the winter. The youths between ten and fifteen years of age had to submit to the rite called *huskanaw*, a rather severe ordeal whereby they were initiated into the estate of manhood.

As to their religion, the Indians worshipped Spirits in many manifestations of nature, such as the Sun, Moon, storms, watercourses, etc. However, they believed in one eternal beneficent Deity, dwelling above, and they believed it was necessary to pacify the Evil Spirits living on earth. Their priests and conjurers were very influential; they performed their rites in a "general language" (of which more will be said later), just as Roman Catholics do in Latin. They taught that the souls of good men went to an Elyseum of good hunting and fishing, beautiful women and eternal spring; that the wicked went to a "filthy, stinking Lake" after death, where they were tormented in eternal fire.

They had the custom of preserving the corpses of their chiefs or rulers by removing the skin whole, scraping the flesh from the bones which were then dried in the sun. The bones were put back into the skin, filled with sand and sewn up. These remains were kept in a special shelter called *Quiocossan* (their nearest equivalent to chapel or church), each corpse with its dried flesh sewn in a basket at its feet. In each such cabin was set up a *Quioccos* or idol (also called *Okee* or *Kiwasa*) to guard the dead. Beverley told of examining one of these idols secretly during the absence of its keepers; it was made of a sort of demountable wooden frame covered with pieces of cloth and stuffed, the whole figure being taken apart and wrapped

in grass mats when not set up in place. A contemporary of Beverley's also described the burial customs for common people: holes dug in the ground were lined with bark and sticks, and the bodies wrapped in the best cloth obtainable were deposited therein with all the deceased's clothes, skins and other worldly possessions. The grave was then covered with sticks and earth and the remains lay as in a coffin.⁹¹

The Tidewater Indians had not many diseases, said Beverley. Their priests were their physicians and knew the hidden properties of plants. Their general word for "physick" or medicine was *wissocan* (*wighsacan*), which they obtained chiefly from roots and barks, but rarely from leaves. For external application they were bruised or pounded, taken internally they were first soaked in water. The medicine men were familiar with the therapeutic value of sweating, and each town had a "sweating-house," a sort of Turkish bath in which steam was formed by pouring cold water over large stones heated red-hot.

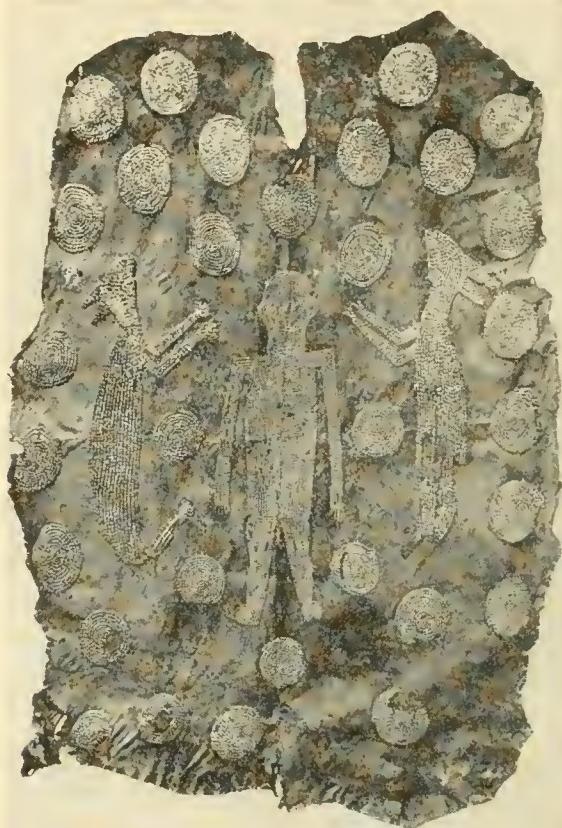
The use of tobacco among the Tidewater Indians was more ceremonial than for the gratification of an appetite. They burned it like incense as a sacrifice to the Sun to pray for fair weather on a journey, or threw it into a watercourse which they wished to cross, to entreat the Spirit there dwelling to grant safe passage. The pipe of peace had great significance in their councils in any kind of negotiations. Likewise they followed the well-known custom of burying a tomahawk to conclude peace between warring bands.

Their amusements and pastimes consisted chiefly in singing, dancing, instrumental music and boisterous athletic games. To quote Beverley again: "Their Singing is not the most charming that I have heard. It consists much in exalting the Voice, and is full of slow melancholy accents. However, I must allow even this Musick to contain some wild Notes that are agreeable."⁹² The "instrumental Musick" can scarcely be called such by our standards, since their instruments were chiefly of the percussion family: drums made of earthenware pots half full of water with skins stretched over the opening, and rattles made of gourds. They also had some wind instruments. Smith said, "For musicke they use a thicke cane, on which they pipe as on a recorder," and Percy noted they had "a flute made of reed."^{92a}

They reckoned time by dividing the year into five seasons: the Budding of Corn, the Earing of Corn, the Highest Sun, the Corn-gathering, and the Call of the Goose. They made their greatest annual feast at Corn-gathering, which was apparently not so much an occasion for Thanksgiving, but for boasting that the harvest was over. The Winter season was called *Cobonks*, after the call of the wildgoose, and this was also their means of counting years, implying so many annual returns of that fowl. They named the months by Moons, as the Stag Moon, the Corn Moon, the first and second

Moon of Cohonks, etc.; and they divided the day not by hours, but only into three parts: the Rise, the Power, and the Setting of the Sun.

The Indians apparently had no private property or riches in the modern sense of the word. They held their land in common, and valued skins and



(Ashmolean Museum, Dept. of Antiques)

MANTLE GIVEN BY POWHATAN TO
CAPTAIN CHRISTOPHER NEWPORT IN 1608

furs for their usefulness and beads for ornament. The latter were of several kinds; viz., *peak*, *roanoke*, and *runtees*.⁹³ *Peak* was made of conchshell and was of two colors, dark purple and white, being valued for barter purposes the former at 18d, the latter at 9d per yard. Beverley said the more valuable or purple was called *Wampom peak*, but in this he was mistaken, since the word *wampum* and its variants mean "white" in many of the Algonquian tongues, as we will later note.⁹⁴ *Roanoke* was of less value and was made of cockleshells; *runtees* were large, round, flat tablets, etched with drawings

such as circles, halfmoons, stars, and worn suspended around the neck like a medal. There are many early accounts of the wearing of pearl and copper ornaments by the chiefs and their consorts.⁹⁵

One authority notes that the "Use of *roanoke* as a geographical term seems to have been limited to Virginia."⁹⁶ If this be true, the usage probably arose through the application of the Island's name to this particular kind of bead because it may have been widely used in that locality. Be that as it may, it will certainly be of interest to mention here a remarkable relic of this material which survives from the early seventeenth century, and probably earlier. This is the deerskin mantle purportedly given by Powhatan to Captain Christopher Newport in 1608.⁹⁷ It is now owned and displayed in the Ashmolean Museum (collection of John Tradescant) at Oxford University, and was described in the *Musaeum Tradescantianum* (1656)⁹⁸ as "Pohatan, King of Virginia's habit, all embroidered with shells, or Roanoke." The mantle is made of two deerskins sewn together, with an embroidered design the central figure of which represents a man flanked by two animals (possibly deer), in what may be intended for a suppliant posture. The three figures are surrounded by embroidered circles of beads in the number of thirty-one, although there seem to be traces of others which have disappeared. It is a strange coincidence that this is exactly the number of "kingdoms" or tribes ruled by Powhatan between the fall-line and the ocean, from the Potomac to the James including the south bank of the latter as well as the southern part of the Eastern Shore Peninsula. It might be said that the mantle is symbolic of Powhatan's little "empire," the central figure representing the "emperor" himself, and the surrounding design his domination over man and beast in the territory under his control. Here are the names of these thirty-one components of the empire:

Werowocomoco, the capital	Gloucester
1. § Pamunkey	King William
2. § Mattaponi	King William
3. Uttamussack	King William
4. Kupkipcock	King William
5. Payankatank	Middlesex
6. Opiscopank	Middlesex
7. Nantaughtacund	Essex
8. Kecoughtan	Elizabeth City
9. § Paspahegh	Charles City
10. Weanock	Charles City
11. Chickahominy	Charles City
12. Arrohateck	Henrico
13. § Powhatan	Henrico
14. Kiskiack	York
15. § Youghtanund	Hanover
16. Nandsamund	Nansemond

17.	Warrascoyack	Isle of Wight
18.	Quiyoughcohanock	Surry
19.	§Appamatuck	Chesterfield
20.	Accohanock	Northampton
21.	Accawmack	Northampton
22.	Cuttatawomen	Lancaster
23.	Moraughtawond	Richmond
24.	Tappahanock	Richmond
25.	Pissaseck	King George
26.	Cuttatawomen	Stafford
27.	Patawomeck	Stafford
28.	Tauxenent	Prince William
29.	Onawmanient	Westmoreland
30.	Cekakawwon	Northumberland
31.	Wighcocomoco	Northumberland

A short digression is necessary here for comment on this list. It is based on the tribal capitals shown on Smith's map; the "great chief's council place," being the confederacy capital, is represented by the male figure on the mantle, the others by the thirty-one circles. According to Beverley, Uttamussack was the religious capital where the principal temple and idols were kept.⁹⁹ The six inherited tribes are marked thus (§).¹⁰⁰ The first two, Pamunkey and Mattaponi, have been substituted for Cinquoteck and Menapucunt which show on the Smith map on the neck of land between the Pamunkey and Mattaponi Rivers, where Tindall shows "Pamonke"¹⁰¹ and where there are still the Pamunkey and Mattaponi Indian Reservations. Smith's Menapucunt (town) and Mattapament (river) and Archer's Mattapol all seem to be variants of the same name, of which the usual modern form is Mattaponi. Youghtanund (tribe) replaces Orapax which was apparently the residence of its chief. We cannot explain the occurrence of Cuttatawomen in two different places. We have added Chickahominy, since this is known from other sources to have been an important tribe, but its exact position is not clear. As noted above, Opechancanough, said to be Powhatan's brother although this is doubtful, was its king or chief as well as being ruler of the Pamunkey; it has already been pointed out that his efforts to remove them from Powhatan's influence caused the latter to designate another successor.¹⁰² It has been pointed out elsewhere that the Chickahominy tribe was unique among the Tidewater bands in not being directly under the control of Powhatan,¹⁰³ though apparently not as completely independent as the Chesapeakes. As to the relationship between Powhatan and Opechancanough, Beverley said Smith was wrong in saying they were brothers, as the Indians did not consider them so: "For they say he [Opechancanough] was a Prince of a Foreign Nation, and came a great Way from the South-West: And by their Accounts, we suppose him to have come from the Spanish Indians, somewhere near Mexico, or the mines of St. Barbe."¹⁰⁴ Another source credits

Ralph Hamor with the statement that Powhatan's father also came from a southern tribe driven north by the Spaniards,¹⁰⁵ and still another points out that Powhatan described a distant land called *Anone*, which may have been Mexico, where there were "walled houses," probably meaning European-style dwellings.¹⁰⁶ It has been said that Powhatan regularly sent out spies to bring him word of what was going on in the South and in the West Indies.¹⁰⁷ All of these things certainly point to a connection in that direction, but this a mystery which we have little hope of solving completely.

The Indians of Tidewater Virginia, like their relatives of Delaware, had no letters but resorted to a sort of hieroglyphics to communicate otherwise than by word of mouth. This familiar kind of picture writing was performed on bark or wood, employing figures of animals, fish, birds, and other objects.¹⁰⁸ Beverley's reference to their speech is somewhat obscure and should be quoted in full:

Their Languages differ very much, as antiently in the several parts of Britain; so that Nations as a moderate distance do not understand one another. However, they have a sort of general Language, like what Lahontan calls the Algonkine, which is understood by the Chief Men of many Nations, as Latin is in most parts of Europe, and Lingua Franca quite thro the Levant.

The general Language here us'd, is said to be that of the Occaneches, tho they have been but a small Nation, ever since those parts were known to the English: but in what this Language may differ from that of the Algonkines, I am not able to determine.¹⁰⁹

The Occanechees, as previously noted, were of Siouan rather than Algonquian linguistic stock. Their principal seat was known to the English as Occanechee Island, in the Roanoke River at the present Virginia-North Carolina border, on the southwest trail from the falls of the Appomattox (where Petersburg now is). There they carried on extensive trading operations as middlemen between the English and the Iroquoian peoples to the southwest.¹¹⁰ In fact, as late as 1735, a map shows "Aconeche I." on the Maratock (Roanoke) River, and in 1752 another map shows an Indian town of Aconeechy—probably incorrectly—on the Neuse River; these were, of course, maps of the Carolinas.¹¹¹ The fact that the Occanechees were traders may account for the use of their language as a means of communication between English and Iroquoian, Siouan and Algonquian. However, as Beverley pointed out, it would not have been understood by the common people, but only by the chief men.

Since the beginning of the nineteenth century, and more especially in the last fifty years, much research has been done in the North American Indians languages in general and in the Algonquin linguistic stock in par-

ticular. Owing to very recent advances in the sciences of linguistics, much has been learned of the characteristics of the Algonquian—and other—dialects, whereby they differ so profoundly from our ideas and concepts gained almost entirely from study of the Classical Languages and the Western European Languages; for example, in phonetics, the vague, indistinct, and whispered vowels, the consonants with indeterminate point of articulation; and in syntax, agglutination or the extensive use of prefix, suffix, and infix, the inclusive, exclusive, possessive, locative, and fourth person inflexion, plus many other concepts unknown in our grammatical system.¹¹²

However, since the Algonquian speech has been extinct in this Tidewater coastal plain for well over a century at least, these considerations are purely academic and cannot enter into the present study. We are interested only in the language spoken by the aborigines of Tidewater Virginia at the time when the first explorers and settlers arrived; that is, in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. We are, therefore, dependent upon the early writers for our knowledge of that remote state of the language, and since they had absolutely no concept of the structure of the Indian languages, they are helpful only in the realm of vocabulary, of English equivalents for common words of the local Algonquian dialects. Even in this field the knowledge imparted is highly imperfect, since the first settlers were completely ignorant of the science of phonetics, and used in recording their linguistic observations a very inaccurate phonetic spelling which frequently produces confusing results.¹¹³ Be that as it may, the information to be gleaned from the writings of the early European visitors is of great value in determining the relationship among the aboriginal natives of the various parts of the Atlantic coast.

The best contemporary sources of Indian speech are these: Arthur Barlowe (1584), Ralph Lane (1585-6), Thomas Hariot (1588), John Smith (1612), Gabriel Archer (1608), William Strachey (1616), and Robert Beverley (1705). All these names are familiar to the reader because of their mention elsewhere in these pages.¹¹⁴ We should add another, who is not so well known but almost equally important: I refer to the Rev. Johannes Campanius (1601-1683), chaplain of the Colony of New Sweden, who translated the Lutheran catechism into what he called the "American-Virginian Language" for the purpose of converting the Delaware Indians to Christianity.¹¹⁵ Although, as will appear in the bibliography, this work was not published until 1696 (thirteen years after his death), it was completed by 1656 and was based on labors performed during his stay on the Delaware from 1642 to 1648.¹¹⁶ Campanius was criticized by a recent writer for the use of the term "American-Virginian" to refer to the language of the Delaware area.¹¹⁷ In this he was only following the usage of his day, however; for, as it was pointed out

in the previous chapter, the name Virginia was applied originally to all that part of North America claimed by England, and as grants were made to other colonies throughout the seventeenth century, their names served only to distinguish them as so many parts of Virginia.¹¹⁸

One other source of information on the Indian language—so obvious that it is often overlooked—is to be found in the various editions of Webster's Dictionary. In making use of them it should be borne in mind, however, that Noah Webster was a New Englander, and that the large majority of words listed by him as Indian loan words in English are cited in their Massachusetts, Natick or Narraganset form, which was frequently quite different from the Lenilenapi (Delaware), Powhatan or Renapoak (Old Virginia) forms. The use of the terms Lenilenapi and Renapoak will be explained below.

Most authorities agree that the Indians of the Virginia coastal plain (and this includes what is now North Carolina) belonged to the Eastern Division (Central Sub-type) of the Algonquian family, and were the linguistic relatives of those in what is now Maryland and Delaware, and so on northward to New England.¹¹⁹ It is impossible for us to give an exhaustive study of this question in the limited space at our disposal, but examination of a list of a few words which are similar or cognate in this Atlantic coastal area will clearly demonstrate that this is true. (For purposes of simplicity, footnotes have been eliminated almost entirely in this discussion, but the authorities cited will be easily identifiable in the bibliography)

a. Words common to the Roanoke and Jamestown areas:

weroance (Lane)

. This was the word for "chief" or "military commander," and often interpreted by the early colonists as "king."

wiroans (Hariot)

werowance (Smith, Strachey,

Beverly)

wyroans (Archer)

pagatour (Hariot)

This was the word for "Indian corn," frequently used by Archer in combination with the word for bread, thus: *pegatewk-apyan*, to indicate "bread made from Indian corn." (see below)

pocuttawes (Strachey)

pegatewk (Archer)

b. Words common to the Roanoke and Delaware areas:

renapoak (Lane)

Lane said of Renapoak, "for so they call by that general name all the inhabitants of the whole main [land] of what province so ever."¹²⁰ Campanius gives *rhenus* for "man" and *renappi* for "mankind"; both are clearly of the same stem, and were combined to

crenepo (Lane)

rhenus (Campanius)

renappi (Campanius)

lenilenapi (Collijn, Holmer)

make the proper name Lenilenapi*, which the Indians called themselves, not only in Delaware but also on up to the Hudson River. The connection of *crenepo* is somewhat less certain; it has been heretofore interpreted as "woman" by some authorities,¹²¹ although in the way it is used by Lane it could be intended for "man": he stated that the Indians, fearing an attack by the English, "abandoned their towns along the river, and retired themselves with their *crenepos* and their corn . . .".

c. Words common to the Jamestown, Delaware and New England areas:

<i>wiroanausqua</i> (Strachey)	
<i>aquaeo</i> (Campanius)	
<i>eshqua</i> Mass.	
<i>squâw</i> Narrag.	
<i>ochqueu</i> Del.	}

Cree *iskwë̄n*, Micmac *eskwa*, Fox and Shawnee *ikwawa*, Chippewa *ikuā*, etc.¹²²

<i>apyan</i> (Archer)	
<i>appoans</i> (Strachey)	
<i>oppone, pone</i> (Beverley)	
<i>poon</i> (Campanius)	
<i>poru</i> (Penn)	
<i>pone</i> (Webster)	

<i>tomahawk</i> (Beverley)	
<i>tamahickan</i> (Campanius)	
<i>tomehagen</i> Algon.	
<i>tummahegan</i> Moheg.	
<i>tamoihecan</i> Del.	}

<i>wigwang</i> (Beverley)	
<i>wickomen</i> (Campanius)	
<i>wecouomut</i> Mass. (Webster)	

<i>moccasin</i> (Beverley)	
<i>makisin</i> (Webster)	

give a word for shoe; Webster derived his etymology from Algonquian, but did not specify which dialect.

The word for "woman," *squaw*, has become current in modern English usage; it has been found in the early Virginia writers only in the combined form meaning "woman chief" or "queen." It occurs in practically all the Algonquian dialects which survive today:

This was the word for "bread" (made of Indian corn meal and unsalted) which still survives in the Southern States as "cornpone." The form *poru*, quoted in Campanius from William Penn, is another example of the confusion between *r* and *n*.

This is the word for "hand axe," still current with us today.

This is the word for "dwelling," still current in English as *wigwam*, though actually it is a possessive-locative meaning "in his house or tent." A variant is *wikiup*.

Beverley said this was a shoe made of buckskin, but what of Campanius' "*mackb-hääs*" meaning "bearskin"? Campanius does not

* A word should be said here about the use of the consonant *r* by the early writers instead of *l*. It has been said that *r* does not exist in Algonquian, but this seems to be a rather exaggerated statement; it would be more exact to say that the sound recorded by some as *r* and others as *l* actually represents an intermediate sound between the two. Thus, we have *renapoak*, *rhenus* and *renappi* beside *lenilenape*; thus also the word for "star" is *aranck* in Campanius, but *allanca* in modern Delaware, *alangua* in Peoria, and *alagwa* in Shawnee; and the word for "dog," *arum* in Campanius and *allum* in modern Delaware.¹²² Nor is this confusion of *r* confined to *l*, but it is also sometimes seen as *n* and *t*: e.g., in addition to the words for "star" given above, there are also the Chippewa *anang*, Fox *anagua*, and Natick *anogks*, as well as the Cree *atik*; and beside the words for "dog" above, there are also the Natick *anum* and Cree *atim*. This will explain the early spelling *Orancock* for Onancock in Accomack County,¹²³ and the existence of Tappahannock (town) beside Rappahannock (river) still in use today. The letter *r* is even sometimes confused with a velar consonant (*c, g, k*) as well as the dentals mentioned above: thus *Matoar* beside *Matoaka*,¹²⁴ another name for Pocahontas; and *pagatour* beside *pegatewk* as noted above. This might even explain *crenepo*, with the *c* and *r* occurring side by side.

homony (Beverley)

aubuminea (Webster)

This word is still current in the South in the form *hominy*. Beverley also gives the form *rockahomony*, which he said was finer; we

may wonder whether this may have been what we in the South called "hominy grits" a generation ago, now more generally known as "grits."

squash (Beverley)

asquash, plu. of *asq* (Webster)

While Beverley knew this word and quoted it, he knew also it was not native to Virginia, for he said it was used by the northern

Indians of New York and New England for *macock*, a small variety of pumpkin. According to Webster, the word was applied to any raw, green fruit or vegetable. Beverley gave an alternate, *squantersquash*, which we have never seen elsewhere. Campanius gives for "pumpkin" *schuntach* (pronounce *skuntack*), and adding the common plural suffix, we have *schuntachwats* which could easily be a cognate for Beverley's word.

wampom (Beverley)

wompi Mass. }
wape Del. } (Webster)

It will be recalled that Beverley distinguished between *wampom* peak and *white peak*.¹²⁵ In this he was mistaken and Webster indicated correctly that *wampum* was

derived from words meaning "white," the color of the beads that the term applied to, whereas the purple variety was called *suckanhock*, a word that has not been observed in Virginia sources. This is confirmed by Campanius, who gave the various spellings *wope*, *woope* and *wopäck*, and by some more recent observations: Natick *wompi*, Chippewa *wâbi*, Fox *wapi*, Cheyenne *woxpi*, all of which mean "white." Compare also Campanius' *wäpäk cahaak*, "wild goose," with Pennacook *wobtigua*; this must refer to the snow goose, since the wild goose familiar to us is the Canada or gray goose. And may there not be a connection between Campanius' *cahaak* and Beverley's *cohonk*, already mentioned?

Finally we shall mention two terms which seem to be common to much of the Atlantic coast, though used most frequently in combined forms. They are the words for "land" and "river." The word for "land," still current in Cree *aski* and Fox *acki*,¹²² is pointed out by one authority as appearing in combination as the suffix *-ack* or *-ock*, to which I shall also add *-ask*. The variants on this theme are legion, and we can certainly recognize it in Roanoke, Hatorask, Dasamonquepeuc, Pasquenoke, Weapemeoc, Chawanook, Mangoack, Renapoak, Chesapeake, Warrascoyack, Weyanoke; and probably in Chincoteague, Assateague, Patchogue, and Montauk; these are just a few of the proper names containing the term. It should be mentioned also that Campanius gives *hacking*, really a locative, "on earth," in his translation of the Lord's Prayer.

As for the word for "river," its occurrence is not quite so frequent but just as prominent. Barlowe called the Currituck Sound *Cipo*, which he said was a "great river" emptying into the Occam River (Roanoke River plus Albemarle Sound).¹²⁶ Campanius gave *sippussing* for "stream," probably a locative. Chesapeake has been etymologized *K'che* "chief," *sepi* "river," *ack*,

"land," i. e., "land on a chief or principal river."¹²⁷ It may be purely coincidental, but it will be recalled that the Rivero map of 1529 showed *Rio del Principe* (Prince's River) in this locality,¹²⁸ so Chesapeake could mean "land on the Prince's River;" however, it is extremely difficult to pin-point the exact location of some of these old names. It should be pointed out that "river" is used in a very broad sense and not with our present meaning of a "running stream" or current. Incidentally, it is to be noted in passing that *Mississippi* contains the same root and is said to mean "big water or river."¹²⁹

Though it was stated previously that Indian etymologies are doubtful at best, we cannot resist offering two of our own. It has been said that what the Indians called the Occam River included Roanoke River, Albemarle Sound, and turned south on both sides of Roanoke Island emptying into Pamlico Sound;¹³⁰ so that *Roanoac* (as the 1585 map has it) was really the land or island at the Occam River's mouth. Campanius gives *toan* (phonetic) for "mouth" (cf. note on occasional confusion of *r* and *t*, p.), and we have already discussed the suffix for "land." It must be admitted that it is not known that the Indians used our figurative concept of "mouth" for the lower terminus of a river. Our other etymology is for Hatorask, on the 1585 map the inlet opposite the south end of Roanoke Island (the name surviving, of course, in Cape Hatteras in a different location). Campanius gave *hättog* for "tree," which may also be detected in modern Delaware *mehituck* and Natick *mehtug*. (Cf. note on occasional confusion of *r* and *g*, p.) If we look at the 1585 map, we can see that this was really a "land of trees." But so also were Weapemeoc, Secotan, and Roanoke!

Incidentally, mention was made of Tanxpowhatan (also known as Parahunt), son of the great chief, and it has been stated by many sources that his name meant "Little Powhatan."¹³¹ This is supported by Campanius' word for "little," *tanketitt* (the suffix being diminutive). It should be noted that *tanx-* was frequently written incorrectly *tauk-* or *taux-* by the early writers.

Also incidentally, let us mention Skicoak, the important Indian settlement on the approximate site of Norfolk, here before 1584. The Chawanook chief, Menatonon, had a son named Skyco, according to Lane,¹³² so Skicoak could mean "land owned or ruled by Skyco." We know that Skyco was a mere youth in 1586, and that Skicoak had been there many years then. May it not derive its name from an older former chieftain, whose namesake Skyco was also?

It would be a fascinating pastime to continue these linguistic speculations, and we could mention many more examples of affinity between the Tidewater Indians and their Atlantic coastal neighbors to the north. However, it is believed that we have sufficiently demonstrated the linguistic kinship of the aborigines of Old and New Virginia with those to the north of them. So we

shall regretfully leave these considerations and pass on to more pertinent matters.

Not only were there linguistic similarities between the Tidewater Algonquians and those of the Atlantic coast north of Virginia, but also their primary cultural affiliation lay in that direction, howbeit with some small south-eastern influence.¹³³ An unbroken chain of Algonquian tribes linked the Virginia Indians northerly to the mouth of the Saint Lawrence and thence westerly to the vast territory adjacent to the Great Lakes, occupied by tribes of this stock in the early seventeenth century. This fact, together with the absence of Algonquian tribes to the west and south of the Old and New Virginia area, certainly bears out the theory that the Virginia Algonquians came from the north in a later phase of the migration of the tribes of Algonquian stock from their primitive home between the Great Lakes and Hudson Bay toward the west, east and south.¹³⁴ Just when they arrived in the Virginia coastal plain is a question which must be answered by the archaeologists, and the present state of archaeological research makes it impossible even to guess at a time; probability does not point to a period far removed from the arrival of Columbus,¹³⁵ say in the early days of the fifteenth century.

And speaking of archaeology, such activity in the Tidewater section has been (with very few exceptions) left in the hands of amateurs or, at best, semi-professionals, and has been limited almost entirely to the finding (frequently accidental) of Indian artifacts and burial sites. For example various kinds of stone weapon heads (axe, spear and arrow) and pottery have been found on the site of Kecoughtan (Hampton), in Southampton County, and in Princess Anne (Cape Henry and Lake Joyce).¹³⁶ The Lake Joyce site, excavated by Mr. Floyd Painter under the sponsorship of the Norfolk Museum, is of special interest, since it is almost precisely on the site of the Chesapeake Indian village of Apasus, shown on the Lane map of 1585. The Kecoughtan site also is important, as it indicates the possible location of this ancient settlement, probably the oldest continuously occupied spot in British America today.¹³⁷ Mr. Painter has also unearthed an Indian burial site in the Old Virginia area, which has been tentatively identified with the village of Waratan (shown on the 1585 map), in what is now North Carolina some distance north of Edenton on the Chowan River. An exhibit reconstructed from this find is on display in the Norfolk Museum.¹³⁸ Another interesting find, also made by Mr. Painter, is a large cooking pot reconstructed from fragments found in Warwick. This utensil has been assigned to the so-called Late Woodland Culture period (1200-1700), and the site is said to have been only a temporary stopping place for hunting parties;¹³⁹ as a matter of fact, no Indian village was shown in the Warwick neighborhood on the Smith map of 1612.

During the Jamestown Exposition (1907), one of the interesting sights

was the "Powhatan Oak," traditionally transplanted from near Jamestown.¹⁴⁰ This tradition was apparently wishful thinking by some promotional expert, for, when the tree became diseased and had to be removed in 1923, the skeletal remains of five adult humans were found beneath its roots. These bones were identified by Navy medical officers, I know not with what degree of certainty, as American Indian and probably early seventeenth century. The late Admiral Hugh Rodman, then Commandant Fifth Naval District, had them reinterred on the same spot in a common coffin bearing an appropriate identifying plate, and there they remain to this day as far as I know.¹⁴¹

A fair number of descendants or representatives of tribes of the Powhatan confederacy still live in Virginia today, although there has naturally been considerable intermingling with other races and many years have passed since they lost their Algonquian speech. The State maintains two reservations, both located in King William County, for the Pamunkey and Mattaponi Indians and situated on the two rivers so named. There is a strong probability that the latter is a branch of the former, rather than the descendant of the Mattapoll (Mattapament) tribe mentioned by the early writers. These two tribes are each governed by an elected chief and council. The Pamunkey Reservation is the larger of the two, containing some three hundred acres of arable land (with a greater area in swamp), and inhabited by about one hundred and fifty people. The Mattaponi has eighty acres and about seventy-five people.¹⁴² Of the non-reservation Indians, the largest group is the Chickahominy tribe chiefly in Charles City County, which formed a tribal organization in 1908, and in 1923 had 264 members out of a possible five hundred. There are also the Rappahannock tribe organized in 1921 with 376 members, a group of 150 Potomacs, and several small isolated groups in York and Gloucester Counties and on the Eastern Shore (Northampton and Accomack Counties). In the Lower Tidewater area there is only one such group known to exist, and it is composed of descendants of the Nandsamund tribe, living in the Dismal Swamp area of Nansemond County; here a tribal organization was formed in 1923, with only fifty-eight out of a possible 200 individuals participating.¹⁴³

Recently a series of articles was published in a local newspaper on the Pamunkey and Mattaponi Reservation Indians, chiefly dealing with their social problems arising from matters of racial discrimination. It is indeed a paradoxical situation, as the author of these articles points out, that some Virginians of exalted social standing set much store by their descent from Mistress John Rolfe (née Pocahontas), while other descendants of her father's subjects lead a life which is both socially and educationally segregated.¹⁴⁴

I can think of no more appropriate way to end these considerations concerning the aborigines of Tidewater Virginia than by quoting a part of the last paragraph of Book III of Beverley's *History*:

Thus I have given a succinct account of the Indians; happy, I think, in their simple State of Nature, and in their enjoyment of Plenty, without the Curse of Labour. They have on several accounts reason to lament the arrival of the Europeans, by whose means they seem to have lost their Felicity, as well as their Innocence. The English have taken away a great part of their Country, and consequently made everything less plenty amongst them. They have introduc'd Drunkenness and Luxury amongst them, which have multiplied their Wants, and put them upon desiring a thousand things, they have never dreamt of before . . . I shall in the next place proceed to treat of Virginia, as it is now improv'd (I should rather say alter'd) by the English . .¹⁴⁵

NOTES ON CHAPTER II

N.B. See remark at beginning of Chapter I.

1. Swain, "The Chesapeake Bay," in Clark, *Eastern Shore*, I, 5; Lefler, *North Carolina*, I, .
2. See note 7, Chapter I.
3. Quoted in Sams, *The First Attempt*, pp. 59-80.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 74-77.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 65.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 65, 71.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 74.
8. See note 18, below.
9. Sams, *op. cit.*, p. 75.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 77-78.
11. See note 126, below.
12. Sams, *op. cit.*, pp. 75-76.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 76.
14. *Ibid.*, pp. 161-211, here quoted in its entirety.
15. Hariot, *A briefe and true report*.
16. Sams, *op. cit.*, p. 172.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 163.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 167.
19. Beverley, *History of Virginia*, p. 19.
20. See note 112, below.
21. Mook, "Anthropological," p. 37, and footnotes; DeBry took many liberties in reproducing White's drawings and maps, and the originals should always be consulted. Mook tells where they are available.
- 21a. Sams, *op. cit.*, p. 165.
22. *Ibid.*, pp. 120-121.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 172.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 173.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 172.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 197; see also note 64, below.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 186.
28. See note 120, below.
29. Quoted in Sams, *The First Attempt*, pp. 242-268.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 259.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 81.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 508.
33. *Ibid.*, pp. 229-230.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 122.
35. Mook, "Virginia Ethnology."
36. Mook, "Tindall's Map."

37. Mook, "Virginia Ethnology," p. 103 and footnote.
38. Mook, "Tindall's Map," *passim*.
39. Mook, "Virginia Ethnology," pp. 125-126.
40. Swain, *op. cit.*, p. 3; a later version of the 1612 map.
41. Mook, "Tindall's Map," p. 377.
42. See note 141, below.
43. Mook, "Tindall's Map," pp. 379, 403-405.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 390.
45. Mook, "Virginia Ethnology," p. 116.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 126.
47. *loc. cit.*
48. See notes 53 and 54, below.
49. Mook, "Tindall's Map," p. 407.
50. Beverley, *op. cit.*, p. 45.
51. Sams, *The Second Attempt*, *passim* (see index).
52. Mook, "Tindall's Map," p. 406 and footnote.
53. *Ibid.*, p. 379; see also Sams, *op. cit.*, p. 404a (map).
54. The identification of this site by Mook and Sams has been questioned by at least one other source: see Bagby, "Werowocomico" [sic].
55. Mook, "Tindall's Map," p. 406 and footnote.
56. See Chapter XXXI.
57. Sams, *op. cit.*, p. 590.
58. DNB, XVII, 158; the legend on the original de Passe engraving showed that the lady was wife of "Mr. Joh: Rolff," this being the usual abbreviation for "Johannes" or John. Later reproductions, on account of the similarity of J and T, mistakenly showed "Tho:" for "Joh:" and this is the origin of the statement that Pocahontas was wife of Thomas Rolf; even the record of her death at Gravesend in the vestry book of St. George's (St. Thomas) Church has apparently so misinterpreted, though I have never seen the original or a photostat of it. Actually, Thomas Rolf was her son. See also Sams, *The Third Attempt*, pp. 199-200, and *Pageant of America*, I, 186.
59. Beverley, *op. cit.*, p. 45.
60. Sams, *The Second Attempt*, pp. 133-134.
61. *Ibid.*, pp. 326-327.
62. *Ibid.*, pp. 427, 487.
63. Mook, "Tindall's Map," p. 384; Mook, "Virginia Ethnology," p. 116.
64. Sams, *The First Attempt*, pp. 195, 197 and footnote.
65. Sams, *The Second Attempt*, pp. 120-121.
66. See note 62, above.
67. Mook, "Anthropological," p. 28.
68. See note 16, above.
69. Mook, "Tindall's Map," p. 383.
70. Hugh Jones, *Virginia*, p. 147 (editor's note).
71. Wertenbaker, *Torchbearer*, pp. 93-94.
72. Mook, "Virginia Ethnology," p. 114.
73. HAI (BAE, B30, 1907), I, 38, article on Algonquian.
74. See note 10, above.
75. Enc. Brit., I, 811.
76. *Ibid.*, XIV, 454.
77. See note 73, above.
78. Beverley, *op. cit.*, p. 191
79. See note 73, above.
80. *Loc. cit.*
81. Michelson, "Classification," p. 225.
82. HAI (BAE, B30, 1907), I, 39.
83. Beverley, *op. cit.*, Introduction, pp. xiv-xv.
84. *Ibid.*, p. xvi.
85. *Ibid.*, pp. 159-233, *passim*; verbatim quotations in this section are also referenced.
86. *Ibid.*, p. 166.
87. *Ibid.*, p. 178.
88. *Ibid.*, p. 182.
89. Sams, *The Second Attempt*, pp. 128-129

90. Beverley, *op. cit.*, p. 171.
91. Hugh Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 59.
92. Beverley, *op. cit.*, p. 221.
- 92a. McCrary, Indians, p. 46.
93. *Ibid.*, pp. 227-228.
94. See note 125, below.
95. Sams, *The First Attempt*, pp. 68, 70, 75, 167-168, 176-178; Sams, *The Second Attempt*, pp. 199, 216, 488, 557; Mook, "Virginia Ethnology," p. 112.
96. Hugh Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 164 (editor's note).
97. Mook, *op. cit.*, pp. 112-123 and footnote; Sams, *op. cit.*, p. 514.
98. DNB, XIX, 1072-1074.
99. Beverley, *op. cit.*, p. 126.
100. See note 49, above.
101. Mook, "Tindall's Map," p. 389.
102. Beverley, *op. cit.*, p. 45.
103. Mook, *op. cit.*, p. 394.
104. Beverley, *op. cit.*, p. 61.
105. Hugh Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 163 (editor's note).
106. Sams, *The Second Attempt*, p. 352.
107. *Ibid.*, p. 192.
108. Beverley, *op. cit.*, p. 190.
109. Beverley, *op. cit.*, p. 191; the reference to Lahontan has been identified as Louis A. de LaHontan, writer of *New Voyages to North-America* (London, 1703); Beverley, *op. cit.*, p. 354.
110. Wertenbaker, *op. cit.*, pp. 93-94.
111. Herman Moll, "Carolina," (1735); Emanuel Bowen, "A New and Accurate Map of the Provinces of North and South Carolina . . ." (1752). These two maps are described, and the first reproduced, in an article by Paul A. Rockwell, "The Romance of Cartography," *Asheville Citizen-Times*, 8 March 1953; see also King, *Pitt County*, p. 18.
112. Michelson, *op. cit.*, *passim*; Holmer, *Campanius*, *passim*.
113. Michelson, *op. cit.*, p. 290; Mook, "Virginia Ethnology," p. 129; Mook, "Anthropological," p. 36.
114. See Bibliography; for Barlowe and Lane, see also notes 3 and 14, above.
115. Campanius, *Luther's Catechism*.
116. Collijn, *Notes on Campanius*, p. 4.
117. Holmer, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-10.
118. See note 17, Chapter I.
119. Michelson, *op. cit.*, p. 290; Mook, "Anthropological," p. 40.
120. See note 27, above.
121. Sams, *The First Attempt*, p. 174 and footnote.
122. In this section on language, all modern Algonquian words are from Michelson, *op. cit.*, *passim*, unless otherwise indicated.
123. Hening, *Statutes*, III, 415-417.
124. Sams, *The Second Attempt*, p. 167.
125. Beverley, *op. cit.*, pp. 227-228; see also notes 93 and 94, above.
126. Sams, *The First Attempt*, p. 75.
127. Swain, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-4, quotes Dr. William Wallace Tooker.
128. See note 7, Chapter I.
129. Gleason, *Linguistics*, p. 367.
130. Sams, *op. cit.*, pp. 84-85.
131. Sams, *The Second Attempt*, pp. 181, 665.
132. See note 22, above.
133. Mook, "Anthropological," p. 40.
134. *Enc. Brit.*, XIV, 453.
135. Monk, *op. cit.*, p. 39.
136. Brittingham, *Kicotan; Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*, 1 Jan, 12 Feb, 13 Mar, 20 May, 24 Aug, 26 Aug 1956.
137. Brittingham, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-11.
138. *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*, 20 Aug 1956.
139. *Ibid.*, 22 Oct 1956.
140. *Ibid.*, 1 Nov 1936.

141. As will appear in Chapter XXXII, the Exposition Grounds became the U. S. Naval Base, Norfolk, in 1917; the information on the exhumation and reburial of these remains was furnished by Mr. J. C. Pugh of the Fifth Naval District Public Works Office, who recently retired after 38 years of service in that activity.
142. Hugh Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 172 (editor's note); see also Opel, note 144, below.
143. Hugh Jones, *loc. cit.*
144. John Opel, "The First Virginians," *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*, 24-28 Sept 1956.
145. Beverley, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

Chapter III

Historical

THE ATLANTIC COASTAL area of the North American continent, of which the Virginia coastal plain is a part, first appeared on the scene of recorded history nine hundred and fifty-seven years ago. In order clearly to fix the chronological perspective, let it be noted that that was sixty-six years before the Norman conquest of England, and nearly five hundred years before Christopher Columbus landed on a minute island in the West Indies.

The Norsemen or Vikings had become very active in raiding the coastal areas of Western Europe as early as the ninth century, and finally managed to secure, early in the tenth century, a foothold which was to become the duchy of Normandy—to which, incidentally, their name soon was attached. Next they turned their attention farther westward and colonized first Iceland, then Greenland, finally arriving on the mainland of North America in A.D. 1000.

The leader of this latter expedition was Leif Ericsson, and the details of his voyage are related in the early Norse sagas, which—it must be remembered—were as much literary invention as they were attempts to record historical facts. The land which Leif found he called Vinland because of the quantities of grapes which were growing there. The geographical description in the early narratives is not identifiable with any known coast, though it has been said with some probability that it may have applied to the area between the Saint Lawrence and Hudson Rivers. Archaeologists have thought to recognize as Viking also the ruins on the coast of Labrador at fifty-six degrees of north latitude, but the stories of Viking penetration to the Great Lakes region are looked upon with a certain amount of skepticism. One thing can be said with a fair amount of certainty: they did not visit the middle Atlantic coast.¹

After the Norsemen, there were apparently no recorded attempts to reach North America until John Cabot arrived on the scene. Cabot first arrived in London in 1484, full of ideas for discovering a short route to Asia by way of the Western Ocean. He was able to win the support of a group of

Bristol merchants, and several unsuccessful expeditions were actually sent out before news was received in 1493 of the feat of Columbus the previous year. Another four years were to go by before Cabot sailed from Bristol on the voyage which reached land in the Western Hemisphere, probably Newfoundland or Cape Breton Island, on Saint John the Baptist Day, 24 June 1497. In May of 1498 he set out on what was to be his last voyage. At this time, he touched at Greenland, Baffin Land, Newfoundland, and coasted from the present Nova Scotia and New England in a southerly direction. Authorities do not agree as to how far south Cabot followed the Atlantic coast. One source states that he sailed no further than the thirty-eighth parallel (the present coastal boundary between Virginia and Maryland) before turning back; another has him continuing down to the Florida coast. It is not likely, as has been claimed, that he crossed paths with Amerigo Vespucci or that he entered Chesapeake Bay, but if it is true that he reached the coast of the land later named for the "Pascua Florida," then Cabot was the first white man to view the shores of Tidewater Virginia—and this in 1498, nearly four hundred and sixty years ago.²

The oldest post-Columbian map of the Atlantic coast is that attributed to Juan de la Cosa and dated in 1500. While the places it shows on the coast are not recognizable, we find at that time, just two years after Cabot's voyage, the confirmation of some previous assumptions. On this map, the ocean from Nova Scotia southward was labeled "Mar descubierta por Yngleses" (sea explored by the English), showing that even the Spaniards conceded its discovery to Cabot. Likewise there were place-names farther north—not precisely identifiable as to location—which suggest an English connection; for example, "Cabo de Ynglaterra" and "Cabo de San Jorge."³

Giovanni da Verrazzano, a Florentine mariner in the service of the French king, Francis I, is credited with being the first European really to explore and describe our Middle Atlantic Coast, where his predecessors had merely sailed past. Sailing in his ship the *Dauphin* from Madeira in January of 1524, Verrazzano arrived two months later on this coast in thirty-four degrees of north latitude, followed the coast to Newfoundland, and returned to France in July. During his voyage he stopped on several occasions to send exploring parties ashore to bring back information on the land and its inhabitants. Such landings occurred in the region north of Cape Fear in present North Carolina and near the Island of Chincoteague at the present Virginia-Maryland coastal boundary, so Verrazzano sailed past our shores without entering Chesapeake Bay. He was so close, however, that parts of his description of the land he saw may well apply to Lower Tidewater, as was noted in the previous chapter.⁴

One of the most important figures in the early history of our coast was Lucas Vásquez de Ayllón, who came by appointment as a Judge of the

Audiencia of Santo Domingo in 1502. He was interested in making a settlement on the North American mainland, and in 1523 obtained a charter to that end from the Spanish king, Charles I (better known as Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor). After one or more preliminary reconnoitering expeditions, Ayllón set out from Hispaniola in July of 1526 at the head of a company of 500 prospective colonists, some negro slaves and some horses. They entered a river which they called "Río Jordán," which some authorities have identified as the present Cape Fear River, both from its description and from the fact that recorded its latitude as $33\frac{3}{4}^{\circ}$, not always an accurate criterion at that date. In any case, many deaths from starvation and disease soon caused removal of the colony to a place which was christened San Miguel de Guadalpe. However, starvation and disease continued to take their toll, Ayllón himself died in October of 1526, and the colony was abandoned two months later, less than one third of the original number surviving to regain Hispaniola.⁵

Even though it is probable that neither the preliminary reconnoitering expedition of 1521 nor Ayllón himself entered the Chesapeake, his colony had a profound influence on map-makers of subsequent years. The first evidence of this is the so-called "Padrón General," the official Spanish colonial map of 1527, which has only one principal legend between Florida and present Cape May, and that is "tierra del licenciado ayllon" (Judge Ayllón's Land). On the Diego de Rivero map of 1529, mentioned in previous chapters, the legend is much fuller though the coastal outline as drawn here still shows very imperfect knowledge. A small section of this early map would be sufficient to show the Middle Atlantic coast in relation to other known localities. One of the first things the early mariners learned about practical navigation was how to determine north latitude by observation of Polaris, and this they did with a small margin of error (sometimes as much as 2°). Knowing the latitude of Bermuda and the Tropic of Cancer (respectively $32^{\circ}20'$ and $23^{\circ}28'$), we constructed a scale with which to measure the latitude of the other localities shown on the coast. Here are the names shown on the Atlantic coast of this map (Florida excepted) from north to south with the latitudes of those significant to our story:

C de arenas	39 $\frac{1}{2}$
R de stiago [Santiago]	
C de s Juan	
playa	
b de S ma [Bahía de Santa María]	35 $\frac{1}{4}$
R dl espu stō [Río del Espíritu Santo]	35
C traffalgar	34
R del pcipe [Río del Príncipe]	33 $\frac{1}{2}$
C de S romā [San Román]	32 $\frac{1}{2}$
R jordan	31 $\frac{3}{4}$

S elena	31½
C de S elena	30¼
C grueso	
mar baxa	

It must be pointed out that the deciphering of these names has been greatly facilitated by another clearer version of the map. Most of the features shown here (capes, rivers, bays) are obvious, but some of the abbreviations have been written out. The *Cabo de Arenas* corresponds very closely with Gómara's 39° in 1552. The *Bahía de Santa María*, which has been with certainty identified with the Chesapeake (see below), is nearly 2° away from its real latitude. The *Cabo de San Román*, certainly the present Cape Romain in South Carolina, is only ½° off, while the two indications of *Santa Elena*, a name surviving in Saint Helena Sound and Island at about 32°30', are nearly 2° short. It is to be noted also that *Río Jordán* here is 2° below where Ayllón's pilot recorded it, and being between *San Román* and *Santa Elena*, would place Ayllón's first location right at Charleston. Of especial, if passing, interest on this map is Cape Trafalgar, named after a Spanish headland which was to become famous many years later; this label was placed on what we now call Cape Lookout (in North Carolina) on a Dutch map of 1655, to be mentioned below. Mention was made above and in Chapter I of Francisco López de Gómara and his description of the coast in 1552. He gave latitudes of some of the places he mentioned, for instance *Cabo de Santa Elena* at 32° much closer to its correct location, *Río Jordán* immediately next on the north, and *Cabo de Arenas* at 39°, closely corresponding with Rivero. Some have identified the latter with one of the Delaware capes (May or Henlopen) because of the latitude, but its name rather suggests Sandy Hook (*arenas* meaning "sands"); likewise, when the possible discrepancy in latitude, mentioned above, is considered, this cape might be Sandy Hook, Montauk Point or even Cape Cod—but this is for us purely academic. The accuracy of Gómara's latitudes is shown by his mention of two localities not given by Rivero: *Punta de la Florida* at 25°, very close to the actual latitude (25°15') of the southern tip of Florida; and *Punta de Cañaveral* at 28°, only slightly less than the real latitude (28°30') of Cape Canaveral.⁶

As was pointed out above, the maps of 1527 and 1529 greatly influenced later ones. For example, let us mention three French maps: one of 1542 showing "B. de Se. Marie" (St. Mary's Bay) at 36½°, flanked by "R. de Sal" and "R. de S. Esprit"; one of 1546 showing "B. de St. Marie" at 35°; and one of 1547 showing "B. Ste. Marie" at 37° with "Río Salado" to its north. This Bay of Saint Mary, shown imperfectly by Rivero, was evidently intended for a sort of gulf into which flowed two large streams, one from the north and the other from the west; the first, called "Río Salado" (salty river) was the upper Chesapeake Bay, and the other, "Río del Espíritu Santo" (River

of the Holy Ghost) was the James. It is of added interest that William Strachey of Jamestown knew as late as 1616 that the Spaniards called Chesapeake Bay "Sante María" [sic].⁷

An Englishman in the service of the Spaniards much later (1559) testified before the Viceroy that he had been on this coast in 1546. He is identified simply as John of Bristol and stated that, being then ten years of age and a cabin boy, he was on a ship which by stormy weather was forced aland on the coast of Florida in 37° north latitude. There they found a good bay and anchorage, where the ship remained two days trading with the natives. It then proceeded down the coast to 33° which he believed was the *Punta de Santa Elena*. It has not been possible to identify this ship, nor can we say what was the party that was shipwrecked at present Ocracoke in 1558, according to what the Indians told Barlowe twenty-six years later.⁸

This brings us to the intriguing story of the Spanish attempts to colonize and Christianize the Chesapeake Bay area. They had been for some time advancing northward from the Florida peninsula, and had established *presidios* and missions at Santa Elena (Saint Helena Island, South Carolina), at Santa Catalina de Guale (Saint Catherine's Island, Georgia) and at San José de Zapalá (Sapelo Island, Georgia). Until a few years ago, writers on the subject of the mission to the Chesapeake tried with inconclusive results to localize it somewhere in the upper Bay. However, recent research by Lewis and Loomie (see notes and bibliography) presents very convincing arguments centering the action in the Lower Tidewater area. Here is a brief account of the events leading up to the Spanish attempts to settle the Chesapeake:

As early as 1558, Philip II of Spain, fearing French and English threats to the territory north of the Spanish-held portion of Florida, was determined to secure the Atlantic coast from "foreign" inroads. The Viceroy in Mexico, Don Luis de Velasco, was charged with this responsibility, and after an unsuccessful expedition failed to get farther than the west coast of Florida in 1559, another party was able to explore the Atlantic coast and reached the Chesapeake area in the summer of 1561. It is a question of debate whether this group actually entered the Bay, but in any case they picked up the son or brother (he could have been either) of a local chief and carried him back to Mexico. This Indian was converted, christened Don Luis de Velasco in honor of the Viceroy his godfather, and educated in order to assist in the conversion of his people. His native name has not been recorded and he is known to history only as Don Luis; he it was who apparently supplied the Spanish name for this northernmost Spanish province of Axacán, which was "a large province in Florida, 37° north of the equator and 170 leagues north of Santa Elena," according to a later account. In 1564 Pedro Menéndez de Avilés was made successor to Ayllón's proprietorship, and after destroying the French settlement at Port Royal and founding Fort San Agustín (St.

Augustine) in 1565, he turned his attention farther north. In 1566 a company of soldiers, accompanied by two Dominican friars, was sent to the Bay of Santa María to establish a mission; the Indian Don Luis was their guide, but they were prevented from accomplishing their purpose by very stormy weather.

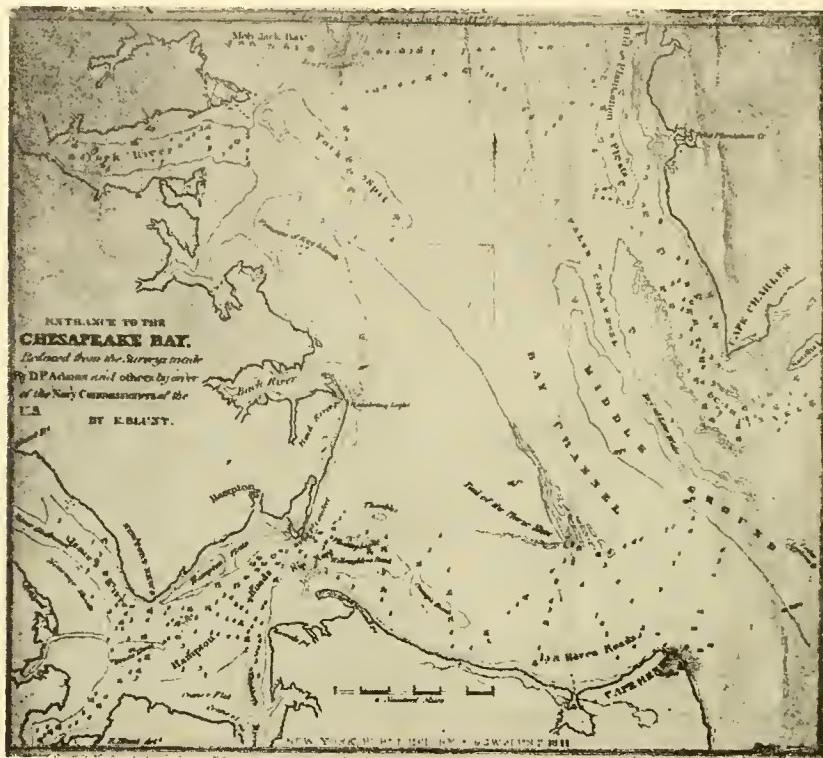
A little later the Jesuits became interested in this project, and Father Juan Bautista Segura, vice-provincial of the Society, with some other priests and novices came to Florida. On 5 August 1570, Segura and four other priests and as many novices set sail from Santa Elena—Don Luis was again the guide. The pilot had to feel his way slowly up the unfamiliar coast and on 10 September, over a month later, they arrived at Don Luis's homeland, which they now called the *Bahía de Madre de Dios de Axacán*. They entered the bay, followed its south shore a distance of three leagues, and then crossed over to a point two leagues in a northwesterly direction. Here they went ashore and said mass, probably the first Christian rite performed on these shores. They then proceeded up a wide river about twelve leagues, ascended a narrow creek for three leagues, went two leagues overland to another river on which they stopped and built a crude shelter for their mission chapel. The authors whose account we are following have presented convincing arguments to show that the first mass was said on Newport News Point, and that the company went from there up the James, up College Creek, across the site of Williamsburg to the York, and built the chapel at the mouth of King's Creek, a few miles above Yorktown; they admit, however, that the discovery of fresh documentary evidence might well cause a revision of this theory. In any case, the mission did not long survive. The savage Don Luis soon deserted the Jesuits; he returned after five months with others of his kind and, between 4 and 9 February 1571, murdered all the company but one novice who escaped to tell the story. The Indians buried the murdered Jesuits in the chapel and burned it. The following spring an expedition intended for the supply and relief of the mission failed to find Don Luis, but did capture two Indians from whom it was learned that the priests and novices had been killed, with the exception of the novice Alonso who was strangely enough being harbored by some Indians. In August 1572, a punitive expedition was sent against the savages headed by the *adelantado* himself, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés. At this time Alonso was liberated, Don Luis disappeared, and eight Indians were taken as hostages. The latter were given religious instruction and were reportedly converted; they were then tried for complicity on the murder of the Jesuits, and three or four of them were executed by hanging. It is notable that Menéndez held this trial as a magistrate acting in his own territory, showing that the Spaniards considered Axacán a part of Florida.⁹

Some interesting theories have been advanced as to the identity of Don

Luis and as to possible equivalents of *Axacán* in the Bay area in later years. As to the former, Hamor wrote in 1615 that Powhatan's father was driven from the West Indies (which to him included Mexico) to Virginia, and it will be recalled that Beverley did not believe that Opechancanough was Powhatan's brother, as Smith said, but came from the southwest or Mexico. The Spanish accounts do not agree as to Don Luis's age, but the most plausible place him as born reasonably near the same time as Powhatan and Opechancanough, between 1535 and 1545, in which case he could be their brother, whereas another less likely estimate gives him over fifty years in 1570, which would be about right for a father or uncle; all these relationships are mentioned in the narratives. In all these theories it is noted that Powhatan was too naïve to be Don Luis, and that Opechancanough is the more logical candidate. Another possibility suggests itself: Don Luis is said to have brought back an Indian servant from Mexico. Such a servant may well have become a foster-brother, which could have been the relationship between Powhatan and Opechancanough. One authority thinks the foundation of the Powhatan confederacy was laid as early as 1570, and speculates on the part Don Luis may have had in it. As to the identity of *Axacán* or *Xacán* (*Ajacán* or *Jacán*), we shall mention only one startling possibility. A map of 1672 shows "Shikcham" for "Chickahominy" in territory known to have been occupied by or adjacent to that tribe. It is pointed out that the letter *j* of modern Spanish orthography was in the sixteenth century written usually *x*, and was pronounced not as it now is but as *sh*, as witness the English *sherry* (for *Xérez*, mod. *Jérez*) and the French *Don Quichotte* (for *Don Quixote*, mod. *Quijote*). With this equivalent in mind, and remembering the frequent dropping and adding of prefix and suffix by the Indians, it is not beyond the realm of possibility that *Axacán* and *Chickahominy* may be identical.¹⁰

In 1573 the Spaniards made another voyage to the *Bahía de Santa María*, this time headed by Pedro Menéndez Marqués, nephew of the *adelantado*, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés. His description tells of an entrance three leagues across, with a channel following a north northwesterly course, with an average depth on the south side of nine to thirteen fathoms and on the north side of five to seven fathoms. He said there were many rivers and harbors within the bay, and following the south channel he found up to sixteen fathoms depth, and in some places the lead came not to rest. This is a fairly accurate description of the entrance to Chesapeake Bay, which is actually about ten miles wide and follows more of a northwesterly to westerly course. A pilot chart of 1841 (chosen because it antedates any extensive dredging operations) showed nine to twelve fathoms off Cape Henry, four to six fathoms off Cape Charles, and up to sixteen fathoms in Hampton Roads between Rip Raps and Hampton Flats, a depth still to be found in that locality; the places with no recorded depth were evidently the result of exaggeration.¹¹

Eleven years went by before the first of the expeditions undertaken under Raleigh's direction and at his expense. In telling of these voyages, it is intended here to relate only those details and circumstances directly connected with the Chesapeake Bay area, reserving a more complete narrative for another place. The patent which Queen Elizabeth granted to Raleigh on 25 March



CHESAPEAKE BAY AND HAMPTON ROADS (1841)

1584 (New Year's Day, incidentally, by the Old Style Calendar) was in effect a renewal in his name of the similar one issued to his half-brother (Sir Humphrey Gilbert) six years earlier. Under its provisions two ships (whose names unfortunately we do not know) were fitted out and captained by Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlowe. Raleigh was joined in the financial support of this expedition by his cousin, Sir Richard Grenville, and others. The ships set sail from the west of England, probably Bideford in Devonshire, on 27 April 1584, and details of the voyage were set down in a report to Raleigh written by Barlowe, one of the captains, as has been previously noted. Following the then customary route by way of the Canary Islands and the West Indies—to take advantage of the trade winds—they made landfall on the fourth of July on the coast a little way north of Cape Fear, and con-

tinued northward to an inlet which they entered, and which is identified with the present Ocracoke Inlet. Here they gave thanks for their safe arrival, and going ashore took possession of the land in the name of Queen Elizabeth. This act, we are told, was performed "according to the ceremonies used in such enterprises," so it is probable that a cross was set up at the place where they first landed—as was later done in 1607 at Cape Henry—to signify possession having been taken in the name of a Christian ruler.

It was probably late July before they reached Roanoke Island, and we have detailed in the previous chapters the knowledge they gained concerning the natural resources, the natives and their provinces and rulers, particularly of the chief of the area, Wingina, and of his brother Granganimeo, sub-chief of Roanoke. Captain Barlowe stated that he and seven others went twenty miles up a river called Occam, which led toward the city of Skicoak. As it was previously noted, the Occam was the designation of the present Albemarle Sound and the Roanoke River, and since Skicoak was about where Norfolk now is, the river which led toward it may have been intended for either of two branches of the Occam, the river now called Chowan or the Currituck Sound.

That was apparently the nearest approach any detachment of this 1584 expedition made to Lower Tidewater. From Barlowe's account, however, it is evident that what he heard of Skicoak impressed him greatly. His informants had never been there, they said, having only heard of it from their fathers and other oldsters. They affirmed it was six days' journey away and was the greatest city in the area, taking more than an hour for a man to walk around it.¹²

The two ships which made the first voyage returned to England, arriving about the middle of September, 1584, having been away about four and a half months. Two Indians, Manteo and Wanchese, were brought back with them. In the Barlowe account, written shortly after they returned, appears one of the first occurrences of the name "Virginia." Beverley said that the Queen named the new land both for herself and "that it did still seem to retain the Virgin Purity and Plenty of first Creation, and the People their Primitive Innocence."¹³

Raleigh's favor with the Queen was greatly enhanced by the results of this first voyage and the information which was brought back concerning the potentialities for colonization of the new land, and he received the honor of knighthood in January, 1584/5. A month earlier, while he was serving his native Devonshire in Parliament, his patent of March 1584 was ratified and confirmed by Act of that body; this occurred on 18 December 1584. The interest thus aroused spurred on the preparations which began early in 1585 to send out a company to plant what was hoped would be a permanent colony. In view of its intended permanent character, its organization was somewhat

more elaborate. Sir Richard Grenville, appointed by Raleigh "General of Virginia," was in command, assisted by Captain Ralph Lane, "Deputy General of Virginia,"—who wrote the narrative of the trip—and Captain Philip Amadas, "Admiral of Virginia." In the company were two individuals who should be given special mention: Thomas Hariot, mathematician and scientist—and some say clergyman—and John White, artist; both of these have been previously mentioned. Manteo and Wanchese, the two natives brought back in the previous homeward voyage to England, were returned to their country at this time. The expedition departed from Plymouth on 9 April 1585 in seven ships: *Tiger*, *Roe-Buck*, *Lion*, *Elizabeth* and *Dorothy*, plus two unnamed pinnaces; it followed the customary southern route, and on 20 June made landfall on the coast of Florida. Three days later they passed a cape which Lane said was called "Cape of Fear;" this was probably the real Cape Fear, although (as previously indicated) Lane's map of 1585 shows *Promontorium tremendum*—the "fearful cape"—where the indication Cape Lookout is now used. Like the previous company, they anchored at Wokokon (Ocracoke) and after examining the inland waters (Pamlico Sound), proceeded up the coast to Hatorask (Oregon Inlet) and Roanoke Island, where they began to build their fort and town. On 25 August 1585, Sir Richard Grenville set sail for home in the *Tiger*, leaving the company in charge of his deputy, Ralph Lane. The latter's narrative of the colony was mentioned above, and we are interested in its details at this point only so far as it concerns the Lower Tidewater area.

Upon their first arrival in the Roanoke area, Captain Amadas was sent on a mission on 2 August 1585 to Okisko, chief of Weapemeoc, the area between Albemarle Sound and Chesapeake Bay. We are not told for what purpose he went, nor how far he traveled toward our bay, and it is doubtful that he reached Chesapeake country. Lane himself later went on an exploratory excursion in that direction in 1585 or 1586. He said that his farthest northerly exploration was to the "land of the Chesapeakeans," one hundred thirty miles from Roanoke by a dangerous and shallow passage. The seat of the Chesapeake Indians, said Lane, was pleasant, of temperate climate, fertile soil, and convenient access to the sea. In their land were many bears, prized for their meat, and a heavy growth of sassafras and walnut trees. White's map of 1585, indicates a lack of knowledge of the Chesapeake Bay area, though fairly accurate in the vicinity of Roanoke Island. Beverley stated that "they had extended their Discoveries near an Hundred Miles along the Sea-Coast Northward; but not reaching the Southern Cape of Chesapeake Bay [Cape Henry] in Virginia, they had as yet found no good Harbour." It is to be assumed, therefore, that Lane's reference to the "Chesapeakeans" means that he reached the village of Chesepepiooc (near present London Bridge) but not the south shore of the Bay. This was confirmed later by Captain John Smith,

who said that the land from Chawanook and Mangoack to Chesepiooc had formerly been explored by Lane and Hariot.¹⁴

A little later in his narrative, Lane told of information he received from Menatonon, chief of Chawanook, concerning the country to the north. This conversation took place in March 1586: Lane was told he could go three days' journey up the Chawanook (Chowan) River, thence overland in a north-easterly direction "to a certain King's country whose province lieth upon the sea, but his place of greatest strength is an island situate, as he [Menatonon] described it unto me [Lane], in a bay, the water round about the island very deep." It is impossible to identify this place with any known locality, but it will be recalled that Barlowe was told two years earlier that Skicoak was the most important settlement in that area; we have already seen that the site of Skicoak has been vaguely identified with the original site of Norfolk, which, incidentally, was almost an island. But there the similarity ceases, for there is no great depth of water there.

It was claimed that this "King" or chief to the north had a great quantity of both white and black pearls, which he and his followers used for personal and household adornment. Menatonon gave Lane a rope of these pearls, which unfortunately he lost with his gear later while boarding Drake's vessel to return to England. Lane was so impressed with the accounts of the area in question that he decided that, failing a supply from England within a short time, he would move the whole colony there. His plan was to send a reconnoitering party by sea to attempt to find the entrance to the bay to the northward, while he took the main body of his available manpower in small boats up the Chawanook River and thence overland, as before mentioned. He further planned to build a series of small "sconces" or blockhouses, beginning at his place of landing up the river and continuing to the bay or port he was seeking. Then if he found the location advantageous, he intended to build a new main fort for the defense of the harbor and ships, and abandon Roanoke Island and the poor harbor there, moving the whole company to the new fort.

This plan of Lane's to move to a more favorable spot—the Chesapeake Bay—came to nought, for he became involved at that time in difficulties with the natives, chiefly the fault of the chief Wingina, who now called himself Pemisapan. It is not intended to go into detail at this time concerning the so-called "conspiracy of Pemisapan" which was instigated for the purpose of wiping out the foreign intruders by the concerted efforts of a loosely-formed confederacy. However, it is interesting to point out—as has already been done—that the Chesapeake Indians occupied a rather uncertain position in this conspiracy, in that they first seemed to be allied with the savages of Weapemeoc and Mangoak against the English, whereas later Lane said the "Colonel of the Chesipeans" was with him when they were tracking down

Pemisapan, and actually shot the latter, though not fatally. We are at a loss to understand this military title applied to the Indian leader, unless it was simply an English equivalent used for a leader subordinate to his tribal chief. It was suggested in the previous chapter that the Chesapeakes may have changed over to Lane's side when they realized Pemisapan's was a lost cause.¹⁵

Shortly after these events, Sir Francis Drake, fresh from his triumphs over the Spaniards at Cartagena and Saint Augustine, arrived off the coast of Old Virginia near Roanoke. It is of passing interest that in Drake's company were two young men who were to become prominent in the Virginia settlement after 1607; they were Captain John Martin and Lieutenant Thomas Gates, the former being commander of one of Drake's vessels. Having given up hope for the early arrival of a supply from England, Lane accepted Drake's offer to transport his colonists back home, and they set sail for Portsmouth on 19 June 1586, arriving at destination toward the end of the following month. Hardly had they left Roanoke, when a single ship—sent by Raleigh—arrived bearing all kinds of stores for the supply and relief of the colony. Finding the place abandoned, this ship returned forthwith to England. About three weeks later three more ships—also outfitted by Raleigh and commanded by Grenville—arrived with additional supplies. Likewise this expedition, finding no trace of the colony previously planted there by Grenville and left in Lane's charge, departed to return to England, but not without leaving a token garrison of fifteen men on Roanoke to retain possession of the country for the English Queen. Thus Raleigh's third and fourth expeditions were futile and accomplished practically nothing to help maintain the English claim to Virginia.¹⁶

Until this time Raleigh had personally borne the larger part of the expense of the various expeditions sent by him to the New World. In order to lighten this burden, he deemed it advisable to attract other associates by relinquishing certain of his rights, before any further attempts were made toward a permanent settlement in Virginia. Accordingly, on 7 January 1586/7, he made a grant to Sir Thomas Smith and others of the privilege of free trade with his Colony of Virginia, and on the same date made a grant of governing rights to John White and twelve others, which was in effect a charter incorporating them as "the Governour and Assistants of the Cittie of Raleigh in Virginia," the assistants being a non-elective governing body or Council of State. Smith is mentioned especially here since he was to become first Treasurer (i. e., chief executive officer) of the Virginia Company in 1606; White was he who had been with Ralph Lane and was the artist responsible for the maps of Old Virginia and pictures of its natives, as before brought out.¹⁷

The company, thus organized with John White as its head, departed Portsmouth on 26 April 1587—exactly twenty years before the first landing

at Cape Henry—in a small squadron of three ships. This is the group which has become popularly known as the "Lost Colony" on account of the mysterious circumstances surrounding its fateful disappearance, which will be recited later. The most interesting part of its story as far as we are here concerned is that the White colony was intended to be planted on Chesapeake Bay, probably somewhere within the area which we have designated as Lower Tidewater. But for a strange whim of fate, this second Roanoke Island colony might have been not the "Lost Colony," but the first permanent English settlement in the Western Hemisphere, as we shall see.

The intended permanence of the White colony is made manifest by the fact that, unlike the colony under Lane, it included the wives and children of some of its members. It will be recalled also that Ralph Lane had made definite plans to move the first Roanoke colony to a locality which he said was northeast of Chowan River. It is a fact also that the younger Richard Hakluyt, prolific chronicler of the voyages of discovery, had advised Raleigh to make his next attempt to plant a colony on Chesapeake Bay. Hakluyt's advice was evidently based on what Lane had written and on what he (Hakluyt) had heard from others, for he had never been in these parts himself. Be that as it may, the little squadron bearing John White's company, following the usual southern route, arrived at Cape Fear on 16 July 1587, and six days later at Hatorask, the inlet opposite Roanoke Island. Here, according to White's narrative, he intended to go to Roanoke to seek the fifteen men left the previous year by Grenville, and then to pass on up the coast to Chesapeake Bay in accordance with the written instructions he had from Sir Walter Raleigh, where they were to build their "seat and fort." This plan was nullified because Simon Fernando, master of the principal vessel, refused to carry the colonists further and insisted on putting all hands ashore at Roanoke. Fernando had accompanied both Barlowe and Lane on the previous trips, and because of the above as well as some other troubles he caused, he has been accused by some writers of being a spy in the pay of the King of Spain. At any rate, none of the White group ever reached Chesapeake Bay, as far as we know, and here the reader is referred to a later chapter for the story of Governor White's granddaughter, Virginia Dare, of the Governor's return to England against his will, and of the disappearance of the Colony.¹⁸

During this same year of 1587, Pedro Menéndez Marqués made another voyage up the coast to look into the reported English settlement at Roanoke, but got no farther than Cape Hatteras. The following year this inquiry was resumed by Juan Menéndez Marqués, another nephew of the *adelantado*, in company with Vicente González (who had been pilot on the voyages of 1570, 1571, and 1572), and they actually reached the Chesapeake. The report of their findings placed the *Bahía de Madre de Dios del Jacán* at 37° north

latitude, and its description corresponds almost exactly with that given by Juan's cousin Pedro in 1573. It is to be noted here that the Spanish names *Santa María* and *Madre de Dios* are in no way contradictory, being but two names for the same religious concept; likewise *Madre de Dios del Jacán* would most probably have been the name of the ill-fated mission, if it had one. It is certainly significant that the Spaniards were on the Virginia coast and in Chesapeake Bay so near the time of the disappearance of the "Lost Colony." If any further doubt could exist as to the identity of this locality, we have but to look at a few seventeenth century maps: a Portuguese map (1618) which shows "La Virginia" and "B. de Jacam" in juxtaposition; a Dutch map (1655) which shows "Barra de Madre de Dios" exactly where our Bay is; and three other Dutch maps (1666, 1681, 1695) which read respectively "Barra de Madre de Dios oft Chesepeac," "de Bay van Cheseapeke off Bahia de Madre de Dios," and "De Groote Bay van Chesapeake off Bahia de Madre de Dios."¹⁹

On 7 March 1588/9 Sir Walter Raleigh took a further step toward bringing in outside help in his effort to establish a colony, by renewing his grant of trading rights in Virginia to Sir Thomas Smith, John White and others, this time also including the well-known name of Richard Hakluyt. Meanwhile White had been prevented from returning to Virginia with promised supplies by the events centering around the attack by and defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588. It was not until 1590 that he was able to depart again for Roanoke to bring relief to the colony left there three years earlier, the group which included his new-born granddaughter, his daughter and her husband. This sixth Raleigh-sponsored expedition set sail from Plymouth in March and arrived off the coast of Virginia in August of 1590, stopping at Wokokon, Hatorask and Roanoke. Here no trace of the colony was found, only ruin and desolation, and the carved letters CROATOAN on a tree. Foul weather and shortage of food and water prevented White from searching farther inland, and he returned to England, arriving at Plymouth in October of the same year. In June 1600, an Irish mercenary of the Saint Augustine garrison testified before the Spanish Governor that he believed the English were still in Virginia, a matter to be discussed at greater length in another place.²⁰

After White's effort of 1590, it was a dozen years before the Virginia venture was revived again. This time the leading light was the Earl of Southampton, who contributed toward the outfitting of a vessel named the *Concord*, which, under the command of Captain Bartholomew Gosnold, departed Falmouth on 26 March 1602 for "the north part of Virginia." This vessel touched at Cape Cod and Martin's (now Martha's) Vineyard—both of which names date from this time—and made a settlement of only a few weeks duration on Cuttyhunk, now Elizabeth's Island. The narrative of this voyage is said to have been "delivered by Gabriel Archer, a gentleman in the

said voyage." Another familiar figure who made the trip was Captain John Martin, whose name was probably attached to the island mentioned above.²¹ Almost simultaneous with Gosnold's effort was Raleigh's seventh—and what was to be his last—expedition to Virginia; Raleigh's interest was still in the southern colony, and evidently still believing in the existence of the Roanoke colony, he hoped that this effort would produce some news of its members. The single ship, whose name is not reported, departed Weymouth under command of Captain Samuel Mace, who (it was said) had been to Virginia before. It arrived on the coast below Hatorask (about 34° North Latitude), but instead of searching for the unfortunate colonists left there fifteen years before, the captain and crew seem to have been more interested in trading with the natives. At any rate they returned to England none the wiser as to the Roanoke colony, but with a valuable cargo of bark, roots, herbs, and other articles taken in trade.²²

With the death of Queen Elizabeth and accession of James I in 1603, Raleigh's star definitely went into eclipse. Before the end of that year he had been tried, convicted, condemned to death, reprieved, and imprisoned in the Tower of London. On account of his attainder all his rights in the Colony of Virginia reverted to the Crown, but when the Virginia Company charter was issued in 1606, there appeared in it many individuals who had been associated with him in previous attempts: Sir Thomas Smith, Rev. Richard Hakluyt, his own nephew Raleigh Gilbert, just to mention a few. These and others were to furnish the capital, for the canny Scotsman then on the throne was desirous of the prestige and revenue to be derived from a permanent colony, but not to the extent of having it financed either by himself personally or by his government.²³

As before, we are here concerned with the band of colonists which arrived in Virginia in 1607 only insofar as their activities touched the present area of major interest. This company set sail from Blackwall, London, on 19 December 1606 in three small vessels, the *Susan Constant*, the *Godspeed*, and the *Discovery*, commanded respectively by Captain Christopher Newport, Captain Batholomew Gosnold, and Captain John Ratcliff; Newport was also "Admiral" (commander) of the squadron. Names of the other principals will be mentioned as the story develops. One of the best accounts of the voyage and of the arrival of the company in Virginia was written by Captain George Percy,²⁴ one of the gentlemen of the party, and later to be President of the Council (acting governor). After some delay caused by unfavorable weather, they finally got away, following the route via the Canaries and West Indies, so that they approached the Chesapeake from the south like all their predecessors. They made landfall on our coast at four o'clock in the morning on 26 April 1607, the third Sunday after Easter; it will be recalled that Captain John Smith wrote that the appearance of the coast showed white hilly sand

"like unto the Downs" [the Kentish coast between Ramsgate and Dover], and that there were plenty of pines and "firs" (cedars).²⁵ They entered "the Bay of Chesupioc" and on the same day made up a landing party to explore the south shore of the bay. In addition to Newport, Gosnold and Percy, there were Edward Maria Wingfield (to be first President of the Council), Captain Gabriel Archer (who had been with Gosnold at Cape Cod in 1602), and a number of seamen and soldiers. Captain John Smith was, of course, not present at this first landing, being under restraint because of his alleged part in a mutiny on the voyage. Artists who have depicted the landing scene have given prominence to the Rev. Robert Hunt, chaplain of the expedition; although he was not specifically mentioned in Percy's narrative, it is not improbable that he was ashore when the cross was set up a few days later. Thus the story of the second attempt to colonize Virginia—the first having failed at Roanoke—actually begins in the Lower Tidewater area at Cape Henry.

These explorers found broad fields, tall trees and fresh water springs in the woods. Toward dusk, as they were preparing to return aboard the ships at anchor, some Indians (presumably Chesapeakes) came crawling out of the sand dunes with their bows in their mouths, and made a sharp assault on the intruders at the water's edge. The English returned their arrows with harquebus shot and the Indians retired howling into the woods. There were two casualties resulting from this skirmish: Captain Gabriel Archer was hit in both hands, and a seaman named Matthew Morton was wounded twice in the body; both appear to have been painfully—but not seriously—hurt. The fact that the Smith map showed the designation "Morton's Bay," exactly where Lynnhaven Roads is now, gives some weight to the assumption that this first landing took place about at Lynnhaven Inlet, or probably a little to the east of it.

On their second day ashore (said Percy), the gentlemen and soldiers penetrated eight miles inland. Since they did not mention seeing any Indian habitation, it is safe to assume, as we have, that the landing was east of Lynnhaven. West of it was Apasus, according to the White map of 1585; likewise they must have followed a route which took them away from the village of Chesepiooc, inland on the west side of the river in 1585. Of course, we have no way of knowing whether the towns of 1585 were still in existence in 1607. Though they saw no natives, they did find a fire where the savages had been roasting oysters but had fled among the dunes at the white men's approach. The latter ate some of the roasted bivalves which had been left behind, finding them quite big and of a delicate flavor. Thus on Monday, 27 April 1607, occurred the first recorded account of a Lynnhaven oyster roast, a thing which has been delighting all successive generations even to the present time.

On the third day—Tuesday, 28 April 1607—they built and launched their shallop, a wide flat-bottomed boat, brought over in an unfinished state and assembled here. Captain Newport and some of the gentlemen journeyed from the Lynnhaven anchorage up toward Hampton Roads and found the mouth of a river—probably the Elizabeth—which was quite shallow. Then crossing over, they came to land near the present site of Hampton, a place bare of trees or bushes. Here they saw their first dugout log canoe, forty-five feet



CAPE HENRY—FIRST LANDING, 26 APRIL 1607

long; here they saw many mussels and oysters and claimed to have found pearls in some of them.

Going three or four miles inland they saw smoke but no natives, and could not determine whether the smoke was from clearing fires or signal fires. They saw many kinds and colors of wildflowers here, as well as cedar, cypress and other trees. Of especial interest is the report of "fine and beautiful strawberries, four times bigger and better than ours in England." For this section of shore east of Hampton Creek has been called traditionally Strawberry Banks ever since. Of great significance also is the fact that in this locality they saw "neither savage nor town;" the native village of Kecoughtan was on the other side of the creek, as will be shown below. Near dusk on this third day, as they made ready to return to the anchorage, they were discouraged at first to find the water quite shallow, but then they rowed over to a point of land and found a good, deep channel, "which put us in good

comfort," for which reason that place was named Cape Comfort. It later came to be known as Point Comfort, then Old Point Comfort—to differentiate from New Point Comfort up Chesapeake Bay—and today is familiarly called here simply Old Point. It is interesting to note that the next headland to the west—now called Newport News Point—was called Point Hope and was so shown on Captain John Smith's map.

On their fourth day in the new land, George Percy wrote: "The nine and twentieth day we sett up a crosse at Chesepiooc Bay, and named that place Cape Henry." It has been assumed, though Percy did not specify, that some sort of religious rite was performed at this time. It was customary so to do, and if so, it was conducted by the Rev. Robert Hunt, as noted above. There is no record of a formal christening of Cape Charles, but it undoubtedly happened about the same time. Nine years later Captain John Smith wrote that the two "nameless headlands" had been named in honor of the King's two sons.

On Thursday, 30 April, the larger ships were brought into the channel off Cape Comfort, and there five Indians were seen running along the shore. Captain Newport had the shallop manned and rowed toward them in an attempt to communicate with them. At first they were fearful, but when he made signs of friendship and peace, they laid down their weapons and made signs for the English to come to their town, Kecoughtan. This they did, and following the shore and rowing past a river—which the Indians swam across with bows and arrows in mouth—arrived at the village. Kecoughtan (written many ways, but "Kickatan" best renders the local pronunciation) was the first native town viewed by the English in 1607; it appears from the above account to have been on the west side of Hampton (the river just mentioned), the Smith and Tindall maps to the contrary notwithstanding. And as was pointed out before, archaeological search in that area has borne out this theory.²⁶ The colonists were well received, almost with reverence, and mats were spread on the ground for their comfort as they were offered *pone* and other articles of food. After finishing their meal, they were given tobacco in a large clay pipe with a bowl of fine copper, and their hosts entertained them with a ceremonial dance. The latter was thus described: one Indian stood in the center clapping his hands and the others circled around him, shouting, howling and stamping the ground, performing all sorts of antics and making faces. This lasted for half an hour, and they were rewarded by the Captain with the gift of some beads and other trinkets. Thus ended the first five days of the company's stay in Virginia, all spent in the waters and on the shores of Chesapeake Bay and Hampton Roads. From here they went on to explore the James River and finally to settle upon the site of their permanent fort and plantation at Jamestown on 13 May 1607.

In the account of Newport's exploration of the upper James River in late

May (after the settlement at Jamestown), there were two references to the Chesapeakes which are of interest to our story. In the first place, Newport was told by Tanxpowhatan that the Chesapeakes were enemies to the tribes of the Powhatan confederacy, whereupon he told of his own displeasure with them, and of the fact that he had refused to plant his colony among them. He told of the skirmish at Cape Henry on the first day, and had Captain Archer show his as yet unhealed wounds. In the second place, Newport later told Opechananough that the English were the professed enemies of the Chesapeake Tribe. These were, of course, political moves designed to gain the favor of the powerful confederacy in whose territory they were settled.²⁷

Later in 1607, the Jamestown colony being destitute for food, they were unwillingly given maize by the Indians at Kecoughtan, and later were more kindly treated by those at Warrascoyack (Isle of Wight), who willingly traded with them for food. Smith described the town of Kecoughtan as containing eighteen lodges and covering three acres; here he obtain fifteen bushels of corn. Returning to Jamestown, he met some natives of Warrascoyack and was invited to their town, where he obtained an additional thirty bushels to take back to the fort.

Smith had, of course, been released from his previous arrest in June 1607. About a year later he set out on his first exploratory trip up the Chesapeake. One incident of this trip concerns his being struck in the wrist by a stingray, and returning to Jamestown in July of 1608 he was guilty of two pieces of deception. He stopped at Kecoughtan, and led the natives there to believe he had been attacked and wounded by unfriendly Indians on the Rappahannock. Continuing farther, he stopped at Warrascoyack and trimmed his barge with colored flags and other insignia. Arriving at Jamestown in this condition he startled the fort company into believing a hostile Spanish galleon had arrived.²⁸

Before the end of July 1608, Smith set out on his second exploration of Virginia waters. It was probably in August that he was returning toward Cape Comfort and ran into a severe thunder storm. Taking shelter there until the storm was spent, he decided to visit Chesapeake and Nansemond territory which he knew only by hearsay. Hence his party crossed over Hampton Roads and sailed into a narrow river (the Elizabeth) in the "country of Chesapeake." It had a good channel, said Smith, but with some shoal water at its entrance. They followed this river six or seven miles and saw several fields in cultivation and some natives lodges. This distance would have brought them about as far as the 1585 locality of Skicoak, the village which Smith called Cheseppiooc on his map, but Smith's description does not imply it was a village settlement he saw. He described shores overgrown with tall pines and cedars, and here the visit to Elizabeth River ended. The party returned to the river's mouth and followed the shore toward Nansemond where

they found chiefly oyster beds. They surprised some savages working their weirs (fish pounds or traps), who fled in alarm but soon returned to sing and dance on the shore, and to invite the white men to visit them. The English sailed seven or eight miles up their river with one Indian in their boat and the others following along the shore. On the west bank were broad cornfields, and a little island in the river. Smith's map shows "Sharpe's Isle" at about this point, and a current State Highway Department map shows an island here less than a quarter mile in diameter. It is likewise true that the network of creeks that drain into the river from both sides may have made an island of some of these swampy areas at some time in the distant past.

The Indian who was riding in the boat lived on the island and invited the party to his home. Other natives came and wanted them to go farther up the river to see their habitations, which they foolishly did. The natives followed on shore armed with their bows and arrows and could not be persuaded to board the English barge. Soon it appeared that seven or eight canoe loads of warriors were following, and from both sides of the river—as well as from the canoes—arrows were loosed thick and fast. Smith believed there were both Chesapeakes and Nansemonds in this hostile group, which is notable since the latter were subjects of Powhatan while the former were not. The savages were finally pacified and were persuaded to "donate" four hundred baskets of maize, upon a firm threat of breaking up their canoes and burning their lodges. "And so, departing good friends [wrote Smith], we returned to Jamestowne . . ." on 7 September 1608!!²⁹

On 29 December following, Smith again set out at the head of a company with the avowed purpose of surprising and killing Powhatan, and seizing all his store of provisions. They lodged the first night at Warrascoyack, whose chief tried to dissuade Smith from his purpose, and failing in this warned him to watch out for treachery on Powhatan's part. The next night they lodged at Kecoughtan, where extreme winter weather—wind, rain and snow—obliged them to keep "Old Christmas" (6 January) among the Indians. Here they made merry and feasted on oysters, fish, flesh and wildfowl served with *pone*, and were quite comfortable in the dry, warm (but smoky) native cabins. The complete story of this foray against Powhatan and its unsuccessful conclusion was related in detail, but does not concern directly the present account.³⁰

It is hardly necessary to remind the reader that all the expeditions for the supply and relief of Jamestown passed through Chesapeake Bay and Hampton Roads, though not always touching at these shores. These early voyages were almost without exception under the command of Captain Christopher Newport, who made no less than five roundtrip ocean crossings including the first in 1607. After the settlement at Jamestown, he returned to England in *Susan Constant* accompanied by *Godspeed*, leaving *Discovery* in

Virginia; this crossing lasted from 22 June to 29 July 1607. The "First Supply" departed England the following October in *John and Francis* under Captain Newport, and *Phoenix*, Captain Francis Nelson; the former arrived in Virginia in January, but *Phoenix* was considerably delayed and did not arrive until April or May. Newport departed in *John and Francis* on 10 April and arrived at Blackwall on 21 May 1608; *Phoenix* returning left Virginia in June. The "Second Supply" arrived in Virginia in October 1608 in *Mary and Margaret*; an important passenger on this voyage was Captain Francis West, brother of Lord de la Warr, who was to play a prominent part in the affairs of the colony. On the return voyage in December, Newport was accompanied by Captain John Ratcliff, commander of the pinnace *Discovery* at its first arrival. The largest fleet ever assembled for the Virginia voyage was the ill-fated squadron that departed Falmouth on 8 June 1609 bearing Sir Thomas Gates, Virginia's first Governor—prior to this she had only a President of the Council—and Sir George Somers, Admiral of Virginia. Of the nine ships in this fleet, the most important were *Sea Venture*, *Diamond* and *Falcon*, commanded respectively by Captains Newport, Ratcliff and John Martin.³¹

At this point occurred the last Spanish attempt to hunt out and "discourage" non-Spanish settlements on the Atlantic north of Florida. In June 1609, Francisco de Ecija, coastal scout for several Governors of Florida, was sent north from Saint Augustine on a reconnoitering mission. His vessel, *Asunción de Cristo*, entered Chesapeake Bay on 24 July, and the Spaniards were surprised to sight an unidentified ship in the distance (probably near Cape Comfort). The local natives were questioned and told them of the settlement at Jamestown. Ecija decided to turn back without risking an encounter with the newcomers, believing he would be concerned with a much stronger and more firmly fixed post than was actually the case. It would be interesting to know what vessel the Spaniards saw. Of all those named so far, only the pinnace *Discovery* did not return to England; it was used by the colonists—as was also the shallop—in their exploratory trips up and down the bay and rivers. Of course the big fleet headed by *Sea Venture* had not arrived. It is possible that Captain Argall's ship (he was later to be Deputy Governor) was standing off Cape Comfort at that time; it arrived in July for the purpose of fishing for sturgeon, and stayed until September. It is a pity we do not know the name of this ship, for it was the first English ship, that we know of, to sail directly across the ocean from England to Virginia instead of taking the circuitous route via the Canary or Cape Verde Islands and West Indies. Argall was considered a good mariner, and his sailing master was Robert Tindall, of the first 1607 voyage, who drew an early map of Virginia, as we have previously noted.³²

On 11 August 1609, there arrived six of the nine vessels of the great fleet, including *Falcon* under Captain John Martin and *Diamond*, under Captain

John Ratcliff. This squadron had run afoul the tail of a Caribbean hurricane, and what happened to the flagship *Sea Venture* will be related below.³³

The first two settlements in Virginia made outside Jamestown were established at this time. One of these was at Nansemond and was under the command of Captain John Martin; with him were Captain Percy and sixty others. They apparently fortified themselves in an island (possibly the one in the Nansemond River before mentioned), but difficulties with the natives soon caused the post to be abandoned. Captain Martin, as has been pointed out before, had had a connection with the Virginia Colonies as far back as 1586, when he commanded a ship under Sir Francis Drake. He was also a member of the first Council at Jamestown in 1607, and commander of the *Falcon* which had just arrived from England. The other 1609 settlement was at the Falls of the James (Henrico).³⁴

In October of 1609, Captain Percy—then President of the Council—ordered Captain Ratcliff to Cape Comfort to build a fort. He recognized this as a strategic point, commanding the channel, and an excellent lookout point from which to detect approaching ships. It was also important for the protection of fishing activities in that area. This fort was named Algernoun Fort by Percy in honor of his remote ancestor, William de Percy, surnamed Algernoun or Alsgernouns, "bewhiskered," founder of the line of Earls of Northumberland at the time of the Conquest. Captain Percy was a younger brother of the ninth Earl. This surname, like many other, was written in many ways—the most incorrect of which appears as *Algernourne* on a State historical marker—but the usual form was the Anglo-Norman singular or plural given above. Captain James Davis was in command of the fort.³⁵

We turn back a little way now to see what happened to *Sea Venture* with its important passenger list: Governor Sir Thomas Gates, Admiral Sir George Somers, Rev. Richard Buck, Mr. Secretary Strachey, Captain George Yeardley and Captain Christopher Newport. This vessel had difficulties in the bad weather like the others, but—unlike them—did not arrive safely in Virginia. It was shipwrecked off Bermuda, and though it broke up on a reef, all hands on board were saved as well as a large part of the stores and cargo. This was in July of 1609, and the event furnished a setting for Shakespeare's play *The Tempest*, in which, it will be recalled, reference was made to the "still-vexed Bermoothes," or constantly turbulent Bermudas. With the gear and material they could salvage the crew set to work to build two pinnaces, *Deliverance* and *Patience*. Departing Bermuda on 10 May 1610 these two small ships arrived off Cape Comfort on the 21st and Sir Thomas Gates landed then and there at Algernoun Fort, where he was received by Captain George Percy, last President of the Council to act as Governor.³⁶

They proceeded to Jamestown, and the sorrowful condition in which they found the colony as a result of the "Starving Time" of 1609-1610 caused

Gates to decide to abandon it. Accordingly, all hands and all serviceable stores were loaded into the only four ships then in the colony, the pinnaces *Discovery*, *Deliverance*, *Patience* and *Virginia* (the latter one of the great fleet of 1609), and stood down James River on 7 June 1610. The next day off Mulberry Island (in present Warwick), they were met by a long boat with the good news of the arrival of Lord de la Warr (Delaware) at Algernoun Fort two days earlier. So the pinnaces were turned around and headed back to Jamestown, where His Lordship's vessel also arrived on Sunday, 10 June. At this time de la Warr as governor superseded Gates, who became his lieutenant.³⁷

On 7 July 1610, the fort's long boat was blown away over to the Nansemond side by a strong wind. One of Gates's men, Humfrey Blunt, attempting to recover it in an old canoe, was driven ashore on the Warwick side, where he fell into savage hands and was killed. The place where this occurred was for many years called Blunt Point and is the downstream side of the mouth where Warwick River empties into James River.³⁸ Two days later, in order to be revenged for Blunt's death, the English very inconsistently set upon the Indian village of Kecoughtan (whose people had nothing to do with it) which they captured, the inhabitants having fled. Lieutenant Earley was left here in command. Before the end of July they had built another fort, Charles Fort, and a short time thereafter a third, Henry Fort. It is difficult to identify these locations with any exactitude, but it appears that Algernoun was on the site presently occupied by the old part of Fort Monroe, while Charles and Henry Forts were respectively near the site of Kecoughtan and on the Strawberry Banks: i. e., on each side of the mouth of Southampton River (Hampton Creek).³⁹ The post and fort thus established at Kecoughtan in July of 1610 is the basis for the claim advanced for this area's being the oldest continuously settled spot in British America; it is second in antiquity only to the settlement at Jamestown, abandoned in the eighteenth century, and even though the site of the post at Kecoughtan does not coincide with the site selected when the Town of Hampton was established by law in 1680, both were to fall within the bounds of the expanded City of Hampton, as will later more fully appear. It has been said also that from this same year of 1610 dates the first Anglican Church in Virginia after the one in Jamestown, which was to become the Parish Church of Kecoughtan. A minister, the Rev. William Mease, was here traditionally in 1610, but with more certainty in 1613 according to his own oath, and was specifically mentioned by John Rolfe as minister at Kecoughtan in 1615; as such, said Rolfe, Mease was one of four ministers of the gospel in Virginia at this time, the others being Buck at Jamestown, Wickham at Henrico, and Whitaker at Bermuda Hundred.⁴⁰

Recent archaeological investigation has revealed evidence of a post contemporary with that at Kecoughtan, and like it built on the site of a former Indian village. This was in what was later Lower Norfolk County (now

Princess Anne) between Ocean Park and Chesapeake Beach, about where the village of Apasus was shown on White's map of 1585. It is most unusual that none of the early narratives mentions a settlement on the south side of the Bay as early as 1610, but the remains on this site have been identified with a fair amount of certainty, as was mentioned in the previous chapter.⁴¹

In May of 1611, Sir Thomas Dale arrived in Virginia to be its Governor. He was in the *Star*, commanded by Captain Newport, and accompanied by *Prosperous* and *Elizabeth*; they stopped first at Cape Comfort. One of Dale's first official acts was to organize a campaign for the subjugation of the Nansemond Indians, going against them with a hundred men in armor. In the encounters and skirmishes which followed, Captain West and Captain Martin were wounded and Dale himself narrowly escaped serious injury when his steel headpiece turned away an arrow. The Indians, not having seen full armor before this, marveled at the fact that so few Englishmen fell in this combat. Other significant events occurred about the time of Dale's arrival. Algernoun Fort was destroyed by fire accidentally, although no damage was done to the house and storehouse of Captain Davis, then commander there. The latter, fearing to be censured for the accident, had the fort rebuilt in a remarkably short time. At this time also took place the first planting of corn at Kecoughtan at Dale's command, and the Governor is said to have explored the Nansemond to its source. It was in the Nansemond neighborhood that the English first learned of the "rain dance." Passing by one of the towns on that river, they saw a group of natives emerge on the shore, engaging in wild gyrations and antics and throwing fire out of a "thing like a censer." They were told by a friendly Indian that it would soon rain very hard, and so it turned out: a heavy rain shower in the immediate vicinity, accompanied by thunder and lightning.⁴²

In the Summer of 1611, there occurred a strange incident connected with the Spaniards. A caravel of that nation made bold to enter the bay and anchored off Algernoun Fort. Three men from the ship coming ashore were surprised and taken by Captain Davis, to whom they related a story of coming there to seek one of their own ships bound for the West Indies which had gone astray. They requested a pilot for their ship, and one Captain John Clarke agreed so to serve them, but no sooner was he on board than the caravel set sail and departed with him leaving its own three men behind. They were kept prisoners at Jamestown for a while, but were later transported to England. It was believed, from information obtained in questioning them, that they had come to Virginia to spy out the land in preparation for an attack, which incidentally never materialized. Captain Clarke was carried off to Havana, it was learned later, and then to Spain where he was held for about five years. He was finally released by exchange, and, after the passage

of a few years, is said to have made the voyage in 1620 as the pilot of the *Mayflower*.⁴³

In July of 1611, Captains Argall and Bruster were sent against the Warascoyack Indians, because of their alleged failure to fulfill an agreement to furnish maize. The Indians fled, as they had at Kecoughtan, and two of their villages were burned. Later the same month, Captain Newport captured Sasenticum, werowance of Warrascoyack, and his son Kainta, the latter of whom was sent to England.⁴⁴

The time from 1611 to 1619 was a period of expansion and development of the Colony, and of crystallization of its territorial, administrative, judicial, and ecclesiastical organization. Other than the settlement at Kecoughtan—where Captain George Webb was commander and the Rev. William Mease minister—there are few details of possible activities in Lower Tidewater, but momentous events were taking place elsewhere in Virginia which were to have great influence here. This was the time of the conversion and baptism of Pocahontas and her marriage to John Rolfe in 1614, of her death in England in 1617, of the establishment of private property in 1617, and of the death of the overlord Powhatan in 1618. At this time were established the Hundreds, the Particular Plantations, and their Parishes. For instance, in 1611 posts were established at Henrico and New Bermudas, which in 1613 became respectively the Upper or Henrico Hundred and the Nether or Bermuda Hundred. Also in 1613 were established Rochdale Hundred, West and Shirley Hundred⁴⁵ and Diggs' Hundred (quaintly called "Digges his Hundred"). In 1614 there was Dale's Gift not far from Cape Charles. In 1617 came Smith's Hundred, Argall's Gift, Hamor's Plantation, Captain Ward's Plantation, and Captain John Martin's famous plantation called Martin's Brandon; in 1618, Martin's Hundred (named for a different Martin) and Flowerdew Hundred;⁴⁶ and finally in 1619, Captain Lawne's Plantation, Bartlett's Hundred, and the famous Berkeley Hundred.⁴⁷ Of all these hundreds and particular plantations, only Captain Lawne's was in Lower Tidewater; it was in what later became Isle of Wight County, in fact it gave the name to that county, as will later appear.⁴⁸

Each hundred and plantation had its Commander, its Provost Marshal (sheriff), and its Bailiff who was Justice of the Hundred Court, although no record of the latter has survived. Likewise each was intended to be a parish of the Anglican Church and under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Bishop of London, since Virginia was in his diocese. It might be enlightening to give a few details at this point about the earliest ministers and churches. The Rev. Robert Hunt was, of course, the chaplain of the first company which arrived in 1607 and established Jamestown in May of that year; he died the following year, and the settlement was without a minister for two years, until the Rev. Richard Buck arrived in May of 1610. In 1611 came the Rev. Alexander

Whitaker, M. A. (Cantab.), a former Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge; he became minister at both Henrico and Bermuda Hundred; he soon had an assistant in the Rev. William Wickham, a deacon who acted for him at Henrico. There is a very strong tradition that the Rev. William Mease arrived with Lord de la Warr in June of 1610, and became minister at Kecoughtan when the first English settlement was made there the following month. However, there is some doubt that he was here before 1613, for he made oath in April of 1623 that he had then been in Virginia for ten years. John Rolfe wrote that in 1615 there were only four ministers in Virginia: Buck at Jamestown, Whitaker at Bermuda Hundred, Wickham at Henrico, and Mease at Kecoughtan. Rolfe also gave the names of the Commanders in these localities, who were, respectively, Captain Francis West, Captain George Yeardley, the deputy governor, Captain Smaley, and Captain George Webb. It should be pointed out that two other inhabited places were listed at this same time, West and Shirley Hundred and Dale's Gift, but neither had a minister. It is a most significant fact that, between 1607 and 1611, or at latest 1615, the four principal settlements in the Colony had acquired both military (later to become civil) and ecclesiastical administration, and that their locations correspond in a general way with the four boroughs or corporations which were to be established in 1619, as will appear in the next chapter.⁴⁹

A word should be said here about the nature and location of the Kecoughtan church and settlement. It is known that the two earliest churches at Jamestown (1607 and 1608) were very rude structures, probably of the "wattle and daub" type, and that no church building of even semi-permanent character (frame on cobble-stone and brick foundation) was constructed until after Argall became Governor in 1617. There is no reason to believe things were different at Kecoughtan, and it is fairly certain that the first church there was of the very rough type mentioned above. The recent archaeological investigations—previously noted—failed to unearth evidence of its exact location; however, documentary search has shown that the pond or lagoon later known as the Beaver Dams was originally called Church Creek, and the land adjacent to it the Glebe Land, very early in the seventeenth century (before 1624). A recognized authority on local church history placed the first Kecoughtan church between 1613 and 1616, though, as we have seen, there is a possibility that it may date from 1610. The former Church Creek flowed into Hampton Roads a little to the east of the intersection of Boulevard and LaSalle Avenue, and the Indian village of Kecoughtan (location of the English settlement in 1610) was east of the creek. The Glebe Land or parish farm, and therefore the site of the church, adjoined the creek on the west and contained one hundred acres.⁵⁰

There was another church in Virginia before the laying out of the Cor-

porations (1619); though not within the bounds of Lower Tidewater, it had a direct physical link with the Kecoughtan church, and we must give some of its history here. Reference was made earlier to Smith's Hundred, established in 1617 and deriving its name from Sir Thomas Smith, first Treasurer (chief executive) of the Virginia Company for London and former associate of Sir Walter Raleigh in the Roanoke venture in 1587. Sir Thomas was one of the chief promoters and stockholders in the Hundred bearing his name; its original area comprised some 80,000 acres in what is now Charles City County between the mouth of the Chickahominy River and Weyanoke, and its Commander was Sir George Yeardley who resided there not far from Sandy (Dancing) Point between his term as Deputy Governor and that as Governor (1617-1619). The importance of Smith's Hundred is attested to by the fact it had its own church and was probably the first plantation parish, and subsequent only to the four principal ones which were to become corporation parishes and later county parishes. Mrs. Mary Robinson of London, by her will dated 13 February 1617/8, bequeathed £200 "towards the building of a Churche" in Virginia; her cousin, Sir John Wolstenholme, was interested in Smith's Hundred, and since he had a say in the distribution of the bequest, the church was built there, probably in 1618 or 1619. It was recorded in 1622 that an anonymous donor had previous given communion silver "for the Church of Mistresse Mary Robinson's founding," and there are still in existence two patens and a chalice bearing the date-letter for 1618-19, the chalice being inscribed: **†THE COMMVNION CVPP FOR S^{nt} MARYS CHVRCH IN SMITHS HUNDRED IN VIRGINIA.** These interesting pieces are now in the possession of St. John's Church in Hampton, descendant of the Kecoughtan church, and how this came about will be explained at the appropriate time. It is not known for certain who was minister at St. Mary's; there were two other ministers of the gospel who arrived about this time, Rev. George Keith in 1617 and Rev. Samuel Macock in 1618. It is our guess that Keith was minister at Martin's Hundred, established in 1618 as a plantation parish, since the ecclesiastical establishment was an important part of local government at Mary's, since he perished in the great massacre of 1622, when that church probably ceased to exist also—but of these matters more anon.⁵¹

The two most important events that happened in Virginia at this time were (a) the division of the Colony's settled areas into four administrative units called corporations or boroughs, and (b) the establishment of a representative legislative assembly. These two significant occurrences—both initiated on the same day in 1618 and accomplished early in 1619—are very closely related. The English parliamentary system, after which the Virginia Assembly was patterned, required that members be chosen to represent certain geographical areas; hence it was necessary for Virginia to have such districts in order that members for its General Assembly might be chosen, as well as

for the more orderly execution of the administrative, judicial and ecclesiastical functions of government. Thus, the establishment of the four Great Corporations in 1619 marks the real beginning of the Virginia county system of local government, which existed in embryonic form before 1611, was formally initiated in 1634, and still prevails in somewhat modified form today; and since the ecclesiastical establishment was an important part of local government, it may be said that the parish system had a contemporary and parallel development.⁵²

From this point on, we shall be concerned with the history of only one of these four divisions, for it will be shown that the area we have designated as Lower Tidewater Virginia is practically co-terminous with the Corporation of Elizabeth City, and that the latter was divided in 1634 into three of the original eight shires or counties, which were in turn eventually subdivided into the seven counties whose stories are told in the present volumes.

NOTES ON CHAPTER III

N.B. See remark at beginning of Chapter I notes.

1. *Pageant of America*, I, 69-75.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 112; *EncBrit.*, IV, 921-3; Harrisse, *John Cabot*, pp. 126-41; Biddle, *Memoir*, p. 79.
3. *Pageant of America*, I, 113; Harrisse, *op. cit.*, pp. 136-7.
4. Swain, *Chesapeake Bay*, pp. 5-6; Lefler, *History of North Carolina*, I, 16-7.
5. *EncBrit.*, III, 73; Swain, *loc. cit.*, Lefler, *op. cit.*, p. 18.
6. Lewis & Loomie, *Spanish Mission in Virginia*, pp. 8-10; *Cartografía de la América Central*, Plate I; Gómara, *Historia de la Indias*, pp. 162-3.
7. Lewis & Loomie, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-18, 256-8: this work contains a very fine essay on the cartography of Chesapeake Bay, pp. 250-269.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 13; see also Chapter II, note 12.
9. Manning, *Spanish Missions*, pp. 49-57; Lewis & Loomie, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-55, *passim*.
10. Lewis & Loomie, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-7, 58-61, 244-9.
11. Swain, *op. cit.*, p. 8; Lewis & Loomie, *op. cit.*, p. 55.
12. Sams, *The First Attempt*, pp. 59-80, Barlowe's narrative.
13. Beverley, *History of Virginia*, p. 17.
14. Sams, *The Second Attempt*, p. 238.
15. Sams, *The First Attempt*, pp. 161-211, Lane's narrative.
16. *Ibid.*, pp. 204-11, 225-8.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 239.
18. *Ibid.*, pp. 242-68, White's narrative.
19. Lewis & Loomie, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-6, 190, 206, 264-6; Swain, *op. cit.*, p. 9; the latter has somewhat confused the cousins Menéndez Marqués.
20. Sams, *op. cit.*, pp. 284, 287-316; Manning, *op. cit.*, pp. 114-5 (and note 7); Reding, "Letter of Gonzalo," pp. 214-28; see also Chapter XXX below.
21. *Old South Leaflets*, V (1902), 405-14.
22. Sams, *op. cit.*, pp. 364-5.
23. *Ibid.*, pp. 371-414; see also Sams, *The Second Attempt*, p. 751.
24. Sams, *The Second Attempt*, pp. 89-195, Percy's narrative, which is quoted here except where specifically indicated otherwise.
25. See Note 25, Chapter I.
26. Brittingham, *Kicoton*.
27. Mook, "Virginia Ethnology," p. 108.

28. Sams, *op. cit.*, pp. 458-9.
29. *Ibid.*, pp. 465-488.
30. *Ibid.*, pp. 530-1.
31. *Ibid.*, pp. 245, 265, 315, 389, 475, 501, 527, 577; the reference to the first governor here means since the arrival in 1607, as John White was the first Governor of Virginia in 1587 (see note 17 above).
32. Swain, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-10; Sams, *op. cit.*, pp. 98-9, 609-10, 624, 630, 639; Lewis & Loomie, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-6 (213 note) 7.
33. Sams, *The Second Attempt*, p. 633.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 649; Sams, *The Third Attempt*, pp. 95-8; Southall, "Captain John Martin," p. 24.
35. Sams, *The Second Attempt*, pp. 732-3; *The Third Attempt*, pp. 100-1.
36. Sams, *The Second Attempt*, pp. 713-9.
37. *Ibid.*, pp. 727-9.
38. Sams, *The Third Attempt*, p. 117.
39. *Ibid.*, pp. 121-2, 161-2.
40. *Ibid.*, pp. 210, 285, 690; the two settlements of 1609—at Nansemond and at the Falls (Henrico)—survived such a short time that, to all practical intents and purposes, Kecoughtan was second to Jamestown. See note 34 above.
41. See Chapter II, note 136.
42. Sams, *op. cit.*, pp. 138-9, 141, 154, 156.
43. *Ibid.*, pp. 141-3, 168-76; Lewis & Loomie, *op. cit.*, pp. 33, 57, 240, 245; the latter authors suggest a possible connection between Clarke and the captain of the *Roe-Buck* of the same name in 1587 (see Sams, *op. cit.*, pp. 110, 138); Clarke was called "pilot of Xacán" in a Madrid deposition during his captivity (Lewis & Loomie, *op. cit.*, p. 245).
44. Sams, *op. cit.*, p. 149.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 344; the wife of Thomas West, Lord Delaware, was daughter to Sir Thomas Shirley.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 353; Lady Yeardley was *née* Temperance Flowerdew, a name that was altered in many ways from its original Anglo-Norman form of *Flour-Dieu*; Martin's Hundred was so-named after Richard Martin, an attorney for the London Company (See *Ibid.*, p. 350).
47. *Ibid.*, pp. 258-60, 296, 306, 419, 155, 335.
48. *Ibid.*, pp. 354, 449.
49. See note 40 above.
50. Mason, "Earliest Church of Elizabeth City Parish," pp. 18 (map), 20; Brittingham, *Kicotan*, frontispiece (map), p. 11.
51. Sams, *op. cit.*, pp. 347-8; Goodwin, *Colonial Church*, pp. 284, 293; *Historic Church Silver*, note on St. John's Church, Hampton (page unnumbered).
52. See following Chapter for details on corporations, parishes and the First Assembly.

PART II

THE CORPORATION AND COUNTY OF
ELIZABETH CITY

Chapter IV
The Corporation and County of Elizabeth City
1619-1634

AS IT WAS pointed out in the previous chapter, the year 1618 marks the birth of two important Virginia institutions which are, in somewhat modified form, still in existence today: the county-parish system of local government, and the bicameral representative legislative Assembly. The orders for establishing these two institutions both originated in the Virginia Company's London Council on 18 November 1618, the same day on which Sir George Yeardley was chosen to be Governor by that Council. We may well imagine that Sir George was invited to attend that meeting; we know that, upon his appointment as Governor, he was handed instructions to lay out and divide the settled areas of the Colony into four corporations and to convene a legislative Assembly to be composed of representatives from those four corporations plus representatives from certain particular plantations and hundreds contained in them.¹

On this important date of 18 November 1618, then, it was ordered by the Council in London that the Virginia Colony be divided into four great corporations—"incorporations" in the language of that day—for purposes of local administration, each of which was to be a parish of the Church of England "as by law established." The term "borough" was also frequently applied to these corporations but was soon almost entirely superseded by the latter term, in fact was used but a short time as the official name of the one with which the present work is chiefly concerned, as will be amplified later. It gave rise, however, to the usage of calling the representatives "burgesses" (i.e., borough inhabitants) and the lower house of the Assembly, the "House of Burgesses," which custom prevailed throughout Virginia's colonial period. This fact was noted by the historian Stith in 1747 as follows:

... our Lower House of Assembly was first called the House of Burgesses, a Name proper to the Representatives of Burroughs [sic] or Towns; and it hath by Custom ever since retained that Appellation, although the Burgesses or Members for Towns or Corporations are very few and inconsiderable at present in Comparison with the Representatives for Counties.²

For in Virginia, in the early days of the seventeenth century, a borough was not, as the term implies, a corporation or incorporated town—there were no charters or other articles of incorporation; it was simply a territorial division entitled to be represented in the Assembly. We can almost, but not quite, pinpoint the date of the laying out of the corporations: Yeardley arrived and assumed the Governorship on 19 April 1619, and appears to have carried out his instructions in this regard before the 28th, the date with which the surviving Company records begin; in any case, the division was accomplished by 31 July 1619, the date on which was convened the first Assembly, composed of representatives of the four Corporations and certain other plantations or settlements.³

The Corporations were organized like the Hundreds as governing units, each with its Commander (chief executive and military officer), its Provost Marshal (sheriff), and its Justices or Court of Law, though the latter were not formally established and operating until somewhat later. And since each Corporation was an ecclesiastical parish, each must have had a minister, churchwardens and vestry. The very nature of the duties of churchwardens presupposed the existence of an early church building of some kind, probably a rough structure as noted in the previous chapter, to serve this purpose until a more permanent frame or brick church could be built. In fact, all evidence points generally to the Jamestown pattern of church building throughout the other parts of the Colony in the seventeenth century: the rough "wattle-and-daub" shelter (1607-1617), the frame-on-brick-or-cobble-foundation church (1617-1630), and the rectangular or basilica type—some with buttresses—(1630-1700). After 1700, the elaborate cruciform church came into vogue, though this did not apply to Jamestown, which lost its ecclesiastical importance with its political importance in 1699.⁴

The existing records are silent on the subject of the exact bounds of the original four Corporations; in fact, it is doubtful that any were assigned except in a vague and general sort of way. The early plantations or settlements hugged the shores of the River James and its estuary (now called Hampton Roads), because any distance from this comparatively safe artery of transportation was "Indian country" and not to be penetrated unadvisedly. Hence, when these territorial divisions were planned in 1619, it is to be assumed in the absence of specific contrary evidence that they were designated merely as the settled areas touching the banks of this main water course and on both sides of the same. Thus the area immediately adjacent to Jamestown (which now became the Capital with the more imposing name of James City) upstream and downstream, and across the river, was designated as the Corporation of James City. To the west or upstream, the settled area was divided into two parts: the one touching James City being called the Corporation of Charles City (a name it had borne as a hundred after first being called

Bermuda or Nether Hundred) up to and including the New Bermudas of 1611; and the other extending thence for an undetermined distance to the west and named the Corporation of the City of Hampton (no connection with the present City of Hampton) including Henrick's (1611) or the Upper Hundred of 1613. The area adjacent to James City on the east—like the others taking in both sides of the River—was called the Corporation of the Borough of Kiccowntan (Kecoughtan), settled since 1610. Two of these corporate names did not long survive: the name of the City of Hampton was very soon changed to the City of Henricus (translation of *Henricopolis*, whence the shortened form Henrico, still in use today as a county name). As to the other name change, one of the first acts of the first session of the Assembly, 31 July 1619, was to address a petition to the Virginia Company requesting a change in the "Savage name of Kecoughtan, and to give that Incorporation a new name." This implies that the names of the Corporations had originated in London. Be that as it may, the request was granted and we read in the records on 17 May 1620 that, by order of the Council, "the ancient [former] Borough of Kiccowntan hereafter shall be called Elizabeth City by the name of His Majesties [sic] most virtuous and renowned daughter."⁵ It is of passing interest that the names of the four Corporations, as finally fixed, honored King James I and his three children: Prince Henry, Prince Charles, and Princess Elizabeth, just as previously had the earliest geographical names bestowed by the Jamestown Colonists: James River, Cape Henry, Cape Charles, and Elizabeth River. It is to be noted also that the first river north of the James was called at first "Prince Henry's River" (1608), which was changed to Charles River (presumably after the death of the elder prince in 1612), which latter name it retained until being given its present name of York (c. 1643).⁶ Of course, the names of the James and the Elizabeth Rivers remain unchanged today.

The present volumes are concerned chiefly with the history of the territory covered by only one of these four: the Borough of Kecoughtan or Corporation of Elizabeth City. As stated above, we do not know the precise bounds of the corporation, and we can only say that it covered all the settled portion of river bank and shore line eastward from James City to the sea. It remains, therefore—in order to determine what area was included in the latter Corporation—to fix its eastern boundary; all area to the east of such a line would necessarily be in Elizabeth City. It is known that what later became Warwick River County (until recently the City of Warwick) was originally a part of Elizabeth City Corporation,⁷ and with that we agree; so that the boundary of Elizabeth City on the north side of James River would be at Keith's Creek, a name later corrupted to—and now known as—Skiffes Creek. On the other side of James River is the area now known as Isle of Wight County, which most writers assign as part of James City;⁸ with this we disagree, though the

contrary cannot be proved beyond a reasonable doubt, it must be admitted. We might expect some light to be thrown on the subject by the land grants, which survive back to 1620, though the first few years contain many *lacunae*. However, it is to be noted that while the land grants localize many tracts in the four Corporations by name, they also give locations in such places as Tappahannah, Old Point Comfort, Newport News, Kecoughtan and Warrisqueek or Warrosquyoake (Isle of Wight); all of which indicates a certain inconsistency in the use of names known to have been without official standing beside those of the Corporations.⁹ There is also the list known as "Extracts of all Titles and Estates of Land" submitted by Governor Sir Francis Wyatt in 1626, listing by name and acreage the then holders of land patents in Virginia.¹⁰ Since this list was arranged by Corporations from west to east, it might be expected that the problem would be solved, but here again we are doomed to disappointment: under the heading "Corporation of James City" were listed not only the landowners on the Jamestown side and on the Tappahannah side just opposite, but also those in what were later Warwick and Isle of Wight counties. Now, it has been established beyond reasonable doubt, that Warwick was originally a part of Elizabeth City Corporation. That being so, Isle of Wight or Warrosquyoake must have been also, for it is not likely that all the boundaries between the Corporations on the two sides of the river would be approximately opposite, except that one between Elizabeth City and James City, south of the river. A glance at a modern map of Virginia showing county lines will clarify this statement considerably. Note that the line between James City and Charles City (the Chickahominy River) is not far removed from the one between their opposite areas, now respectively Surry and Prince George; note also, that the line between Charles City and Henrico is almost exactly extended between their opposite areas, now Prince George and Chesterfield, respectively (it is to be remembered that Bermuda Hundred was originally in Charles City). Therefore, the line between James City and Elizabeth City Corporations, being at Keith's (Skiffes) Creek on the north side of James River, it is reasonable to suppose that their boundary on the south side was Lawne's Creek, the present line between Isle of Wight and Surry, and this puts Isle of Wight in the Corporation of Elizabeth City.

It was stated above that Elizabeth City extended from James City eastward to the sea, but this point must be qualified also. The Wyatt list of 1626, mentioned above, contains a curious and interesting statement: under the heading "Eastern Shore," it is stated that though certain tenants had been planted there, no patents had been granted and "no land ordered to be laid out for them, as in the *other four corporations*."¹¹ The italics are ours. This implies that while all the colonial territory was supposed to be included in the four corporations, the Eastern Shore, being slightly removed from the others, was considered a sort of extra-territorial area and not actually a part of any

one of them. At any rate, there was never any question of including the Eastern Shore in the present study, that area having been previously covered in a recent important work under the imprint of the present publishers.¹²

Thus, the exclusion of Eastern Shore from these volumes is logical, and the question of whether or not Isle of Wight (and its daughter, Southampton) were a part of the corporation of Elizabeth City, is purely academic: for the purposes of this story of Lower Tidewater Virginia, it is being considered that the Corporation of Elizabeth City includes the area of the later counties of Elizabeth City, Warwick, Isle of Wight, Southampton, Nansemond, Norfolk and Princess Anne, and the cities which were later carved from or superseded these counties. The events and circumstances of these fifteen years will be considered under six general headings: (a) The Hundreds and Particular Plantations, (b) the Judicial Districts and Inferior Courts, (c) the Established Church and its Parishes, (d) Corporation, Plantation and Parish representation in the Assembly, (e) Early Landowners and their Holdings, (f) Ancient Planters.

THE HUNDREDS AND PARTICULAR PLANTATIONS

The Hundred, as a territorial division in England, is said to have originated at the time of Alfred, the Great, but went back much further into the misty beginnings of Teutonic law and custom. Alfred is reported to have divided the Kingdom in the late ninth century into shires, hundreds and tithings, a tithing being a community of ten freeholders and their families; ten tithings composed a hundred—whence the name—which was subordinate in size to the shire. Some authorities have suggested that the term referred to its physical size of one-hundred acres or one-hundred hides (of one hundred and twenty acres each), though, even from the beginning, they were not of uniform size in England. In Virginia, we can only conclude that the designation "hundred" was used to refer to an area inferior in size to a shire or county, simply because it was traditionally so used in England; there was certainly no regularity in size here either in number of families or in acreage, for some of the Virginia hundreds included as many as eighty thousand acres.¹³

Another kind of early settlement in the Colony was the "particular plantation," though in many instances the differentiation between them and the hundreds seems to have been one of terminology only. It might be said that, of the settlements bearing the name "Hundred," some were established by the Virginia Company itself and some by individuals or associations of individuals, whereas those bearing the name "Plantation" or other designation, were without exception of the latter particular or privately-owned type. This kind of settlement arose through necessity when the funds of the Company were exhausted, and certain of its shareholders joined themselves together in Societies to establish plantations on their own.¹⁴ We saw in the previous

chapter how, in addition to the four Company settlements which became the nuclei of the Corporations (Jamestown, Kecoughtan, Henricus, New Bermudas), fourteen other settlements—some called Hundreds and some not—came into existence before the First Assembly met in 1619. Of these fourteen, only seven seem to have been sufficiently populated to have been represented in the Assembly, and at its first meeting on 30 July 1619, its lower house was composed of twenty-two members,¹⁵ two from each Corporation and from each of the following Particular Plantations:

Smith's Hundred
Argall's Gift
Captain Ward's Plantation
Martin's Brandon, Captain John Martin's Plantation
Martin's Hundred
Flowerdew Hundred
Captain Lawne's Plantation

Of all these, only two were in Lower Tidewater Virginia: the Company settlement at Kecoughtan, which became the Corporation of Elizabeth City and Captain Lawne's Plantation. Established 17 April 1619, by Captain Christopher Lawne and associates, the latter was located in the region known as Warrosquyoake, adjacent to the creek which still bears Lawne's name, the present boundary between Isle of Wight and Surry Counties. Captain Lawne died in 1620, and in November of that year, the patent was renewed by his heirs and former associates under the name of Isle of Wight Plantation. The Indian name stuck to the region, however, and we shall see that it was not until after the counties were founded, that the English name gained official status.¹⁶

Several other particular plantations came into existence during the early years of the Corporation of Elizabeth City. On 4 November 1619, arrived Captain Thomas Newce in the *Bona Nova* with one hundred and twenty persons, and was seated on six-hundred acres of Company or Common land at Elizabeth City. This was probably on the east side of Hampton River (now Creek), and it was noted in the records that the inhabitants of Kecoughtan had to be persuaded to move thence to their own "dividends" (allotted acreage) "along the banke of the great river between Kequohtan and Newportes News . . ." This Council minute of 11 November 1619, represents the first mention of the latter locality on record, and once more raises the question as to whether the original settlement at Kecoughtan in 1610 may not have been east of Hampton Creek. Captain Thomas Newce died in 1623.¹⁷

In 1621, one-thousand acres near the northwest end of Mulberry Island (present site of the Army post of Fort Eustis) were granted to Sir George Yeardley, and thus the important plantation known as Stanley Hundred came into being. Sir George died in 1627, and on 9 February 1627/8, his widow

sold Stanley Hundred to Lieutenant Thomas Flint. The latter had possession not quite a year, and on 20 January 1628/9, was recorded the sale of the one-thousand-acre tract by Thomas Flint and his wife, Mary, to John Brewer, merchant.¹⁸

In the early part of 1621, William Newce of Bandon, County Cork, brother of Thomas, was appointed to the newly-created post of Marshal of Virginia, was knighted, and was promised a grant of fifteen hundred acres in return for his engagement to transport one thousand persons to Virginia. Sir William was extremely ill upon his arrival in early October of 1622, and "did not above two days survive the readinge of his Pattent . . ." The location of his intended plantation has not been determined.¹⁹

In November of 1621, arrived Daniel Gookin of County Cork in the *Flying Harte*, which had been chartered by him, accompanied by nearly a hundred others. He was seated on a tract of thirteen hundred acres at "Newport News;" in official correspondence on the subject it was stated: ". . . we doe conceave great hope (if the Irish plantacione prosper) yet from Ireland greate multitudes of People will be like to come hither." This implies that the William Newce tract may have been in the same locality. Gookin's plantation was a little above Point Hope (present Boat Harbor), probably in the general vicinity of the C. & O. terminal, and in honor of his wife, née Mary Bird, was called Marie's Mount. We surmise that this spelling was simply an archaic variant of the name Mary, and not intended to be pronounced in the French fashion. In the Great Massacre of 22 March 1621/2, Gookin's plantation was one of the hardest hit. Gookin himself is said to have been the first to bring the news to England, arriving there in the *Sea Flower* in May, 1623. There is some doubt as to whether he himself returned to Virginia, but his two sons, Daniel and John, did establish themselves here. Very soon more colonists were sent out at Gookin's expense, and in June, 1623, one of them wrote that on arrival he found ". . . the Governor [Sir Francis Wyatt] and his lady at Mr. Gookin's Plantacion: But of all Mr. Gookin's men which he had sent out the last yeare, we found but seven: beeing all killed by the Indians and the Plantacion ready to fall to decay." The new arrivals saw to it that this did not happen, and the Gookins remained there for many years. In 1633, a Dutch ship captain wrote that he had anchored at "Newport Snuw" where lived a gentleman named "Goegen:" this was Daniel, Jr.²⁰

This might be a good point to pause and say something about the name Newport News and the misconceptions which have arisen concerning its origin.²¹ Of all the suggestions (and there have been many), three seem to have enjoyed most popularity: (a) that it was in some way connected by some good news which Captain Christopher Newport may have brought at the time of the abandonment of Jamestown in June, 1610; (b) that it was a combination of the names of Newport and Newce; and (c) that it was named

New Port Newce for a hypothetical Port Newce or Newcetown in Ireland, home of the Newce's. At the time the good news of Lord Delaware's arrival was brought to the starving Colony, Newport was one of those to receive it, having just arrived on his fourth voyage the month before, so the good news could hardly have been "Newport's News." In the second place, the name "Newportes News" [sic] was first recorded in the Council records on 11 November 1619, when it was a well-known locality and needed no explanation as to location. Captain Thomas Newce had been there only a week, and it hardly seems likely he could have had a part in its naming. Moreover, the connection with Newport seems vague, since he hadn't been in Virginia since 1611, and died in Java in 1617; even though his heirs had land which had been due him in Virginia, there is no indication that it was at Newport News. It might be mentioned that Captain Thomas Newce came in the *Bona Nova*—"Good News"—in 1619!! In the third place, all references in the records to the native heath of the Newces mention Bandon and County Cork (Bandon is twenty miles southwest of Cork itself), but no town named for them is referred to. One source mentions, as an example of early association of the name Newport with news, the ballad by R. Rich published in London in 1610 entitled

News from Virginia

of the Happy Arrivall of that famous and worthy Knight Sir Thomas Gates
and well reputed and valiant Capitaine Newport into England,
the first stanza of which we quote:

It is no idle fabulous tale,
nor is it fayned news:
For Truth herselfe is heere arriv'd
because you should not muse.
With her, both Gates and Newport come,
to tell Report doth lye:
Which did divulge unto the world,
that they at sea did dye.

Be it remembered that Gates and Newport arrived back in England in September, 1610, nine years before "Newportes News" was mentioned in Virginia Company records. There is still no certain explanation for the origin of the name.

In 1622, two more particular plantations were established in the upper part of Elizabeth City, which was to become Warwick. A tract of seventeen hundred acres there was assigned to John Rolfe, Captain William Pierce (Pearse) and some other associated individuals.²² This was on Mulberry Island at its upper end above Stanley Hundred, and adjoined land close to Keith's

(Skiffes) Creek on the other side of which was Martin's Hundred in the Corporation of James City.

The other settlement of 1622 in this locality was Denbigh Plantation. Once owned by Abraham Peirsey, the "Cape-Merchant" (in charge of Company stores and supplies), Denbigh passed to Captain Samuel Mathews after Peirsey died in 1628, by virtue of Mathews' marriage to the widow Peirsey. It was located in the northwest angle between Deep Creek and Warwick River, where, until very recently, there was a village of the same name which lost its official identity with the incorporation of Warwick (1952) and its consolidation with Newport News (1958). Denbigh Plantation was described in detail by a traveller in 1634, who said Captain Mathews "lived bravely" and "kept a good house." He had many servants, and much cattle, poultry and hogs, a spinning house, weaving house, dairy, tannery and cobbler shop; there was also a church on the plantation a little later, as we shall see. In fact, this might be considered as typical of the particular plantations, which were in effect self-contained and self-sustaining manors like those organized on the feudal plan in medieval England.²³

Two more settlements on the south side of James River were made in 1622, which, with Isle of Wight Plantation, already mentioned, took up the whole of the river bank in what was to become Warrosquyoake County: these were tracts taken up in the names of Bennett and Basse. Edward Bennett's Plantation was on a tract of twenty-five hundred acres and was known as "the Rocks." This place is said much later to have become the home of the Lawsons, a fact which is mentioned here solely because the locality can be thus identified on any modern map, north of Pagan Creek and Smithfield.²⁴ Captain Nathaniel Basse's plantation, below Pagan Creek, was called "Basse's Choice"** and probably took in the rest of Warrosquyoake waterfront below Bennett's. In the muster taken at Basse's Choice in 1624, there appears a name which will be of interest in the following chapter: it is that of Benjamin Syms, a member of the household of Thomas Bennett, whose precise connection with the other Bennett has not been determined.²⁵

The Warrosquyoake plantations, like Gookin's, were hard hit in the Massacre of March, 1621/2. In the listed total of three hundred and seventy-four slain (which many believe a low estimate), there is shown an item of fifty at Edward Bennett's. Likewise, Basse's house was burned and an undetermined number of people killed there. Others in the same neighborhood fared better: a man named Baldwin saved his wife and several others, and Thomas Hamor (brother of Ralph), who had taken refuge at Harrison's not

* This picturesque name calls to mind many such plantation names—some riming, some alliterative, some allusive—which came into use in the early days of the seventeenth century: for example, Archer's Hope, Argall's Gift, Dale's Gift, Chaplin's Choice, Pace's Pains, Jordan's Journey, Mary's Mount, Cawse's Care, Beggar's Bush, Hope-in-Faith, etc.

far from Baldwin's, saved many of his followers; both Baldwin and Hamor accomplished these feats by putting up strong resistance to the savages.²⁶ As in other localities in the Colony, the Indians here did not go unpunished. Expeditions against the Warrosquyoakes in January and July of 1623, led respectively by Sir George Yeardley (commander of Southampton, formerly Smith's Hundred) and Captain William Tucker (commander of Kecoughtan), broke their power and drove out the remnants of the tribe. A fort was ordered built there in 1623 to command the channel of the river; if carried out, the fort was probably on the point above Pagan Creek, but this is pure surmise.²⁷

While they were not (strictly speaking) a particular plantation, mention should be made here of the holdings of a very important personage, Captain William Tucker; he was, as will appear elsewhere, commander of Kecoughtan, Burgess, Councillor and Justice. He owned two of the choicest sites in the lower reaches of the James and its estuary, one hundred and fifty acres on Tucker's Creek (now Boat Harbor) at Newport News Point, and six hundred and fifty acres, a little over a square mile, on what was later Seawell's Point. By strange coincidence, on these sites, both patented in 1620, were the termini of the now-defunct Norfolk-Newport News vehicular ferry. In the grant for the Tucker's Creek site, it was noted that Captain Tucker was commander of Kecoughtan (probably here intended for the whole Corporation of Elizabeth City), and that the tract granted was due him for the transportation out of England of his wife's three brothers, George, Paul and William Tompson [*sic*]. The patent for the larger tract at Seawell's Point did not survive in the records, but is definitely referred to in a deed of much later date.²⁸ Details concerning individual landholders will be given in a later section of this chapter.

THE JUDICIAL DISTRICTS AND INFERIOR COURTS

The first Virginia Company charter of April, 1606, and the Ordinance and Plan of Government of the following November, made provision that the President and Council of State in Virginia (later the President was replaced by the Governor or Lieutenant Governor) were to constitute a Court of Law, the only judicial body in the Colony; it was later called the General Court and still later, when inferior courts had been set up, the Quarter Court, since it met only four times a year. As previously pointed out, it was originally intended that each plantation should have a Hundred Court. Such a court in England was subordinate to the Shire Court or County Assizes, and it is quite possible that such was the plan for Virginia later when the Counties should be established, though no record of a Hundred Court has survived.²⁹ It has been said that monthly inferior courts were established by Governor Yeardley in 1619 under the Ordinance and Constitution of 18 November 1618, the same that authorized the laying out of the four Corporations and

the convening of the first Assembly.³⁰ It is true that this Ordinance listed as one of the duties of the Governor and Council the maintenance of justice, and both Council and Assembly were enjoined to follow the policy of law and justice used in England, which might be interpreted as instructions to establish inferior courts. In any case, no record of their establishment at that time (1619)—or in 1622, as Beverley wrote—has been found. The first definite and certain knowledge of such courts does not come until a few years later.

In the Assembly convened on 5 March 1623/4—the first since 1619 for which records have been preserved—it was ordered that a Court be held once a month in the Corporation of Elizabeth City and Charles City.³¹ These courts were to have limited jurisdiction, their sentences decided by majority vote, and the Commanders of the several plantations were to be "of the quorum."* It has already been noted that Captain William Tucker was Commander of Kecoughtan, so he would have been a member of this court, if it actually was held, which is not confirmed by any record. The reason for the establishment of these monthly inferior courts—the one above and the other below James City—is obvious: in this way, causes of a minor nature could be decided locally and without the necessity of the delay and bother of a burdensome trip to the Capital.

There is another gap in the records after the March Assembly in 1623/4, and the next session for which minutes and laws have been preserved met on 20 March 1628/9,³² so no details are known as to the Courts during that period. As the Assembly convened on the latter date, commissions were issued to Commanders and Principal Commanders of Plantations, among which were two of especial interest to our story: Lieutenant Edward Waters was Commander of plantations from Southampton River (Hampton Creek) to Fox Hill (a locality still so-called, on a branch of Back River north of Buckroe Beach), and Captain Thomas Purfury* was Principal Commander in the Corporation of Elizabeth City. This indicates that the Commanders of the several Corporations had subordinate district commanders under them.

In the records of the Assembly last referred to, there is mentioned an Order in Council of 7 March 1628/9 to hold monthly courts in some of the more remote plantations, here designated as Elizabeth City and the "Upper Parts" (meaning Henrico and Charles City). The appointments of Commissioners (Justices) were listed and the following given for Elizabeth City:

Captain Thomas Purfury
Lieutenant Edward Waters

* A term originating in the Latin phrasing of such a commission: *quorum aliquem vestrum . . . unum esse volamus*, "of whom we wish some one of you to be one;" i.e. a justice who of necessity had to be present in order that court might be held. (Webster)

* A name distorted in many ways—even once written "Purifie"!!!—as will be seen in what follows. I feel certain it is intended for the Anglo-Norman "Purefoy."

Lieutenant Thomas Willoughby
 Lieutenant George Thomson
 Mr. Adam Thorowgood
 Mr. Lyonell Coulston
 Mr. William Kempe
 Mr. John Downman

It was further provided that Captain Purfury or Lieutenant Waters were "to be alwaies one," meaning they were to be justices of the quorum in the sense previously noted. There are preserved no records of the Courts appointed at this time, if indeed they ever met.

The proceedings of the next two Assemblies—convened on 16 October 1629 and 24 March 1629/30—contain no reference to monthly courts. It was not until the following session that they were referred to again. At the Assembly convened on 21 February 1631/2,³³ there was recorded a reference back to the former order of 5 March 1623/4 (see above), and on 1 March 1631/2 this Assembly ordered that "monthlie courts be held in the remote parts of the Colony," but this time there were to be five (instead of two) outside of Jamestown. Might it be implied from this that no courts had yet been held? At any rate, we are not here concerned with those in the "Upper Parts" or "precincts of Charles City and Henrico," or in Accawmack, but here are the names of Justices appointed for the other three Courts, which were in Lower Tidewater:

Warwick River	Captain Samuel Mathewes, quorum. Captain Richard Stephens, quorum. Captain Thomas Flint. John Brewer, gent. Zacharie Cripps, gent. Thomas Ceely, gent.
Warrosquyoake	Captain Nathaniel Basse, quorum. Thomas Jorden. Richard Bennett, gent. William Hutchinson, gent. John Upton, gent.
Elizabeth City	Captain William Tucker, quorum. William English, gent. Captain Thomas Purifie, quorum. George Downes, gent. Captain Thomas Willoughby. John Arundell, gent. Adam Thorowgood, gent.

In the records of the Assembly session of 4 September 1632, reference was again made to the Order of 5 March 1623/4, and it was again ordered

that five monthly courts be held as before specified, thus reiterating the previous provisions.³⁴ The question again arises as to whether the courts had actually been held, for there were still no surviving records. At this time the Justices for Elizabeth City and Warwick River were the same as those appointed above, but for Warrosquyoake there was one change: Captain Robert Fellgate replaced Basse, though not of the quorum as the latter had been, and since Richard Bennett* was now listed in the first place, it is to be assumed that he was of the quorum and Presiding Justice. This time it is known with certainty that the Courts *were* established and *did* function, though unfortunately not from those appointed for Lower Tidewater. Only one of the five has its original records preserved practically intact, and that was the Court designated for Accawmack; all the others, including those of the General Court in James City, have succumbed to the vicissitudes of war and conflagration. In the little town of Eastville, county seat of Northampton County (the original County of Accawmack was changed to this name in 1642, and the present county of Accomack is a later carving from it) are to be seen these oldest continuous county records in British America. The first entry in this ancient volume is dated 7 January 1632/3, but is preceded by the remnant of a previous entry, so that it is obvious a few pages are missing.³⁵ It has been suggested that the first entry may have been in July, 1632, but it seems more likely to guess a later date after the Act of 4 September 1632 in view of the wording of the latter. Be that as it may, in contemplating these invaluable original manuscript records, we may be pardoned for regretfully thinking of the similar lost volumes which must have been started at about the same time: those of the "Upper Parts," of Warrosquyoake, of Warwick River, and of Elizabeth City. If we might be permitted another guess, that as to where these Courts were held in Lower Tidewater, we would say at Denbigh Plantation on Warwick River, at Bennett's Plantation in Warrosquyoake, and at Kecoughtan. There were no Court Houses this early.

THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH AND ITS PARISHES

It is not intended here to go into detail concerning the position of the Church of England in colonial Virginia: this has been done by many far more learned in the subject than the present writer. However, there are certain elementary facts that must be borne in mind for purposes of a complete understanding of the situation, facts that are so obvious as to be at times completely disregarded. The Church of England was established by law in Virginia as it was in the Mother Country. This means that it was to all intents and purposes a department of the government, the one which had jurisdiction over the religious life of all citizens without exception, just as the

* Said to be a nephew of Edward Bennett, previously mentioned.

courts and law enforcement agencies had control over their secular life. All the charters granted to the Colony had clauses with provisions for its establishment, and countless Acts of Assembly and orders of local courts related to its administration and functions and to the responsibilities and duties of the people toward it. Although a measure of religious freedom was achieved before the end of the seventeenth century, adherence to the Anglican communion remained throughout the colonial period of Virginia, a prerequisite to the exercise of political rights and holding of public office as well as to the enjoyment of the social and educational privileges that were available.

Virginia was in theory a part of the diocese of the Bishop of London and under his ecclesiastical jurisdiction. But London was far away and frequently the episcopal functions had to be exercised by the Governor. As local administrative and judicial divisions were set up here, so at the same time ecclesiastical units or parishes were established coterminous with them, though sometimes subdivided for convenience. We have already seen how each of the four earliest settlements had its church and minister, corresponding in jurisdiction approximately with the geographical areas that later became the Corporations. We have also seen, and will continue to see, how in each hundred and particular plantation, a plantation parish was established, which developed into the corporation parish, and much later into the county parish or parishes.

Each parish was in theory supplied with a minister, though some were occasionally vacant and sometimes a single minister served more than one parish. The parish affairs were administered by the churchwardens and vestry, a board of the most influential parishioners, and the existence of former—by the very nature of their duties—presupposes the existence of a church building. Very important in every parish was the glebe; this term, from a Latin word meaning "earth" or "land," came to mean specifically "in ecclesiastical law the land devoted to the maintenance of the incumbent [minister] of a church . . . the assigning of them at the first was of such absolute necessity that without them no church could be regularly consecrated."³⁶ As particularly applied to Virginia, the glebe was the parish farm and the minister lived on it and worked it through farm laborers or tenants for the support of himself and his family. In Lower Tidewater there grew up five plantation parishes between 1619 and 1634, which became county parishes after the counties were established: they were located (a) at Kecoughtan, (b) above Newport News, at Nutmeg Quarter, (c) at Denbigh Plantation, (d) at Stanley Hundred, and (e) at Warrosquyoake. We shall give an account of these five parishes, their ministers and churches, in that order.

It has already been pointed out that there was a minister at Kecoughtan quite early, the Reverend William Mease, although the exact dates of his stay there are in doubt. His statement on oath in 1623 in the Virginia

Company's records: "I, William Mease, minister having lived ten years in Virginia . . ." could have been made in London or in Virginia. It seems more likely that he had left Virginia by that time, since a Council order of 10 October 1624 states that Reverend George Keith and Reverend Thomas White had been successively "minister of the Corporation of Elizabeth Cyttie." This and other statements in the order clearly indicate also that corporation and parish were considered coterminous, but the further indication that the Reverend Jonas Stogden* had been appointed minister of part of the Corporation, "in regard the said parish is much enlarged," tells of the division of the Parish of Kecoughtan. For the former Indian name of the Corporation was still used in grants of this time as the name of the parish. Mr. Stogden seems to have been assigned to the part between Tucker's Creek (Boat Harbor) and Hampton Creek; he had land of his own on the latter, and had died before the end of 1628.³⁷ In addition to the above ministers, there was also the Reverend Francis Bolton who is said to have been in Elizabeth City from 1621 to 1623. Mr. White died in 1624, and the matter is further complicated by the fact that a "Mr. Minister Fenton" died in Elizabeth City in the same year.³⁸ It must be remembered that the three parishes on James River, north of Newport News, were separately established until 1628 or later; of all the five ministers who followed the Reverend Mr. Mease in Elizabeth City, Stogden is the only one whose exact locality is known, though it should be pointed out that the 1626 list of patents (above-mentioned) shows Mr. Keith owned one hundred acres south of and adjoining the Glebe, which was itself south of and adjoining Newport News or Gookin's plantation of Marie's Mount.³⁹ Another Glebe nearer Hampton Creek was mentioned in the previous chapter in the account of the early church of 1613 or thereabouts.

An act of the Assembly of March, 1623/4, required that a house or room be set aside for divine worship on each plantation, also a "place impaled sequestered only to the burial of the dead." It is evident that this law was being enforced, by reason of another Council order of 10 October 1624 referring to the construction of a church in Elizabeth City. At that time Captain William Tucker, as Commander of the Corporation, was ordered to have the executors of William Gauntlet and Edward Waters, churchwardens, to account for collections for the church building, which were to go toward paying wages of the laborers. This is the earliest indication of who the churchwardens were here. The site of this second church in Elizabeth City is on the east bank of Hampton Creek, north and east of U.S. Route 60, just short of where it crosses the creek to enter Hampton proper. Until quite recently it was thought that this was the first Elizabeth City church, but some late research on the

* Stockton, Stockham.

subject has disproved this theory, as was pointed out in the last chapter. The State Highway historical marker on this site is, unfortunately, in error.⁴⁰

It will be recalled that mention was made at the end of Chapter III of the ancient pieces of church silver which are now in the possession of the Church in Hampton. Sir Thomas Smith "did not choose" to stand for re-election as treasurer of the Virginia Company and his long tenure ended in April, 1619.



HAMPTON—COMMUNION SILVER (1619), ST. MARY'S CHURCH, SMITH'S HUNDRED
PRESENT (C. 1627) TO ELIZABETH CITY PARISH CHURCH;
NOW IN POSSESSION OF ST. JOHN'S CHURCH, ITS DESCENDANT.

After about a year, in which Sir Edwin Sandys held the office, Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, was elected treasurer in June, 1620, and so continued until the dissolution of the Company in 1624. Southampton had long been interested in the Virginia venture, was one of the Company's shareholders, and was incidentally a patron of the great Shakespeare. Just a little before his election (May, 1620), the name of Smith's Hundred was changed to Southampton Hundred, probably indicating a transfer of shares in that investment. After the massacre of March, 1621/2, this settlement was never again represented in the House of Burgesses and its inhabitants were settled elsewhere. The public property of the Hundred (which included the furnishings of Saint Mary's Church) were left in the custody of Sir George Yeardley, Captain of the Hundred. Upon his death in 1627, Lady Yeardley

delivered this silver to the General Court "for the use of Southampton Hundred Church." This seems to indicate that there might have been some idea of transferring the name to a Company plantation on "Southampton River" (later shortened to Hampton River and now called Hampton Creek) a name which appeared first in patent records about the middle of 1624, a little before the new Elizabeth City church was built. At any rate, a chalice and two patens (illustrated here) are now in the possession of Saint John's Church, Hampton, which occupies the fourth colonial church building in Elizabeth City.^{40a}

One other early mention of this Kecoughtan church of 1624 is of interest: the minutes of the General Court of 8 April 1629 show that "the Churchwardens of the P[ar]ishe of the lower P[ar]tes of Elizabeth City did present William Cappe and John Sipse[y] for not frequenting of the Parish Church."⁴¹ That the "lower parts" referred to were between Old Point and Back River is evident from later grants, and the Corporation was represented in the Assembly in two parts as will be shown in our later section on burgesses. It is unfortunate for our story that the churchwardens were not mentioned in the last cited Court order. The wording of this order might need a word of explanation: it was one of the duties of churchwardens to "present" offenders to the Court, i.e., to lay their case before the Court as an object of inquiry and possible punishment. There are a few biographical details known about three of the ministers mentioned, which may interest the reader. The Reverend Francis Bolton, B.A., King's College (Cantab.) 1613/4, was vicar of Goodeston, county Norfolk, before coming to Virginia in 1621; after leaving Elizabeth City he served Hunger's Parish in Accawmack (1623-1630), and was then minister at James City for an unknown length of time. The Reverend George Keith was a minister in Bermuda and some say he came to Virginia as early as 1617; he was reputed to be a Puritan, and one source states he was minister also in Martin's Hundred plantation parish in 1624, in James City, just across Keith's Creek. The Reverend Jonas Stogden of Warwickshire matriculated at Brasenose College (Oxon.) in 1605/6 at the age of seventeen; he came to the Colony in 1621 and was at first probably in Henrico.⁴²

Very meager are the details about the early existence of the parish which later came to be known as Nutmeg Quarter. This was the name of a plantation on Waters' Creek which was represented a few years later in the House of Burgesses, as will appear below. The late George C. Mason surmised that the name originated through the seventeenth century usage of the word "nutmeg" to apply to any of the lauraceous or other plants having distinctly aromatic fruit, bark, leaves or roots, especially the sassafras and wax myrtle (bayberry), which abound in Tidewater Virginia. It appears from a General Court order of 4 March 1628 [should this be 1628/9?] that the Reverend George Keith, above-mentioned, was then recently returned from England

(where he had been for some unspecified reason) to find his former place filled; for this reason the Court "hath thought fitt to order that those new plantations scituate betweene Marie's Mount and Waters his Creeke bee for the tyme beeing ioyned into one P[ar]ishe and Contribute to the main-teynance of Mr. Keth such tythes and dueties as shall be belonging to him." It has already been pointed out that Marie's Mount (Gookin's plantation) was just above Newport News Point; Waters' Creek has now been partially dammed to form Lake Maury at the Mariners' Museum. Since Mr. Stogden was minister of the Upper Parish of Elizabeth City in 1624, we must conclude that Mr. Keith had previously had the Lower Parish. Geographically speaking "lower" indicates that which is nearer the sea, and not—as Mason suggested—the part which had been settled first. It has been pointed out that Nutmeg Quarter's life as a separate parish extended beyond the life of Elizabeth City as a Corporation; in view of that fact and the fact that it had a regularly assigned minister, it seems likely there was some provision for a place for services, whether a church building or simply a room. In any case, no record of such church or other facility for Nutmeg Quarter has survived.⁴³

As noted earlier, Denbigh Plantation was patented as early as 1622. While there is no direct reference on record to a church there until 1635, the plantation parish and a church building must have existed much earlier than that, probably dating from about the time Mathews took over the plantation in 1628 or earlier. Not so long ago the foundation remains of a very early church were discovered on Warwick River just opposite the lower end of Mulberry Island and on a tidal marsh still traditionally called Church Creek.⁴⁴ It has been generally accepted that this was the site of the first Denbigh church, possibly dating from as early as 1627 or 1628, but other particulars as to its history are lacking. It may be that one of the ministers previously mentioned, whose exact location is not known, was officiating here; this is, of course, pure surmise.

Of the plantation parish church of Stanley Hundred, more certain information is available. The first recorded mention of it is in a land grant of 8 September 1627 for a tract on the south side of Warwick River, which mentions "the Church there erected and built." The exact site is near the upper end of Mulberry Island at a place called Baker's Neck on a small creek. A record in the General Court at James City of 18 November of the same year, tells that the minister and churchwardens of Stanley Hundred had delivered to the Court "presentments" and the required register of marriages, burials, and christenings. This indicates such a high degree of organization that it may have dated back before 1627. Presentments to the Court were also recorded by the churchwardens in 1629.⁴⁵ As in the case of Nutmeg Quarter, there is no certain knowledge as to early ministers here. Most of the area

originally covered by Mulberry Island is now within the bounds of the United States Army post at Fort Eustis.

The last of the five plantation parishes which we shall give an account of was that at Warrosquyoake (present Isle of Wight). This area suffered greatly in the massacre of March, 1621/2 and was temporarily abandoned. The Indians were driven out in 1623 and the settlers slowly returned, though there were only thirty-one persons mustered here in 1625. By 1629, however, great increase in population is evidenced by the fact that, in that year, this was the only settlement which turned in to the General Court complete records of local court proceedings, parish levies and disbursements, and register of christenings, marriages and deaths. This report was as usual submitted by the "mynisters and churchwardens," which definitely indicate existence of a church building, even though it were temporary; but no tradition or record of such a building survives. An Act of Assembly of February, 1631/2, made provision that, in localities where churches were lacking or in poor condition, the inhabitants be tithed to contribute toward a new building, and that the local justices, ministers and churchwardens pick out the site, hire workmen and order necessary materials. It is entirely logical, therefore, to assign the year 1632 as the date of the construction of a brick church in Warrosquyoake, and it is a well-substantiated tradition that such a record was contained in the first parish vestry book; the book is no longer on the scene to bear witness, having long since succumbed to the ravages of time and the elements. The first documentary reference to such a church is no earlier than 1638, and it was reported then to have been in existence in a deed for adjoining land of later date. This, too, falls into the logical pattern, for in the early seventeenth century, the erection of a permanent brick building was not accomplished in a single year, and the record of this church in 1632 probably referred to the order for its construction, not to its completion. There is still standing in Isle of Wight a restored colonial church which has very strong claim to being the original Warrosquyoake parish church, building of which was begun in 1632 and completed before 1638. It is located about five miles southeast of Smithfield near the head of a marshy tidal stream called Jones' Creek. In appearance, it is essentially Gothic in style, with buttressed walls, pointed-arch windows and a massive square tower with brick quoins. This is the exact style of architecture of the well-known Jamestown church, built sometime between 1639 and 1647, and whose original tower survives. Known affectionately as the Old Brick Church (and less accurately as Saint Luke's, as will appear below), this church has some very strong traditions attached to it and is the object of intense local pride because of its age and associations, having been very recently completely restored by the Historic Saint Luke's Restoration, of which the late Henry Mason Day was the moving spirit. A brick taken from its walls in an earlier restoration (1894) bears the date

1632, which coincides with other facts previously mentioned; the most tenacious tradition, however, is that which claims it was built at the direction of Colonel Joseph Bridger, a prominent and influential citizen, by master builders Charles and Thomas Driver, who were imported by him for that purpose, and whose initials appear high up in the bricks of the tower. Whatever the merits of these traditions, the church is a most interesting example of seventeenth century architecture and the restoration has been beautifully carried out, not only with regard to the building itself but also its authentic period furnishings: a seventeenth century baptismal font, communion silver, a communion table c.1640, two original oak chairs, and most important of all—the parish's original Bible of 1629 (the first Cambridge edition of the King James Version) which has been miraculously preserved through more than three centuries. The church was called "the Brick Church" (as well as by its official name of Newport Parish Church) in the eighteenth century, and came to be known as the "Old Brick Church" in the early nineteenth century; it had the name "Saint Luke's" attached to it unofficially in 1828, but was never so called in parish records until the restoration was completed in 1894.⁴⁶

Little is known of early ministers here. The Reverend William Bennett, probably a Cambridge graduate and reputed a Puritan, was said to be minister at Edward Bennett's Plantation in 1623; the relationship between them, if any, is not known. There was also the Reverend Henry Jacob of Kent, a plebe at Saint Mary's Hall in 1581 and B.A., M.A. (Oxon., 1583 and 1586 respectively); he came to Virginia in 1624 and may have been a minister in Isle of Wight until his death.⁴⁷

CORPORATION, PLANTATION AND PARISH REPRESENTATION IN THE ASSEMBLY

It was pointed out earlier in this chapter that in 1619 the Colony of Virginia was divided into four Corporations, and that the first General Assembly convened (30 July 1619) was composed of the Governor (Sir George Yeardley), the Council, and two Burgesses from each Corporation and from each of seven particular plantations, or twenty-two Burgesses in all. There seems to be some inconsistency in this method of representation, since not only were the Corporations represented, but also the other settlements within their boundaries. It must be remembered that the Burgesses from the Corporations represented the Company plantations, whereas the others represented the particular plantations which were territorially within the Corporation bounds but not under their jurisdiction; this same circumstance has been seen to be true in regard to the inferior courts and the parish organization.

Only two Lower Tidewater areas were represented in this first Assembly, as has been previously indicated, and they were the Borough of Kecoughtan

(soon to become the Corporation of Elizabeth City) and Captain Lawne's Plantation (soon to be called Isle of Wight). For the former, there were Captain William Tucker, who needs no further introduction at this point, and William Capps, who lived on a tract on the west side of Hampton Creek just north of Sunset Creek. For the latter, there were Captain Christopher Lawne himself, and a young man named Ensign Washer, but not further identified.⁴⁸

It was noted earlier that no proceedings of the Assembly have been preserved after the first one until the one which convened in March of 1623/4. The acts then passed were signed by twenty-four individuals, but with no indication of their constituencies.⁴⁹ However, most of these names are known through other sources, and at least four of them can be identified as being from our area of interest:

Captain William Tucker (Newport News)
 Rauleigh Croshaw,* gent. (Old Point Comfort)
 Captain Richard Stephens (Warwick River)
 Captain Nathaniel Basse (Warrosquyoake)

Tucker and Basse we have met before; Croshaw will be further introduced below when land grants are discussed; and Stephens will be recalled as the one who was to be a Justice for his district in 1631/2 and a member of the Council in 1632. It is of further interest that, as early as 1619 and 1623/4, the usage was established of having Elizabeth City represented in two parts with one Burgess from the upper and one from the lower area.

Here occurs another gap in the records, with none preserved until March of 1628/9, at which Assembly the names of the Burgesses were not listed.⁵⁰ From then until the establishment of the counties, complete lists were given, including members of the Governor's Council of State, and below are excerpts for Lower Tidewater from these lists under the dates of the Assemblies concerned. It will be noted that localities are specified and, while the word "parish" is infrequently used, it seems that the parish was the unit of representation as well as the plantation.

16 October 1629⁵¹

Council	Captain Samuel Mathewes
Mulberry Island	Thomas Harwood
	Phettiplace Clause**
Warwick River	Christopher Stokes
	Thomas Ceely
	Thomas Flint
	Zachary Cripps

* Rawleigh Crawshaw.

* Close.

Warrosquyoake	Captain Nathaniel Basse Richard Bennett Robert Savin Thomas Jourdain
Nutmeg Quarter	William Cole William Bentley
Elizabeth City	Left. Thomson* Mr. English Adam Thorowgood Mr. Rowlston John Browning John Dow[n]man

24 March 1629/30⁵²

Council	Captain Samuel Mathewes
Mulberry Island	Thomas Harwood Anthony Barham
Warwick River	Thomas Flint John Brewer
Denby [sic]	Thomas Ceely Christopher Stokes Thomas Key
Nutmeg Quarter	Joseph Stratton
Warrosquyoake	John Upton John Atkins Robert Savin Thomas Burgess
Upper part of Elizabeth City	Captain Thomas Willoughby William Kempe Thomas Hayrick
Lower part of Elizabeth City	Captain Thomas Purfury Adam Thorowgood Lancelot Barnes

21 February 1631/2⁵³

Council	Captain Samuel Mathewes
	Captain Nathaniel Basse
	Captain William Tucker
	Captain Thomas Purifye [!]
	Captain William Peirce

* Lieut. George Thomson, who was a Justice in March of 1628/9. On an expedition against the Indians in October, 1629, it was noted: "one ancor lost in the march out of Lieut. Thompson his boat." (Hening, I, 142.)

Keith's Creek and Mulberry Island to Saxon's Goale*	Thomas Harwood
Warwick River	Thomas Flint
Water's Creek and Upper Parish of Elizabeth City	Thomas Seely
Lower Parish of Elizabeth City	Thomas Ramshawe
Warrosquyoake	Captain Thomas Willoughby
Council	George Downes
Mulberry Island	Thomas Jourdain
Stanley Hundred	<i>4 September 1632⁵⁴</i>
Denby [sic] to Water's Creek	Captain Samuel Mathewes
Warrosquyoake	Captain Richard Stephens
Upper Parish of Elizabeth City	Captain Thomas Purifie
Lower Parish of Elizabeth City	Thomas Harwood
	Thomas Bennett
	Thomas Barnett
	Thomas Flint
Phettiplace Clause	
Thomas Jorden	
John Powell	
Captain Thomas Willoughby (absent)	
Henry Seawell	
John Sipsey	
Adam Thorowgood	
William English	
George Downes	
Council	<i>1 February 1632/3⁵⁵</i>
Mulberry Island	Captain Samuel Mathewes
Stanley Hundred	Captain William Tucker
Denby [sic]	Captain Thomas Purifie
Warrosquyoake	Mr. John Brewer
	Thomas Harwood
	William Spencer
	Zachary Cripps
	Roger Dilke
	Captain Thomas Flint
	Thomas Hawkins
	John Upton
	Robert Savin

* Also called Haxom's Goale (or Gaole, incorrectly, we believe), probably near lower end of Mulberry Island but not below Blunt Point. (See Nugent, p. 4.)

Nutmeg Quarter	Francis Hough
Upper Parts [sic] of	Thomas Sheppard
Elizabeth City	John Sipsey
Lower Parts [sic] of	William English
Elizabeth City	John Arundel

EARLY LANDOWNERS AND THEIR HOLDINGS

The land grant records are contained in the patent books in the Virginia State Land office, which begin in 1623 with some scattered grants of a few years earlier recorded at that time. The most complete records begin in 1624 when the Virginia Company was dissolved; however, grants were not actually made in the name of the Crown until 1627. Even then the records are not complete and there are many grantees whom we know of from other sources for whom land grants have not been preserved on record. Another excellent source is the well-known list of 1626⁵⁶ which gives many names not otherwise known, and—most important of all—lists landowners in geographical sequence and thereby assists greatly in determining the approximate location of many very early land grants. The grants here concerned are not the big particular plantations (although some of them appear in the list, too) but individual holdings, "dividends" they were called, granted at first in multiples of one hundred acres, later of fifty acres, for the grantee's own "adventure" into the Colony or for the transportation of others. In the list which is here given, the early land grants and the 1626 list are used as the basis, supplemented with data gleaned from other sources. In each area the sequence starts upstream and moves downward on riverbank and shore line, unless otherwise indicated. The dates of the grants are given when known, as well as other identifying data; the page number refers to Nugent, *Cavaliers and Pioneers* (see bibliography), abstracts of early land grants, when there mentioned.

Date	Grantee	Acres	Remarks	Nugent p. no.
"Warrasqueake [sic] Plantation . . . downwards from Hog Island [Lawne's Creek]"				
	John Carter	100	1626 list only	
	Christopher Daniel	100	"	
	Adam Dixon	100	"	
	John Perry	100	"	
	Thomas Winter	100	"	
	John Pittington	600	"	
	Thomas Pool	100	"	
	Anthony Barkham*	100	"	
	Capt. Nathaniel Basse	300	mentioned in another patent c. 1628	10
	Giles Jones	150	"	12

Date	Grantee	Acres	Remarks	Nugent p. no.
"Martin's Hundred near Mulberry Island"				
	[in James City just above Keith's Creek, so what follows is just below.]			
	Nathaniel Hall	200	1626 list only	
	Capt. William Peirce and John Rolfe, decd. } }	1700	{ mentioned in Flint's } grant, 1628, below. 9	
1621	Stanley Hundred	1000	{ This tract appears from the sequence of 1626	
1628	to Thomas Flint		{ list to have belonged at one time to Clayborne	
1629	to John Brewer		and Hamor.	
1627	Robert Poole	300	{ said to adjoin } Stanley Hundred Church. 8	
	Gilbert Peppett	50	{ said to adjoin Poole, } in latter's patent.	
	Francis Gifford	50	1626 list only	
1624	John Bainham, gent. [Warwick River intervenes here.]	300	up a creek near Blunt Pt. 4	
	Capt. Mathews of Denbigh Plantation [Blunt Point was here.]	50	{ was this part of or } addition to Denbigh?	
1624	Thomas Hothersall	200	{ lived in James City— this land was at Blunt Pt.	2
	Cornelius May	100	{ adjoining Cornelius May 1626 list and	
	Richard Craven	150	{ above patent 1626 list and	
1624	Richard Tree	50	{ below patent lived in James City, 4	
	Richard Domilawe	150	{ said here to adjoin R. Craven 1626 list only	
	Percival Ibbison	50	{ 1626 list and below patent	
1624	Edward Waters, Gent. [Waters' Creek, now Lake Maury, intervenes here.]	100	{ Said to adjoin P. Ibbison and on Waters' Creek 4	
	Capt. Jos. Hurleson	100	1626 list only	

* Same as the Burgess for Mulberry I. in 1629/30?

Date	Grantee	Acres	Remarks	Nugent p. no.
	Robert Hutchins, Mariner	100	{ 1626 list and } below patent	
1629	Robert Sweets	100	{ below Waters' Creek said to adjoin R. Hutchins	13
	John Southerne	40	{ 1626 list; had another grant for 24A on Jamestown Island, 1627	
	Sir Francis Wyatt	500	1626 list only	
	[following six grants all specifically state "between Newport News and Blunt Point."]			
1621	Maurice Thompson, Gent.	150	{ for transportation of Geo. Thompson* and John Bembridge	4
1624	John Salford, yeoman son of Robert	100	{ said to adjoin Maurice Thompson and Pharaoh Flinton	4
1624	Pharaoh Flinton, Gent. (Farrar?)	150	{ said to adjoin Salford and Allington	4
1624	Lt. Giles Allington, Gent.	100	{ said to adjoin Flinton and Bentley	4
1624	William Bentley	50	said to adjoin Allington	5
1624	Thomas Godbye, yeoman	100	said to adjoin Bentley	5
	Newport News	1300	{ This is the Gookin plantation previously mentioned	
	Glebe Land	100	1626 list only	
	Mr. Keyth	100	{ Rev. Geo. Keith, minister of this area in 1628—1626 list only	
	[Here a tidal marsh intervened.]			
1620	John Taylor, yeoman	50	{ said to adjoin a swamp on west and J. Powell on east	5
1620	John Powell, yeoman	150	{ said to adjoin J. Taylor and a "green swamp" (the creek)	5
	[Here Tucker's Creek, now Boat Harbor, intervened.]			

* Any connection between this George Thompson and the one mentioned in Tucker's grant later? Note also Burgesses for Oct., 1629, and Justices for Mar., 1628/9.

Date	Grantee	Acres	Remarks	Nugent p. no.
1620	Capt. William Tucker* Commander of Kecoughtan	150	{said to adjoin a "green swamp" and R. Boulton	5
[From this point the following grants extend along the shore from Tucker's Creek (Boat Harbor) to Hampton Creek.]				
	Richard Boulton	50	{1626 list and above patent	
1624	Robert Salford, yeoman wife Joan son John (see below)	100	{said to adjoin Salford (now Salter's) Creek— inland from J. Salford, also adjoined Miles Prickett	5
	John Salford, yeoman	50	{1626 list only; prob. on shore in front of R. Salford	
[Here Salford (now corrupted to Salter's) Creek intervened.]				
	Miles Prickett**	150	{1626 list and above patent	
1624	John Bush, Gent	300	{said to adjoin Prickett, Lupo and Julian	5
1624	William Julian, yeoman	150	said to adjoin Bush	5
1624	Lt. Albiano Lupo, Gent	350	said to be <i>near</i> Bush	5
1624	Elizabeth Lupo, wife of above	50	{said to touch "the broad creek by the old pines"	6
[It appears Julian was on the shore and the Lupos inland; here a creek intervenes.]				
1624	Thomas Spilman, Gent	50	{said to adjoin Lupo and E. Hill, dec'd.	6
	Edward Hill	100	{called deceased in above pat. but in 1926 list	
[Here another creek intervenes.]				
1624	Alexander Mountney, yeoman	100	{said to adjoin Hill and Cole	6

* It is noted in this grant that Tucker got this land for transportation out of England of George, Paul and William Tompson [sic] his wife's brothers. See note on Maurice Thomson's grant above. Tucker's wife was named Mary Tompson, according to Marshall Butt, and she arrived here in 1623.

** In 1628, there was granted to "Ensign Thomas Willoughby, Gent," 50 acres "west upon Salford's Creek unto land formerly granted Miles Prickett now in tenure of said Willoughby." (Nugent, p. 10.)

Date	Grantee	Acres	Remarks	Nugent p. no.
	William Cole	100	{ 1626 list and } above patent	
	William Brooks	100	{ 1626 list only; } inland from Cole	
	Glebe Land	100	{ site of first Kecoughtan } Church, c. 1613	
	[Here Church Creek (now Beaver Dams) intervenes.]			
1624	Elizabeth Dunthorne wife of Thomas, yeoman	100	{ said to adjoin Church Creek, Gainye and the mouth of Southampton River	6
1624	William Gainye, Mariner [Gany]	200	{ said to adjoin harbor of Southampton River, head of Church Creek, E. Dun- thorne, and a creek between this land and W. Capps	6
	[Here the present Sunset Creek intervenes, and the following patents are on the west side of Hampton Creek.]			
	William Capps	?	{ 1626 list and } above patent	
	[Here Salter's Creek intervenes, not to be confused with the one by the same name, formerly Salford's.]			
1624	William Clayborne, Gent, of James City	100	{ said to adjoin Lansden and a creek dividing from Capps	6
1624	William Lansden, yeoman	100	{ said to adjoin a creek dividing from Clayborne, below	6
1624	William Clayborne	50	{ said to adjoin Lansden and Gunnery	6
	John Gunnery (Gundry)	150	{ 1626 list and } above patent	
	[Here Deep Creek (?) intervenes.]			
1624	Mary Bouldin, wife of Thomas	100	{ said to adjoin Deep Creek and her husband, 1½ miles up river	6
1624	Thomas Bouldin, yeoman	200	said to adjoin his wife	6
	[The following are on the east side of Hampton Creek.]			
	Virginia Company	30,000	1626 list	
	Common Land	1,500	1626 list	

Date	Grantee	Acres	Remarks	Nugent p. no.
	[On this Company or Common Land were located the "Fort Field," site of Henry Fort of 1610 (now the National Soldiers Home), and a half mile to the north, the Kecoughtan Parish Church of 1624 (the second).]			
	[Here "Strawberry Banks" (see previous chapter), and the present Mill Creek intervened.]			
	Algernoun Fort		{site of present Fort Monroe	
1623	Capt. Rawleigh Crawshaw, Gent.	500	{"in Old Point Comfort"	2
	[From the description of the two following patents, "north on Back River and south . . . tending toward the head of Southampton River," and from the fact that the grantees were "of Buck Roe," it seems that the latter term had a much wider application than presently applied to Buck-roe Beach.]			
1624	Peter Arundel, Gent. ⁵⁷ of Buck Roe	200	{said to adjoin Hoskins	6
1624	Bartholomew Hoskins of Buck Roe	100	{said to adjoin Arundel	6
	Thomas Willoughby Pamunkey (now York) River	200	1626 list only 1626 list	
	[We judge from last two entries above (which are actually in reverse order) that part of present York County may have been in Elizabeth City—Willoughby's tract cannot be located with certainty.]			
	[The following tracts, described in the only two surviving patents as "on the south side of the river over against (opposite) Kecoughtan," are on the Norfolk side and are the first tracts taken up in that area. The sequence here starts at Willoughby's Point (now called "Spit"), thence west to Seawell's Point, thence south to Tanner's Creek (now Lafayette River).]			
	Thomas Willoughby	100		
	Thomas Chapman	100		
	Thomas Breewood	200		
	[Here Mason's Creek intervened.]			
	John Downman	100		
1620	Captain William Tucker	650		
	[This was right on Seawell's Point, and between this and Sipsey was a Creek.]			
1624	John Sipsey, yeoman	250	{said to adjoin Tucker and Cheesman	7
1624	Lt. John Cheesman, Gent.	200	{said to adjoin Sipsey	7

Date	Grantee	Acres	Remarks	Nugent p. no.
1620	John Wood, shipbuilder, [July] on Elizabeth River ⁵⁸		not on 1626 list	
[The latter entry represents merely an application for land on that river, "because thereon is timber fitting for his trade, and water sufficient to launch such ships as shall be there built for the use and service of the Company."]				

This ends the list of earliest grants in the Corporation of Elizabeth City. There were many more land grants prior to 1634 when the counties were laid out, but to detail them here would fill more space than we have available. A few words of comment on the lands in the Seawell's Point area may not be out of place. As noted above, only two grants there have been preserved in the records, those of Sipsey and Cheesman. We know of Tucker's six-hundred-and-fifty-acre grant from a deed of much later date (1661)⁵⁹ on record for Lower Norfolk County, which recited the following facts: that Captain Tucker, in 1620, patented six hundred and fifty acres "knowne and commonly called by the name of the plantations scituare, lyeing and being on the south side of James River;" that this patent was confirmed by General Court Order in December, 1633; that he afterwards assigned the whole tract to Sipsey; that Henry Seawell the elder* did "cleare, seate, build and plant" on one hundred and fifty acres on the tract known as Seawell's Point adjoining land occupied by Sipsey. It will be recalled that Sipsey and Seawell first appear on the scene as Burgesses for the upper part or parish of Elizabeth City in 1632, which Thomas Willoughby had represented since 1629 by virtue of his residence on Salford's creek in 1628. It is further to be noted that John Arundel (son of Peter of Buck Roe) "of the Lower Parish of Elizabeth City" had a grant on Back River in 1632, and was Burgess for the "Lower Parts" in February, 1632/3. This makes it clear, as was pointed out in the section on parishes, that the Upper or Kecoughtan Parish extended from Newport News to Hampton Creek, and the Lower Parish included Point Comfort, Buck Roe, Fox Hill, and Back River.

ANCIENT PLANTERS

This term was used in the Virginia Company records to refer to the original settlers. The dividing line in time between the "ancient planters" and the "new planters" was the time of the "going away of Dale," a phrase much used in the records to refer to the end of Sir Thomas Dale's administration as Governor which occurred in May, 1616. The ancient planters received greater consideration especially in the assignment of land, and got theirs in

* He died before February, 1644/5.

dividends of one hundred acres each as opposed to the later shares or "headrights" of fifty acres each. A list of these ancient planters was compiled by Nugent⁶⁰ from the patent books, and we have excerpted this list below to show those who eventually came to reside in Lower Tidewater. They are listed chronologically by the year in which they arrived in Virginia, but it must be remembered that such date does not mark the beginning of their residence in our area. Most of these names will be familiar to the reader through other associations; the place of residence has been added for those who are not.

ANCIENT PLANTERS OF LOWER TIDEWATER who came to Virginia
before May, 1616.

Year	Name	Ship
1608	Phettiplace Close	<i>Starr</i>
	Rawleigh Crawshaw [His grant of 1623 says he came in <i>Bona Nova</i> in 1620; if so, he must have made two trips.]	
	William Julian	<i>Hercules</i>
	Lt. Edward Waters	<i>Patience</i>
1609	John Chandler, servant of Thomas Willoughby	<i>Hercules</i>
	Elizabeth Joones [sic], servant of Thomas Dunthorne	<i>Patience</i>
	Robert Partin, and wife Margaret, of Kecoughtan	<i>Blessing</i>
	John Powell	<i>Swallow</i>
1610	William Bouldin and wife, Mary	
	Elizabeth Dunthorne (d. 1626)	<i>Tryall</i>
	Thomas Lawson* and Margaret Bray, his wife	
	Albiano Lupo, Gent. (d. 1626) [an Italian?]	
	Alexander Mountney	<i>Mary and James</i>
	John Taylor	<i>Swan</i>
	William Tucker	<i>Mary and James</i>
	Thomas Willoughby, aged nine	
1611	John Downeman	<i>John and Francis</i>
	John Gundry, laborer [Gunnery]	<i>Starr</i>
	Oliver Jenkins of Warrosquyoake	<i>Starr</i>
	Miles Prickett	<i>Starr</i>
	Robert Salford and wife Joane	<i>John and Francis</i>
	John Smith of Warrosquyoake	<i>Starr</i>
	Thomas Sully, yeoman of Elizabeth City	<i>Swan</i>
1612	Pharaoh Flinton, Gent., a "Surgion," wife Joan	<i>Elizabeth</i>

* Not a resident of Elizabeth City, but was grandfather of Anthony Lawson, who later settled in Lower Norfolk.

Year	Name	Ship
1613	Francis Mason, wife Anne, daughter Anne [on Mason's Creek before Nov. 1635]	<i>John and Francis</i>
1616	John Bainham (d. 1628/9) wife Elizabeth; dau. Mary married Richard Tisdale	<i>Susan</i>
	William Gany [Gainye]	<i>George</i>
	Elizabeth, wife of Albiano Lupo (see above)	<i>George</i>
	Thomas Spelman, Gent.	<i>George</i>
	Mary, wife of John Gundry (see above)	<i>George</i>
	John Salford [son of Robert, above]	<i>George</i>

The following also were specified in the records as "ancient planters," but the exact year of their coming has not been determined:

Lt. Giles Allington (d. 1629)
 William Capps
 James Davis, Gent., of Warrosquyoake
 Mary, wife of Thomas Flint, Gent.
 Bartholomew Hospkins [sic]
 William Lansden, yeoman
 Thomas Key and wife, Martha of Denbigh

The most famous of the Ancient Planters, who eventually came to live in Elizabeth City, were the Laydon family. John Laydon, a carpenter, arrived at Jamestown with the First Settlers in May, 1607. On the Second Supply, which came in October, 1608, were Thomas Forrest, gent., and his wife, also John Burras, a tradesman, and his daughter Anne, the latter being Mistress Forrest's maid. During the winter of 1608-9, John Laydon and Anne Burras were married, the first Anglican marriage in America; about 1609-10, their first daughter Virginia Laydon was born, the first British child born in Jamestown, and, like her predecessor, Virgina Dare, named for the country. In the 1625 muster of those living at Elizabeth City were John and Anne Laydon and their four daughters (Virginia, Alice, Katherine, Margaret), and in 1632 Laydon received a grant of 500 acres in that Corporation. Thus there were living at Elizabeth City the first couple to be married in Virginia and the first child born at Jamestown.

This ends the story of the Corporation of Elizabeth City. As will appear in what follows, the corporations were superseded and replaced by the counties early in 1634, and from this point on, our story will be told in separate parts (insofar as possible) by the counties which fell within our area of interest, Lower Tidewater Virginia.

NOTES ON CHAPTER IV

N.B. See remark at beginning of Chapter I notes.

1. Sams, *The Third Attempt*, p. 444 *et seq.*
2. Stith, *History of Virginia*, p. 160.
3. Sams, *op. cit.*, pp. 405, 438, 440.
4. Yonge, "Jamestowne," pp. 65, 96.
5. Sams, *op. cit.*, pp. 456-7; Butt, *Norfolk County*.
6. Sams, *The Second Attempt*, p. 133; *The Third Attempt*, p. 39; Hening, *Statutes at Large*, I, 249.
7. Mason, "Churches of Warwick and Elizabeth City," p. 371.
8. Mason, "Churches of Isle of Wight and Southampton," p. 41.
9. Nugent, *Cavaliers and Pioneers*, pp. 2-15, *passim*.
10. Sams, *The Third Attempt*, pp. 806-12; Butt, *Norfolk County*.
11. Sams, *op. cit.*, p. 812.
12. Charles B. Clark (editor and author), see bibliography for complete title.
13. Sams, *op. cit.*, pp. 335-60.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 337.
15. *Ibid.*, pp. 444-5.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 354.
17. A. C. Brown, *Newport News*, p. 26.
18. Mason, "Churches of Warwick and Elizabeth City," pp. 371-3.
19. A. C. Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-8.
20. *Ibid.*, pp. 28, 265.
21. *Ibid.*, pp. 24-30; here the question of the origin of the name Newport News is thoroughly discussed in an article by Miss C. W. Evans.
22. Mason, *op. cit.*, p. 372; Sams, *op. cit.*, p. 810.
23. Mason, *op. cit.*, p. 376.
24. Sams, *op. cit.*, pp. 370-1.
25. *Loc. cit.*; see also Campbell, "Syms and Eaton Schools," pp. 1-2.
26. Sams, *op. cit.*, pp. 653-4.
27. *Ibid.*, pp. 661, 665, 163.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 812; Nugent, *op. cit.*, p. 5; *Lower Norfolk County*, Deed Book D, p. 348.
29. Sams, *The Second Attempt*, pp. 767-783; *The Third Attempt*, pp. 335-8, 475.
30. Sams, *op. cit.*, pp. 474-5, 793-5: the Ordinance here detailed is that of 24 July 1621, ordering the first Assembly, which it is supposed was very similar to that of 1618, the original text of which has been lost. See also *Ibid.*, pp. 315, 440; Beverley, *op. cit.*, p. 50.
31. 1 H 125.
32. *Ibid.*, 130 *et seq.*
33. *Ibid.*, 153 *et seq.*
34. *Ibid.*, 178 *et seq.*
35. Ames, "Beginnings and Progress [Virginia Eastern Shore]," p. 107.
36. Burn, *Ecclesiastical Law*, cited in *Enc. Brit.*, XII, 117.
37. Mason, *op. cit.*, pp. 382-3; Nugent, *op. cit.*, pp. 5, 12.
38. Goodwin, *Colonial Church in Virginia*, pp. 252, 316, 268.
39. Sams, *op. cit.*, 811.
40. Mason, *op. cit.*, pp. 385-6; *State Historical Markers*, p. 130; the wording of the order of 10 October 1624 is not clear, for Waters was still living in 1628/9.
- 40a. See Chapter III, Note 51; also Sams, *op. cit.*, pp. 428, 435, 553.
41. Mason, *op. cit.*, p. 383.
42. Goodwin, pp. 252, 284, 309; *State Historical Markers*, p. 128.
43. Mason, *op. cit.*, pp. 374-5, 383.
44. *Ibid.*, pp. 376-7; Mason, "First Colonial Church Denbigh."
45. Mason, "Churches of Warwick and Elizabeth City," pp. 372-3.
46. The age of the Old Brick Church was discussed thoroughly and (it is believed) impartially by the late George Carrington Mason, former historiographer of the Episcopal Diocese of Southern Virginia, in his article "The Colonial Churches of Isle of Wight and Southampton Counties," pp. 43-48 (see bibliography), from which most of the information herein was taken. It was there pointed out (1) that the 1632 date on the brick referred to (which is

the only one of three found that has been preserved) contains a figure "3" which is sufficiently vague to be read as "8" by skeptics; (2) that, while the Gothic design points to a period near that of the Jamestown Church (c. 1639), the early Bruton Parish Church of 1683 was also built in this style; (3) that Colonel Joseph Bridger (1628-1683) was not of age until 1649, and not in Virginia until 1657, and that the first Driver (one Giles) arrived also in 1657, while Charles and Thomas Driver did not come of age until after 1675. To this, the writer would add the following observation: the walls of Old Brick Church are laid in Flemish bond; the Jamestown Church Tower is in English bond, as are Adam Thorowgood House (part) and James Wishard House (whole) in Princess Anne, and Bacon's Castle in Surry, all associated with mid-seventeenth century or earlier; it should be further noted, however, that Old Brick Church's Flemish is rough and unadorned, while late seventeenth century Flemish had glazed blue headers.

See also articles in *Norfolk Virginia-Pilot* concerning "Historic St. Luke's Restoration," on 19 May 1957, 20 May 1957 and 14 July 1957, the latter containing the obituary of Henry Mason Day (died 13 July 1957).

47. Goodwin, *op. cit.*, pp. 250, 281.
48. Sams, *The Third Attempt*, pp. 444-5.
49. Hening, *op. cit.*, I, 129.
50. *Ibid.*, p. 130.
51. *Ibid.*, p. 139.
52. *Ibid.*, pp. 147-9.
53. *Ibid.*, pp. 153-4.
54. *Ibid.*, pp. 178-9.
55. *Ibid.*, pp. 202-3.
56. Sams, *op. cit.*, pp. 806-12; many names were misread, misspelled and otherwise distorted by Sams, but have been corrected from other sources.
57. Peter Arundel was a Frenchman, and his occupation was *vigneron* (winegrower) like many of his countrymen who were in this same area. This was one of the attempts to build up a profitable industry by the Virginia Company. "Buck Roe," now called Buckroe Beach, traditionally had its origin in a locality in Yorkshire named Buckrose, though there are many other local traditions, less authentic it must be admitted, which attempt to explain it.
58. Butt, *Norfolk County*.
59. *Lower Norfolk County Deed Book D*, p. 348.
60. Nugent, *op. cit.*, pp. xxviii-xxxiv.

Chapter V

The Shire or County of Elizabeth City 1634-1700

By *Marvin W. Schlegel**

ELIZABETH CITY COUNTY was created in 1634 along with the seven other original counties of Virginia, but because of the ravages of war and time upon the colonial records, we know very little of the county's history for the first half century of its existence, since all its records prior to 1688 perished in the burning of Hampton in 1861, and we have only a few scattered scraps of information preserved elsewhere.

Although the names of the first county officials are lost to us along with their records, the first justices were probably much the same as the commissioners appointed for Elizabeth City two years earlier, in 1632, as given in the previous chapter, since the creation of the counties was a change in name rather than in the functions of the local government. The commissioners sat as the monthly court for Elizabeth City before the county was created and continued to do so afterwards. If the seven men appointed in 1632 were still alive in 1634, it may be assumed that they constituted the first court of Elizabeth City County.¹

The justices were generally the most influential men in the county, and this was certainly true in Elizabeth City. At the head of the list was Captain William Tucker, one of the wealthiest men in the county; as a member of the Colonial Council, he had the proud title of "esquire" and was one of the quorum. Captain Tucker had come to Virginia at the age of twenty-one, arriving with Lord Delaware in 1610 in the fleet that turned back the fleeing refugees from "the starving time" at Jamestown. In 1623, he had married a girl named Mary Thompson, just come over from England, and the following year a daughter named Elizabeth was born to them. Living with the family in 1625 were fourteen white persons, probably as servants, along with William Crawshaw, a baptized Indian, and a Negro couple and their child.²

The second "esquire" on the list was Captain Thomas Perfury ("Purifie" in the record), who was also of the quorum. Captain Perfury was seven years older than Captain Tucker, but he had arrived in Virginia only in 1621. He immediately became a prominent man in Elizabeth City, for he was a lieutenant in 1625, a commissioner in 1626, and a burgess in 1630.³ A third

* See Foreword.

captain among the commissioners was Captain Thomas Willoughby, who had spent almost all his life in Virginia, having come with Lord Delaware in 1610 when he was only nine. By the time he was twenty-three, he had been appointed an ensign and had four indentured servants making tobacco; four years later he was named commissioner and was elected burgess the following year.⁴

The other four commissioners had no military rank and were described only as "gentlemen," a term which in those days indicated a high social position. Two of these, William English and George Downes, were newcomers to Virginia, as their names did not appear on the census taken in 1625. Both of them had settled in "the lower part of Elizabeth City," that is, the land east of Hampton River, which had filled up rapidly after the London Company was dissolved and its reserved lands in that area had been opened up to settlers. The third "gentleman" among the commissioners, John Arundel, was an older resident of "the lower part," as he had settled at Buckroe after his arrival with his father, Peter, in 1621. When the father died four years later, John, then only twenty-two, had moved in with his neighbors, William and Joan Hampton, but soon had a home and family of his own.⁵

The last name on the list was destined to be remembered longer than any of the others, if only because, after he had moved to what is now Princess Anne County, he built a sturdy home, which is perhaps the oldest house in the United States. The house on Lynnhaven Bay is a fitting monument to Adam Thorowgood, for he was one of those men whose dynamic ambition was to build America. Born in 1604, the seventh son of a puritan English vicar, he determined to seek his fortune in the New World and in 1621 came to Virginia as an indentured servant to Edward Waters of Elizabeth City.⁶ He served out his time without incident, but, just as he was earning his freedom, a too-well-celebrated New Year's Eve brought him to the attention of the colony's General Court. With six other friends that night he sailed out to the *Grace*, anchored in Hampton Roads, and joined the sailors in a merry time. As the boat hoisted sail on the trip back to shore, however, it overturned, and two members of the party were drowned. Investigating the accident on January 30, 1625/26, the court was told that the group had shown no signs of drunkenness when they left the *Grace* and found no one guilty of causing the two deaths. Nevertheless, Adam and his friends were required to post bond as a guarantee for their future good behavior.⁷

Before the year which had begun so unfortunately was out, Adam Thorowgood had purchased his first land in Elizabeth City, and in 1627 he went back to England to marry Sarah Offley, the daughter of a rich London merchant. From here on his rise was rapid. He was appointed commissioner

of the monthly court for Elizabeth City in 1628/29, was elected burgess the same year, and finally in 1637 was named to the Council, sitting on the same General Court that had investigated his youthful escapade just eleven years before. By that time he had received at the request of the king's Privy Council in England a grant of 5,350 acres of land on the south side of the bay and had already started building his house there. By that time, too, he had ceased to be a resident of Elizabeth City, for in 1637 that part of the county on the south side of Hampton Roads was cut off from its parent and given a government of its own. On May 15, 1637, Adam Thorowgood sat as commissioner with the first court of Lower Norfolk County.⁸

After the separation of Lower Norfolk County, Elizabeth City settled down within the boundaries it was to retain until it disappeared from the map in 1952. Although it had now become the smallest of Virginia counties in area, it had been in 1634 the second largest in population with 859 inhabitants; only James City, with 886, was larger.⁹ The loss of the south side reduced its population, but its compact area and convenient location were to keep it the most thickly-settled of Virginia counties during the seventeenth century. Even before the establishment of Hampton, Elizabeth City came closer to being a town than did any other part of the colony except Jamestown.

Steps toward the creation of an urban center in the county were indicated by the licensing of several persons early in 1639 to keep "a common ale house and victualing house." Each licensee was enjoined not "to suffer any unlawful games to be used in his house nor any evil rule or order to be kept within the same." The names of these first vendors of public entertainment and refreshment in Elizabeth City County were unfortunately lost to us with the destruction of the colonial records in the burning of Richmond in 1865; all that survives is notes previously taken by Conway Robinson, and Mr. Robinson failed to write down the names.¹⁰

Another provider of public service was Henry Hawley, who in 1640 asked the General Court for a patent "for keeping a ferry at the mouth of Hampton River in Kequutan for the use of inhabitants and passengers in or about their occasions." The court awarded him the patent for his lifetime with the stipulation that his charges should not exceed a penny per person. The size of the fee indicates that his ferry was intended to set passengers across Hampton River, which was already losing its original value as a highway and becoming an obstacle, as Virginians shifted from water to land transportation.¹¹

Elizabeth City had also acquired its first industries. In 1635 William Claiborne erected a windmill on his land on the west side of Hampton River,¹² and soon another mill was built on the east side of the river on what was to become Mill Creek, for a deed of 1645 mentions "the round mill" there.¹³ If these mills occupied the same sites as the two shown on a British

map of the county made during the Revolution,¹⁴ the one on Mill Creek was on the west bank of that stream near its mouth, while Claiborne's was on Blackbeard's Point. It may have been the Elizabeth City millers who caused the colony to enact its first laws regulating industry in 1645, when millers were forbidden to take more than one-sixth of the grain in toll.¹⁵ This act, like many another piece of colonial legislation, proved so ineffective that it had to be reinforced with another two years later, requiring the millers to buy scales.¹⁶

Except for its alehouses and its windmills, Elizabeth City remained as rural as the rest of Virginia, with much of its land still uncleared and some of it still unclaimed by any owner. There were small farmhouses, surrounded by fields of corn and tobacco, but there is no evidence of splendid homes or large estates. Earlier attempts at diversification of crops had failed; the vineyards at Buckroe were "spoyle and ruined," in the words of the General Assembly,¹⁷ and, although the Frenchmen there were ordered not to plant tobacco on pain of imprisonment, it is unlikely that this threat was ever carried out.

The easy informality with which justice was administered in the early days of Elizabeth City County is indicated by the case of Henry Poole, the county clerk, in 1640. Having had the misfortune to get into financial difficulties with Morris Allen, a London merchant, Poole suffered the embarrassment of being brought up before his own court and having to record the court's order that he be confined until he had settled his debts. The sheriff, however, not wishing to inconvenience the county's business, interpreted confinement freely and let the clerk out of jail whenever he wished, whereupon the irate attorney for the London merchant appealed to the General Court. Unable to ignore this evasion of the due process of law, the court "ordered that the said sheriff shall retain the said Poole in his custody and not permit him, neither with keep nor without, to go above twenty paces from the prison until such time as he shall make satisfaction . . ."¹⁸ Fortunately, the court helped the confined clerk out of his troubles by confirming the right he had claimed to collect a commission on "all inventories and outcries" in the county.¹⁹

We know from this record of Poole's tribulations that Elizabeth City had a prison in 1640, and we may guess from the wording of the order that the courthouse was not above twenty paces from the jail. As to what these structures were like and where they were located, however, there survives not a single clue. Most probably they were near the parish church, which at this period stood on the Strawberry Banks at the site now marked by the granite cross erected by the local chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution.²⁰

The site of this second church was rediscovered only in 1910 through the

efforts of Jacob Heffelfinger, who as a Union soldier first saw Hampton as a ruined city and stayed on to help rebuild it after the war. While preparing a history of St. John's Church for the celebration of the three hundredth anniversary of the first English settlement at Hampton, he located the foundations of the old church with a sounding rod and had them excavated. The cobblestone and brick foundations indicated that the original structure had probably been a framed, wooden building, fifty-three and a half feet long by twenty-three wide. The floor had been paved with brick tile, and several important members of the parish had been buried inside the church, but the inscriptions on their tombstones had long been rendered indecipherable by the remorseless ravages of time and weather.²¹

The fact that the builders of this church went to the trouble of raising an artificial mound a quarter of an acre in area in order to elevate the structure for better drainage, indicates more painstaking precautions against future decay than was common in seventeenth-century Virginia. This, along with the fact that it was built on the east side of the river, in the region reserved to the London Company until 1625, may indicate that it was built by Company funds rather than with local tithes. In any case, it was probably erected in the early 1620's and stood until 1698 when it was torn down by Walter Bayley at the order of the county court.²² It was unfortunate that Virginia could not yet afford the luxury of preserving historic monuments; the church pulled down by Walter Bayley may well have been the last building in Virginia surviving from the days of the Company.

Not far away on Point Comfort stood the structure which symbolized the role of Elizabeth City as guardian of the entrance to the colony. The only fortification Virginia possessed against invasion from the sea was Algernoun Fort, erected in 1609 by order of Captain George Percy. This fort was rebuilt in 1631 by Captain Samuel Mathews at the insistence of Sir John Harvey, who had been alarmed to discover, when he arrived as governor in 1630, that the colony was completely defenseless.²³ Once the fort was finished, Sir John faced the problem of keeping it up, since the General Assembly did not wish to lay another burden on the shoulders of the Virginia tobacco planters. On the Indian frontier, forts were maintained by granting the land around them to anyone who would agree to keep up the defenses, but there was not enough public land left at Point Comfort; besides, the heavy cannon in the embrasures at Point Comfort required more care than the crude stockades in the forests.

The Assembly therefore tried the device of taxing the ships which were to be protected by the guns of the fort. Each ship was required to stop at Point Comfort and pay castle duties of powder and shot to the captain of the fort, and the captain was also authorized to administer the oath of allegiance to every new arrival on board each ship at a fee of six pence a head.²⁴ The

first commander at the fort was Captain Francis Pott, brother of the famous Dr. John Pott, who took over with a force of eight men in 1632. This political plum failed to keep the captain loyal to the governor, for he was one of the ringleaders in the movement which led to the temporary ousting of Harvey by the Council. Before Harvey left for England, however, he dismissed Captain Pott from his post at Point Comfort and sent him back home as a prisoner. Pott was succeeded by Captain Francis Hooke, an oldtime officer of the Royal Navy, who died in 1637 after two years at the Point. Captain Christopher Wormeley, who had just finished a term as governor of Tortuga, served briefly at the fort until he decided to look for a more rewarding position, and he was followed by Captain Richard Morrison.²⁵

The chief problem of these successive commanders at Point Comfort was their difficulty in collecting the dues which provided their salaries, as the English sea captains showed no more enthusiasm for supporting the fort than did the tobacco planters. Ingenious captains escaped the castle duties by pointing out that the law authorized the commander at the fort to demand payment but did not require the ships to pay.²⁶ When that loophole was closed by a new law, the merchants petitioned the Privy Council in London to suspend the payments on the ground that they interfered with free trade. So successful were these obstructive methods that when Captain Hooke died, the fort did not have enough powder for the funeral, and Captain Thomas Willoughby had to lend the colony a hundred-pound barrel in order to give the late commander a proper send-off into the other world.²⁷ The fort itself began to collapse, for the General Assembly in 1640 proposed a poll tax for a new fort at Point Comfort.²⁸

Richard Morrison, who took over the fort early in 1638, had more success than his predecessors in winning revenue from his position. With the support of a long letter from Sir John Harvey and the colonial Council, he appealed to England for the restoration of the right to collect the sixpence fee. Deciding that a sixpence is "but a thing of small value," the Privy Council on April 2, 1639, allowed him to resume his collection.²⁹ Captain Morrison enforced his rights with vigor, as is shown in the case of one contumacious sea captain who dared to defy the royal decree. As the minutes of the General Court described the event, "Philip Dyer, master of the ship George, did at his coming into the colony pass his majesty's fort of point comfort and contrary to the obedience & respect to be given to the said fort and contrary to the usual custom and order did not cast anchor within command of the said fort and the said captain going on board demanded the duty of the fort, which the said Dyer under sundry pretences and delays refused to satisfy him, thereupon being arrested and by the said captain in his majesty's name commanded to go ashore, he the said Dyer refused and with scurrolos terms abused the said captain, contemning and slighting his authority. . . ." The

stubborn Dyer found himself the loser by £15 sterling to his majesty and an equal sum to Captain Morrison.³⁰

After Morrison sailed for England in 1641, leaving the fort in the hands of his nephew, Robert Morrison, the revenue seems to have dwindled away once more. At any rate, King Charles I found time in the midst of his war with the Parliamentary Army to send a request to his still-loyal Old Dominion that something be done for the support of Robert Morrison, "Left of the fort att Poynt Comfort," and the General Assembly generously assigned to him his majesty's quitrents from Northampton County.³¹ The support of Morrison, however, did not insure the upkeep of the fort. When the threat of war with the Netherlands reached the colony in the summer of 1666 and the report spread of the arrival of a Dutch man-of-war to prey on the tobacco ships, the Council looked to the colonial defenses. The fort had a garrison of twenty men, but they were armed with nothing more dangerous than hoes. After ordering that these men be given weapons, the Council turned its attention to the eight cannon at the fort and decided that the best thing to do with them was to bury them to keep them out of the hands of the enemy. The Council therefore solemnly ordered that the guns be buried under four feet of earth, and that the garrison stand guard over this buried treasure in case the Dutch should try to make off with them.³²

Recovering from this attack of economy in defense, the Council a few months later ordered the fort rebuilt with the aid of the duties the captain of the fort had been collecting.³³ The fort was still unfinished the following summer when the Dutch sailed boldly inside the Capes to capture several prizes. Colonel Leonard Yeo was therefore ordered to impress whatever men and materials he needed to rush the work to completion.³⁴ Unfortunately, a severe storm that year washed away the foundations, and the General Assembly refused to spend any more money on what it regarded as a useless project.

The abandonment of the fort at Point Comfort marked the temporary end of Elizabeth City's role as gateway to the colony. In the first years of its existence as a county, it had witnessed some stirring scenes. On February 27, 1633/34, for instance, two ships had anchored under the guns of Point Comfort on their way up the Chesapeake to found the new Catholic colony of Maryland. There at Point Comfort, Leonard Calvert and his men were greeted by the Governor of Virginia, Sir John Harvey, and his Secretary of State, William Claiborne, that Kecoughtan landowner who was preparing to challenge Calvert for the fur trade of the Chesapeake.³⁵ From his Kecoughtan base, Claiborne had carried on his fight to keep Kent Island out of the clutches of Maryland, and it was there that he had retired when he had finally lost the battle.

Again, Elizabeth City was briefly in the limelight when Sir John Harvey

returned in January of 1636/7 after two years of exile. Arrested by the rebellious members of his Council and sent off to England as a prisoner, he was reinstated by Charles I, who could not permit his royal authority to be flouted by such humiliating treatment of the royal representative. Sir John returned with orders for the dismissal of all the old Council members and the appointment of his friends in their place, but he was afraid to go at once to Jamestown, where he would be surrounded by his enemies. When he reached Point Comfort, therefore, he proceeded only as far as the parish church on the Strawberry Banks, where he summoned the members of the government to meet him and hear his orders.³⁶ Although this precaution ensured his control of the government when he reached Jamestown, his power was soon overthrown once more. Three years later, he was again at Point Comfort, writing pitifully to his royal master for permission to return to England because he had lost all his estate and was suffering from "many infirmities & weaknesses of Body."³⁷

When, a few years after Governor Harvey's departure, the colony was shaken by the first Indian massacre since 1622, Elizabeth City County was too far from the frontier to be directly affected, but the General Assembly chose the county's leading citizen, William Claiborne, as Virginia's first general to lead the counter-attack against the savages. Elizabeth City, like the other counties, was called upon to furnish its quota of men for the campaign of 1644; as commanders of the Elizabeth City contingent, Claiborne nominated Captain Thomas Burbage, Captain Nathaniel Oldis, Lieutenant William Worlich, and Mr. Thomas Ceeley (Claiborne spelled it, and probably pronounced it, "Cheeley").³⁸ Two years later the General Assembly ordered Elizabeth City to furnish eight of the sixty men who were to assemble "at Kickotan" on April 20, 1646 for the final campaign against Opechan-canough.³⁹

Thirty years later another Indian outbreak touched off the war which was to lead to Bacon's Rebellion. When Governor Berkeley early in 1676 prepared to garrison a chain of forts along the frontier, Elizabeth City was called upon by the General Assembly to send nineteen men, along with a like number from Warwick and Charles City, "to be garrisoned neare the falls of Appamatuk river, at major generall Woods"—that is, at the present site of Petersburg. Lieutenant Colonel Charles Morrison and Captain Anthony Armistead were entrusted with the task of impressing men to fill up the county's quota.⁴⁰ When the restless frontiersmen with Bacon at their head marched on Jamestown a few months later and took over the government, Elizabeth City seems to have taken little part in the brief civil war that followed. The only Elizabeth City rebel whose name has been preserved was one Charles Blanckevile, who was pardoned by the general court and subsequently became "very active in stirring up the people to mutiny by speaking

divers mutinous words in the county of Elizabeth City." For this renewal of his offense he was ordered to ask pardon on his knees with a rope around his neck at the next meeting of the county court.⁴¹

Meanwhile, the passage of two generations in the history of Elizabeth City County had made many changes since 1634. The shifting scenes are obvious in the fragmentary lists of county officials that have survived. The oldest extant list of commissioners subsequent to 1632, for example, contains not a single one of the 1632 justices. The names of those present at a meeting of the Elizabeth City court on May 27, 1646, preserved in the Lower Norfolk records, were: Captain William Claiborne, Captain Leonard Yeo, Captain Nathaniel Oldis, Mr. Thomas Ceeley (spelled "Sely" in the records), and Mr. John Shaunders. The last name was probably John Chandler, who was present at a meeting of the court on February 8, 1649/50, along with Anthony Elliott, John Robins, and Lieutenant William Worlich.⁴² This was very likely the same "John Chaundler," who had been listed as one of Thomas Willoughby's servants in the muster of 1624/25; if so, he had come to Virginia as a nine-year-old child in 1609 and had been one of the rugged sixty-odd who managed to survive "the starving time" that winter.⁴³ John Chandler, who was still attending court as late as 1652,⁴⁴ was probably the last person left alive in Elizabeth City who could remember those terrible days in the infancy of the colony.

Another ex-servant among the justices was William Worlich, who had come to Virginia in 1622 at the age of sixteen.⁴⁵ His energy carried him to a position of wealth and influence, for the records in 1662 refer to him as a lieutenant colonel. He apparently, however, had not yet outgrown the self-made man's contempt for the crude manners of the lower classes. When Anne Price was brought up before the county court for her insolence to John Gundry, Lieutenant Colonel Worlich saw that the court sentenced her to two years as a servant of the colony. Anne Price carried her appeal against this punishment all the way to the colony's court of last resort, the General Assembly, which ruled that the sentence was indeed excessive and ordered that the Elizabeth City court give her a new trial; significantly, Colonel Worlich and his ally, Major Theophilus Hone, were not to sit on the bench during the rehearing of her case.⁴⁶

The high death rate of seventeenth-century Virginia is indicated by the fact that not one of this second generation of county justices was left on the bench by 1680. This list of 1680, the oldest full list preserved in the county's history, contains eleven names: Colonel Charles Morrison, Captain Anthony Armistead, Major Mathew Wakelin, Mr. Bertrand Servant, Mr. Thomas Hollier, Mr. Baldwin Sheppard, Mr. Edward Myhill, Mr. Thomas Jervis, Mr. Augustine Moore, Mr. Thomas Wythe, and Mr. William Wilson.⁴⁷ Not one of these names appears as a justice on any earlier record; in fact,

only the first name, one of the family that held the command at the Point Comfort fort, has any connection with previous Elizabeth City history.

From what is known of other Virginia counties, it is safe to assume that many of these justices also served on the parish vestry, but unfortunately the vestry minutes prior to 1751 have been lost for more than a century. The interest of the Reverend John McCabe, who kept St. John's alive for many years before the Civil War, however, led him to make up for this lack by studying the county records, which at that time went back to 1635. His notes, preserved by Bishop Meade in his *Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia*, gave us the names of Nicholas Brown and William Armistead, the church wardens in 1646, the only surviving record of members of the vestry during the early years of the county.⁴⁸

The McCabe notes did recover a nearly complete list of ministers, although a typographical error in Bishop Meade's book confused Heffelfinger, the later historian of St. John's Church, and this confusion was compounded by Dr. Lyon G. Tyler in his history of Hampton. According to Bishop Meade's account, the Reverend Philip Mallory was the minister in 1644, being succeeded the following year by the Reverend Justinian Aylmer, who served for twenty-two years until 1667. A misprint on the following page transforms the date of Aylmer's arrival from 1645 into 1665, but it is obvious from Bishop Meade's statement that 1645 is the correct date. Heffelfinger, uncertain as to which date to accept, set down the possibility that Philip Mallory remained in the parish until his death in 1661; he also listed William Wilkinson as a possible minister in 1644 because he was granted land at Buckroe in that year, although there was no other evidence that he had ever served in Elizabeth City parish. Both of Heffelfinger's suppositions were repeated by Dr. Tyler as facts, but there seems to be no good reason for accepting either of them.⁴⁹

The crowning success of Aylmer's ministry was the erection of a new parish church, completed about the time his service in Elizabeth City ended. On December 21, 1667, Nicholas Baker, facing the end of his life, made his will, directing his body "to be decently buried in the new church of Kighotan," while in the same year, Robert Brough asked to be buried "in the old church of Kichotan."⁵⁰ The site of this new church was discovered just prior to the Civil War by the Reverend John McCabe on what was then the Pembroke Farm, and it has thus come to be called the Pembroke Church, although this appears to be purely a modern name. The new building was erected about a mile and a half from the old church, farther up Hampton River and on the opposite bank, reflecting the march of settlement inland and to the west. Today its site is north of Queen Street, on the east side of State Route 1706, near the railway tracks.⁵¹

Recent excavations have uncovered the brick foundations, revealing that

it was a frame building about fifty by twenty-seven feet, or about the same size as the older church. The foundations rested on a footing two bricks wide and were themselves a brick and a half wide, laid in Flemish bond. A number of interesting old tombstones with still legible inscriptions survive in the churchyard, which now once more belongs to the parish. The building was destroyed by fire after it was abandoned, as is evidenced by the charred wood and melted window glass found during the excavations.⁵²

Aylmer's successor as minister, the Reverend Jeremiah Taylor, probably continued to preach in both the old and the new churches, serving alternately the members of his parish on either side of the river, since the old building survived for another thirty years. Perhaps because of his frequent ferryings across the river or merely on account of a naturally violent temper, the Reverend Mr. Taylor found himself in trouble with the local authorities. On one occasion the grand jury presented him for drunkenness and on another for slander. When he appeared before the county court, the justices became so indignant at his insolence and misbehavior that they ordered him confined in the county jail at their pleasure.⁵³

In spite of these difficulties, Taylor remained in the parish for eight or ten years; ten years, according to Bishop Meade, eight years, according to Heffelfinger, who lists William Harris as minister from 1675 to 1677 without giving any authority for the statement.⁵⁴ In either case, the Reverend John Page became the Elizabeth City minister in 1677 and remained until 1687, when he was succeeded by Cope Dooley, who served for four years.⁵⁵

One duty of the minister and the justices was to serve as trustees for the two free schools which made Elizabeth City the best-educated county in Virginia. The first of these was founded by a bequest from Benjamin Symes, mentioned in the previous chapter as living in Basse's Choice, in what is now Isle of Wight County, in 1624/25. He was then aged thirty-three and apparently a widower, as a Margaret "Symes" is listed as dying in 1624.⁵⁶ He planned to remarry, bringing over from England Joan Meatheart, but this romance broke up in a quarrel. Rather than go through with the marriage, Joan decided to work out her passage money by serving for two years, and Symes regained peace in his household by selling her services to John Gill.⁵⁷ Joan thus made possible the Symes free school, since the Virginia planter gave up his efforts to find another wife and left no heirs to whom he might bequeath his estate.

Very little else is known of this first Virginia philanthropist beyond the fact that he figured in the bequests of two fellow colonists.⁵⁸ His will, made on February 10, 1634/35, when he was forty-three, reveals that he had acquired two hundred acres of land upon Old Poquoson River and was entitled to two hundred fifty more for the purchase of five servants in 1626. Since he was living on the south side of the James in 1625 and his will does

not specifically mention his residence in 1635, it has sometimes been said that he never lived in Elizabeth City. There is good evidence, however, that he regarded Elizabeth City as his home at the time he made his will. He names as one of his "well beloved friends" and executors, Mr. Thomas Oldis, later justice of Elizabeth City County, and his will was witnessed by the Elizabeth City clerk, Henry Poole. Since his cows were on his land in the county and his "Ewe goate" was at the home of John Branch at Back River, it may be assumed that he himself was keeping bachelor's quarters somewhere in the vicinity.⁵⁹

The greatest mystery surrounds his bequest to "the Church of the old Poquoson," which he presumably attended, as no other reference has been found to a church on the old Poquoson. The late George Carrington Mason, historiographer of the Diocese of Southern Virginia, concluded that Syms was referring to the church on the Strawberry Banks,⁶⁰ but this would have been an odd way to describe the Elizabeth City parish church. It is equally unlikely that Syms meant the church of the New Poquoson parish, established shortly thereafter in York County. The best guess is that at the time he made his will there was a hitherto unknown Poquoson parish on Back River in Elizabeth City County to take care of those persons who found the Strawberry Banks too distant to reach on Sunday morning. This is confirmed by a reference in his will to "the adjoining Parrishes of Elizb. City & Poquoson (viz) from Mary's Mount [Newport News] downward to the Poquoson River."⁶¹

Although it must remain uncertain what Poquoson parish Syms meant, its children were to share with those of Elizabeth City the privilege of attending the free school for which he left as endowment his two hundred acres of land upon the Old Poquoson and eight milch cows. "The use of the said Land with the Milk and Increase Male of the said Cattle," he wrote, was "to be for the Mantaynance of an honest Learned Man to keep upon the said Ground a free school to educate & teach the Children of the adjoining Parrishes." "My Will and Desire," he added, "is that when it please God there is sufficient Increase of the said Cattle tht some part of them be sould for the Erecting of a very sufficient school house."⁶²

Syms died within a year of writing his will, for a lease made to Thomas Andrews in 1636 describes the rented tract as "bordering up the school lands formerly called Benjamin Syms land."⁶³ The trustees set up by the will, the county court and the ministers and churchwardens of the parish, were apparently uncertain as to the status of their endowment under Virginia law, as they appealed to the General Assembly for confirmation. In March 1642/43 the Assembly declared:

Be it also enacted and confirmed upon consideration had of the godly disposition and good intent of Benjamin Symms, dec. in founding by his last will and testament a freeschool in Elizabeth City county, for the incouragement of all others in like pious performances, that the said will and testament with all donations therein contained concerning the freeschool and the scituation thereof in the said county and the land appurteining to the same, shall be confirmed according to the true meaning and godly intent of the said testator without any alienation or conversion thereof to any place or county.⁶⁴

Although there are no surviving records of the trustees, a letter sent to England in 1647 reported on the flourishing state of the school, declaring: "I may not forget to tell you we have a Free-Schoole with two hundred Acres of Land, a Fine House upon it, forty milch Kine and other accommodations to it; the Benefactor deserves Perpetuall memory. His name, Mr. Benjamin Symes, worthy to be chronicled."⁶⁵ It is thus clear that ten years after Symes's death the dairy herd had multiplied five times with enough surplus to provide a house for the schoolmaster.

The success of the Syms school led another childless Virginian named Dr. Thomas Eaton to make a similar bequest in 1659. Eaton is an even more shadowy figure than Symes, since little is known about him except that he had arrived in Virginia by 1631, for in that year he appeared in a suit against Captain Samuel Mathews.⁶⁶ On March 11, 1634/35, he patented two hundred fifty acres of land at the head of Back River and added another six hundred three years later.⁶⁷ He is said to have been the brother of Nathaniel Eaton, the first head of Harvard, who later spent some time in Virginia. His will—or, to be more accurate, the deed of gift by which the school was established—was preserved by some miracle; it was torn out of the book in which it was recorded, but the loose pages managed to survive while the record book itself was destroyed.⁶⁸

Eaton's gift included five hundred acres of land extending along the southern side of Back River toward the head, with all the buildings and orchards, twelve cows and two bulls, twenty hogs, two Negroes, and household equipment including a bedstead, a table, an iron kettle, a cheese press, and twelve "milch trays." He named the same trustees as the Syms school had with the same general regulations, but added the provision that only children born in Elizabeth City County might receive free education in his school. Fittingly enough, Eaton's deed was witnessed by Henry Poole, the county clerk who almost twenty-five years before had stood by while Benjamin Symes made his mark on his last will and testament.⁶⁹

After more than a half century had passed since the creation of Elizabeth City County, two free schools were prospering in the Back River area, there was a new church on the west bank of Hampton River, the sturdy old church on the Strawberry Banks still stood, and there was scarcely a person left alive

who could remember when it was built. Now, at last, with the recovery of the county records beginning in 1688, the veil which covers Elizabeth City's early history lifts a little, and we can get a better idea of what the county was like as the seventeenth century came to an end.

In spite of its small area there was still much land left in swamp and forest. Wolves still roamed in the wilderness, and hunters regularly brought to the county court the two wolves' ears for which they collected the stipulated bounties. Sometimes as many as eight bounties were claimed at a single sitting of the court, and not until 1699 was the last wolf killed.⁷⁰ There were Indians as well as wolves left in the county, although the savage redskins who remained had been thoroughly domesticated. The ones known to us are those who appeared in the records as servants to the white man, usually for a term of thirty years. One Indian woman belonged to William Marshall on an uncertain tenure; the appraisers of his estate in 1693 thought her worth £25 sterling "if a slave for life." Major William Armistead bought an Indian man named Thomas about 1685; thirty-one years later Thomas convinced the county court that his term of service was up, and he was set free. Tavernkeeper William Smelt owned another Indian woman, and as late as 1728 an Indian girl named Marcellina was listed in the estate of John Dudley.⁷¹

The population of Elizabeth City had grown relatively little since its creation, as its small size left it scant room for expansion. Although there are no precise figures, the sheriff reported 365 tithables in 1693, 389 in 1696, and 410 in 1698.⁷² Since the tithables represented the adult male whites and all the Negroes, they included from one-fourth to half the population, depending upon the proportion of whites to Negroes. In 1693, therefore, there were probably not more than a thousand persons in the entire county, or only about fifteen per cent more than in 1634, when it had, of course, included the south side of Hampton Roads. The rapid growth of more than ten per cent from 1693 to 1698 probably reflects the rise of the town of Hampton in the 1690's.

Prosperity in the last decade of the seventeenth century appears to have encouraged Elizabeth City to build a new courthouse. In 1689 court was being held in an ordinary kept by Worlich Westwood, evidently a grandson of Colonel William Worlich.⁷³ Nine years later, when Walter Bayley pulled down the old church on the Strawberry Banks, he also put up benches in the courthouse, presumably a different building from Worlich Westwood's ordinary.⁷⁴ Nothing was done to improve the highways, however, as a year later the governor was writing to the county court to make a formal complaint about the impassable conditions of the roads.⁷⁵

Even in a courtroom without benches, the justices were careful to uphold the dignity of their position. When one of their number, Captain Henry

Jenkins, lost several slaves in 1695, a member of the lower classes named Robert Taylor made the contemptuous comment that, if Captain Jenkins would pay off all his debts, he would not have a Negro left to his name. A jury was impaneled, which found Taylor guilty of slander, and the court sentenced him to a fine of £20 and three months imprisonment.⁷⁶

On another occasion the justices were equally severe. In 1693 Anna Wall, a free Englishwoman, was brought up for having disgraced herself by giving birth to a mulatto child. She was sentenced to five years' service in punishment and was sold out of the county to Peter Hobson of Norfolk Town, along with the child which was bound to serve the same master until it was thirty, the customary term of service for mulatto children in these circumstances. The court added the stern warning that, if Anna ever returned to Elizabeth City, she would be banished to Barbados.⁷⁷

The court, however, was ready to show kindness and understanding whenever it was deserved. In 1692, for instance, Jane Scott appeared with a sad story of domestic difficulties. Several years before she and her child had been forced to flee from her husband's home because of his "hard and ill usage." When her husband left for England, she appealed to his attorney for 1,000 pounds of tobacco for the support of herself and her child, but the attorney had refused the request. The court at once relieved her troubles by ordering the sheriff to seize 1500 pounds of tobacco from her husband's estate.⁷⁸

The justices went even further in handling the case of the runaway Rivers children. The four children, the oldest a boy of fourteen named John, evidently did not like their stepfather, as they all repeatedly ran away from home and lived in the woods for as long as a fortnight. The court decided to solve this problem in juvenile delinquency by binding the children out to other families, where they might lead happier lives. John was handed over to Thomas Curle, who proposed to make a sailor out of him, but next month he was back in court, announcing that he did not want to go to sea. Granting his request that he be taught a trade, the justices bound him out again, this time to William Hudson and his wife Susannah "to learn the art of a shoomaker."⁷⁹ It may be doubted that John ever completed his apprenticeship as a shoemaker, since his master two years later took out a license as a tavernkeeper.⁸⁰

Even though a shoemaker still had to sell liquor to make both ends meet in Elizabeth City, other artisans were already settling there. The county had a blacksmith with the highly appropriate name of John Smith, who, in 1694, purchased a servant named Thomas Best from Captain Parsons in the York River. According to the terms of the indenture registered with the county court, Best was "to learn ye art and trade of a smith, to be paid a complete sett of smith's tools with corn and cloathes according to custom" at the end of his service.⁸¹ Another optimistic artisan was Walter Bayley, who arrived

in 1694 with his wife, three children, and four slaves to undertake the making of cloth. The county court gave him a bonus of 400 pounds of tobacco "for encouragement in making ye prime piece of lynen cloth 22 yards."⁸² Bayley too soon had to eke out his income in other ways, for, it will be remembered, three years later he received another 400 pounds of tobacco from the court, not for making cloth, but for pulling down the old church.

The biggest industrial enterprise in the county was sponsored by Bertrand Servant, a Frenchman who arrived in Virginia in the early 1660's and was on the county court by 1680, although he was not naturalized until 1698. Servant, probably a Huguenot refugee, about 1689 put up the capital to bring Isaac Molyn, who may have been a fellow Frenchman, from New England along with a Negro woman, Tona, and three workmen to build a grist and saw mill at the head of Back River. Unlike the earlier mills of Elizabeth City, this was operated by water power and required the construction of a dam, a fairly formidable engineering project for that time and place. The mill seems to have worked very well, for by 1692 Molyn was operating it with no help but Tona. In fact, the mill worked too well, according to one of Molyn's ex-employees, who claimed that he had been able to grind corn meal as fine as the finest wheat flour. To his surprise, Molyn, who preferred his corn meal coarse, had cursed the workman for spoiling the meal, and the aggrieved miller took his case to court.⁸³

The presence of still other artisans in Elizabeth City is indicated by another court decision of 1694 ordering that Thomas Powell "be bound to a trade." The story of young Thomas Powell is one of the fullest preserved in the old records. In 1688, apparently on the death of his father, Thomas, Sr., his mother, Hannah, had bound out the child as an apprentice to the Widow Willoby (or Westoby—the name appears both ways in the records), who married Stephen Howard. Howard gave the boy such "Cruell and Ill Usage by tying and Whipping of him Most Inhumanely" that he ran away to Major William Wilson, one of the justices, and appealed to him for protection. After hearing the boy's story, Major Wilson sent him to his mother, who had meanwhile married William Crooke. Howard promptly brought suit against Crooke for entertaining his wife's runaway servant, and Crooke replied with a counter-suit that Howard had not performed his part of the bond. The court dismissed Howard's suit and required him to put the boy "to Schoole to Learne him to Read a Chapter in the Byble" under penalty of forfeiting 1,000 pounds of tobacco. Instead of sending Thomas to school, Howard sent him back to his mother, and it was then that the justices ordered him to be bound to a trade.⁸⁴

The requirement that children be educated was general at this time, even when they were girls. Young Eliza Miller, aged eleven, was bound out in

1692 to Thomas and Eliza Hawks with the requirement that she be taught "to read a chapter in the Byble, the Lord's Prayer and the ten commandments," on pain of forfeiting 500 pounds of tobacco if they failed to do so.⁸⁵ Since this order did not stipulate that she be sent to school, it is not certain that she was to be sent to one of the free schools, but there is no evidence that girls were not taught there.

The records give a few glimpses of the operation of these schools at this time. In October, 1692, for example, Ebenezer Taylor* had just finished his term as schoolmaster at Eaton's Free School without taking proper care of the Negro woman belonging to the school, probably one of those given by Dr. Eaton in 1659. Finding that she was almost naked, the court ordered Taylor to clothe her properly. The ex-schoolmaster was given fourteen days to turn over to Henry Royall, one of the "Feoffees"—that is, trustees—"one new cotton wastecote and pettycoate, 3 yards of good new canvis for a shift, one pare new shoon & stockins & alsoe 2 barrells of sound Indian Corne for the negroes use."⁸⁶ This was very likely the Negro woman Joan who three years later was excused on account of her age from paying taxes in the future and allowed to keep whatever crop she could make for her own maintenance.⁸⁷

The master at the Syms School in 1693 was Robert Crooke, possibly a relative of the William Crooke who came to the defense of his stepson, Thomas Powell. Crooke appeared in the records because he had to repair the schoolhouse and was allowed two old cows in payment for his expenditures.⁸⁸ Four years later George Eland was elected "Schoolmaster of Eaton's Free School & he to continue in place as shall be approved of from year to year Teaching all such children in English and gramer learninge as shall be sent to him that are belonging to this county, and he shall have all such pquisetts and prftts as is belonging to the sd schoole."⁸⁹

Eland apparently continued only two years in his position, for the fall of 1699 found new teachers in both the Elizabeth City schools. Although the county clerk did not bother to mention them in his records, as so often happened, their names got into the minutes of the colonial Council, and we thus learn the method by which the teachers acquired their teaching certificates. In the one case, Stephen Llyly had called upon the governor in search of a position and the governor had referred him to the Elizabeth City Court. That court approved him as "a fitt pson for Teaching youth Writing & ye English Lang," and sent him back to the governor for his teaching license. The court also found Charles Goring capable of teaching reading, writing, and arithmetic and asked that he likewise be licensed.⁹⁰ We cannot be certain whether the court's failure to ask to have Llyly certified in arithmetic means that he

*Later a resident of Princess Anne County (See Chapter XX).

was deficient in mathematics, but if Lully's abilities were indeed the lesser, it may be assumed that he was the teacher at the Syms School since that had the smaller endowment of the two.

The method of administering the endowments is revealed by a lease recorded June 19, 1699, which indicates a long-established practice. It reports that William Williams had leased for twenty-one years that part of "Eaton's Free-school land . . . whereon John Tams lately lived." In return for the use of the land, Williams was to improve the land by building a substantial thirty-foot dwelling house and planting one hundred apple trees and also to pay an annual rent of 200 pounds of tobacco to the schoolmaster.⁹¹ Since the lease does not record the size of the tract, it is impossible to estimate the total salary of the teacher, but it was evidently not high enough to keep the schoolmaster very long in his place.

The location of the two schools was beginning to be a disadvantage, since they were at the opposite end of the county from the growing center of population on Hampton River. The beginning of the town of Hampton was a law passed in June, 1680, entitled "An act for cohabitation and encouragement of trade and manufacture," which ordered the laying out of 50 acres of land in each county for the building of a town and warehouses. The site chosen for the town in Elizabeth City County was the plantation which had once belonged to William Claiborne, but which had come into the hands of Thomas Jarvis.⁹² The mistress of the Jarvis plantation was the former Elizabeth Duke, who had come to Virginia as the wife of Nathaniel Bacon and, following his death during the rebellion, had ended a brief widowhood by marrying Jarvis.

This act did not take effect, however. Since one of its purposes was to bring the tobacco trade under closer regulation by centralizing it at one point in each county, the tobacco merchants protested against this interference with free enterprise and persuaded the king to suspend it. Nevertheless, the laws of economics were accomplishing what the laws of the General Assembly could not. Since the passing of the fort at Point Comfort, there had been no official entry point for ships entering the bay, and vessels in search of a brief rest from the ocean voyage before proceeding into the interior had found the anchorage inside Hampton River the most convenient spot. In spite of the suspension of the act of 1680, several dwelling houses and warehouses were built on the Jarvis plantation.

In 1691, the assembly again tried to force Virginians to live in towns with a new law similar to that of 1680. Once more the Jarvis plantation on the west side of Hampton River was selected as the site for the port of Elizabeth City, but the land by now was in the possession of Mr. William Wilson, not yet the county's major.⁹³ Although this law was disallowed by the king in 1693, the town of Hampton had already been formally laid out.

Three feoffees, Thomas Allamby, William Marshall, and Pascho Curle, were appointed in 1692,⁹⁴ and they laid out two streets, named in honor of William and Mary, King and Queen. King, the main street, led down to the wharf at the river, while the longer Queen Street crossed it at right angles, forming a short-legged T. Some twenty-six half-acre lots were sold at the time of laying the tax levy in 1693. Since there was some doubt as to whether this sale was valid in view of the royal veto, Major William Wilson, the county sheriff, was ordered in 1694 to collect 1178 pounds of tobacco from each person who had taken up a lot.⁹⁵

A sign of one of the inevitable problems of a port town came as early as 1692 when William Marshall, feoffee of Hampton and justice of Elizabeth City, was murdered by several sailors.⁹⁶ The murder of Marshall, however, did not discourage others from the lucrative prospects of entertaining the roistering seamen. Five persons—John Knox, Shoemaker William Hudson, Thomas Skinner, John Bright, and Coleman Brough—were granted licenses to keep ordinaries at Hampton in 1696,⁹⁷ and in 1697 four more names were added to the list, William Smelt and three women named Anne Anderson, Sarah Middleton, and Mary Downes.⁹⁸ After that, it seemed very appropriate to appoint a constable in 1698, but that did not satisfy the governor who, in 1699, came down with an iron hand upon the lively spirits of King Street. He reminded the Elizabeth City court that a law limited each town to two ordinaries, and the justices obediently revoked the licenses of all the tippling houses but those operated by the two Williams, Hudson and Smelt.⁹⁹

The General Assembly was to make one more attempt to give Hampton some legal status. A new law passed in October, 1705, for the first time gave the town its new name, which was still generally ignored by local people who persisted in using the century-old Indian name of Kecoughtan. The law attempted to cover Virginia with English "burghs," equipped with the full panoply of medieval privileges. The infant town of Hampton, for example, was "to have Wednesday and Saturday in each week for market days, and the tenth day of October and four following days, exclusive of Sundays, annually for their fair."¹⁰⁰

Although this law, like its predecessors, eventually fell before the royal veto in 1710, and Hampton thus lost its right to an annual fair, the town needed no legislative support to justify its existence. For the moment it was one of the two largest towns in Virginia; Jamestown was dying, Williamsburg had just been born in 1699, and Hampton and Norfolk were the only commercial centers the colony had. Its functions were not limited to furnishing recreation for the sailors on the tobacco ships. As has been noted, a group of artisans had set up their shops to take care of other necessities for the seamen. The town was the home of Peter Heyman, collector of His Majesty's customs for the lower James. Another resident was John Minson, who earned

his living by piloting vessels up the James River. One shipmaster who neglected securing the proper pilot furnished the community with some excitement in December, 1696, when the *William and Mary*, sailing out of New York, was wrecked on the Horseshoe off Point Comfort.¹⁰¹

The biggest excitement in the young community's brief history, however, was to come just as the century was turning, in the lull that followed King William's War. The war itself had had no effect on Virginia, which was indeed fortunate, as the colony was completely unfortified, and Elizabeth City's militia in 1698 numbered only 184 men under the command of Major William Wilson. It included a troop of 36 cavalry, headed by Captain Willis Wilson, and two companies of infantry, commanded by Captain William Armistead and Captain Augustine Moore, with respective strengths of 81 and 67 men.¹⁰² As the war ended, a number of privateers refused to give up their profitable profession and thus in time of peace became pirates. In the summer of 1699, a pirate vessel, the *Alexander*, boldly entered the Chesapeake and captured two merchantmen, while the small royal guardship, the *Essex Prize*, looked helplessly on. As a result, the English Admiralty sent a larger vessel, the *Shoreham*, to strengthen the defenses of the Chesapeake.¹⁰³

A word should be said at this point concerning the protection of shipping. This is a problem which was present from the very beginning of the British Colonial era, because of the threat of hostile Spanish and Dutch vessels; apparently no systematic attempt was made to solve it until the 1660's. First it was proposed that homeward-bound ships—particularly those bearing valuable cargoes of tobacco—should sail together at stated times for mutual protection. Then Royal Naval vessels were assigned to act as guard-ships in Chesapeake Bay, and as escorts for ships sailing in convoy. For instance there was the 46-gun *Elizabeth*, which was destroyed by the Dutch during the hostilities of 1667. A little later, the *Quaker* and the *Deptford*, both ketches, were assigned here. Next two larger vessels, the *Dumbarton* and the *Wolfe* were on the scene. The *Swift*, an "advice boat"—dispatch boat, in modern terms—ran aground below Cape Henry in 1697, and was soon replaced by the *Essex Prize*, and later by the *Shoreham*, a fifthrater of thirty guns, mentioned above. It was customary for tobacco ships to assemble at Point Comfort or Lynnhaven for convoy, and to go up the rivers—Elizabeth, Nansemond and others—under such forts as there were for protection. Look-outs were posted at Point Comfort, between Cape Henry and Lynnhaven, and below Cape Henry. Such was the situation at the beginning of 1700.^{103a}

Among those who accompanied Gov. Nicholson on board *Shoreham* during the engagement was Captain Aldred of the *Essex Prize*, the guardship which *Shoreham* replaced. The *Essex Prize* was at that time careened in Elizabeth River, probably at Powder Point, in preparation for a homeward voyage. On 9 June 1700, she was ready to sail for England with a convoy

of fifty-seven ships. This was not an unusual number, for we are told these convoys sometimes were in the vicinity of 100 vessels. The ships of this convoy varied greatly in size and armament: all the way from unarmed to twenty guns, and with crews numbering from five to thirty-two men. They hailed from or were bound to such English ports as London, Liverpool, Plymouth, Bristol, Fowey, Biddeford, Barnstaple, Hull, Whitehaven and Dartmouth; as well as the ports of Dublin, Belfast, and the Islands of Guernsey and Jersey. There were only two Virginia ships in the whole convoy: the *Indian King* of six guns and a crew of twenty-eight, and the unarmed *Harwich Prize* carrying a crew of only ten men.¹⁰⁷

The following April, a French pirate, Louis Guittar, in his deceptively-named ship, *La Paix*, arrived in Chesapeake Bay with five prizes. The *Shoreham*'s commander, William Passenger, along with Governor Francis Nicholson, was ashore enjoying the Sunday afternoon hospitality of Colonel William Wilson, when word arrived that *La Paix* was anchored in Lynnhaven Bay. Governor Nicholson at once ordered Passenger to attack, but a contrary wind forced the *Shoreham* to anchor at dark about three leagues off. The governor himself, along with Collector Peter Heyman and several other gentlemen, sailed out that night and went aboard the *Shoreham* to watch the impending battle.

At dawn on Monday morning the *Shoreham* opened fire upon the Frenchman. The fight went on until the middle of the afternoon, with the pirate taking a heavy battering. Thirty-nine of her crew were killed, and her lines were shot away so that she finally ran aground at Lynnhaven and was forced to strike her colors. Quarter was granted because of the many prisoners in the hold, and what was left of the pirate crew were carried off to Hampton as captives. Three of them were hanged under sentence of the court, and the other ninety-nine were sent off to England in chains. The Hampton blacksmiths, including John Smith and his apprentice, Thomas Best, were kept busy for days forging the necessary irons.¹⁰⁴

To Governor Nicholson's great sorrow, however, his friend, Peter Heyman had been shot down at his side in the midst of the battle. Heyman's body was carried out to the Elizabeth City parish church north of the town and there interred. The governor himself erected a tombstone over the grave and had carved thereon a still legible inscription telling the story of Heyman's death. The tombstone reads:

This Stone was given by His
Excellency Francis Nicholson
Esq Lieutenant and Governor
Generall of Virginia in Memory of
Peter Heyman Esq Grandson
to Sir Peter Heyman of Sumerfield

in ye County of Kent he was
 Collector of ye customs in the
 Lower District of James River and
 went voluntarily on Board ye Kings
 shipp Shoreham in Pursuit of a
 Pyrate who greatly infested this
 coast after he had behaved himself
 seven hours wth undaunted courage
 was killed wth a small shot ye 29th

Day of April 1700
 in ye Engagement he stood Next ye
 Governour upon the Quarter Deck
 and was here Honorably interred
 by his order.¹⁰⁵

It was noted above that, although quarter was granted, three of the pirates were hanged. The reason for this was that they were not then on board *La Paix* and were therefore not included in the terms of surrender. For example, when her colors were struck, the pilot John Houghling swam ashore and was captured near Lynnhaven; two others—Cornélius Franc and François Delaunée—were then aboard one of the pirates' prizes. A special Court of Admiralty was convened at Elizabeth City County Court House to try these three; it was composed of Mr. Justice Edward Hill and fourteen other commissioners, any five of whom could act. Five of these were members of the Council of State and the other nine were from various places, at least four—judging from their names*—probably being residents of Elizabeth City. Peter Beverley of Gloucester, brother of the historian, was clerk of arraignment. Both a grand and petit jury were impanelled by Sheriff Walter Bayliss on Monday, 13 May 1700. On Tuesday, the grand jury returned true bills against all three accused; the petit jury then proceeded to find John Houghling guilty. On Wednesday, Franc and Delaunée were tried and the latter found not guilty. On Thursday, Delaunée was indicted, tried and convicted for other acts of piracy committed by him prior to the Lynnhaven incident. And on Friday, 17 May 1700, all three were sentenced to be hanged. The sequel to the story took place in Princess Anne County—near where the crimes were committed—and will be detailed in another place.¹⁰⁶

NOTES ON CHAPTER V

N.B. See remark at beginning of Chapter I notes.

1. The list is given in 1 H 170, 187. Since William English became the first sheriff of Charles River (later York) County, he probably did not serve in Elizabeth City County.

*William Wilson, Anthony Armistead, William Cary, William Roscoe.

2. "Captain William Tucker His Muster," in Annie Lash Jester, ed., *Adventurers of Purse and Person, Virginia, 1607-1625*, p. 49.
3. Jester, p. 52; Chapman, Wills and Administrations of Elizabeth City County, pp. 58, 64.
4. Jester, pp. 53, 359; Chapman, pp. 58, 64.
5. Jester, pp. 65, 66.
6. Jester, p. 329.
7. Minutes of the General Court in 25 V 119.
8. Jester, pp. 329, 330.
9. 8 V 302.
10. 14 V 185.
11. 5 V 238.
12. Hale, *Virginia Venturer*, p. 208.
13. 9 W (1) 90.
14. Reproduced in Starkey, *The First Plantation*, p. 65.
15. 1 H 301.
16. 1 H 348.
17. 1 H 161.
18. 5 V 361.
19. 5 V 234.
20. Mason, *Colonial Churches of Tidewater Virginia*, p. 105.
21. Mason, pp. 104, 105.
22. Mason, p. 105.
23. 7 V 370.
24. 3 V 22-25.
25. 3 V 22-23.
26. 3 V 25.
27. 3 V 22-23.
28. 1 H 226.
29. 11 V 285.
30. 11 V 280.
31. 1 H 320.
32. 5 V 113.
33. 8 V 238.
34. 5 V 117.
35. Hale, pp. 174-176.
36. Hale, pp. 213-214.
37. 13 V 388.
38. Hale, pp. 247-250.
39. 1 H 318.
40. 2 H 328, 330.
41. 2 H 554.
42. 8 V 107, 108.
43. Jester, p. 53.
44. 8 V 108.
45. Jester, p. 58.
46. 2 H 157.
47. Tyler, *History of Hampton*, p. 27.
48. Meade, *Old Churches . . . of Virginia*, I, 230.
49. Heffelfinger, p. 18; Tyler, p. 25.
50. Mason, p. 105.
51. Mason, p. 106.
52. Mason, pp. 106-107.
53. Meade, I, 231.
54. Meade, I, 231; Heffelfinger, p. 18.
55. Meade, I, 231.
56. Jester, pp. 47, 48.
57. Campbell, "The Syms and Eaton Schools," p. 2.
58. Campbell, pp. 2, 3.
59. Campbell, pp. 22, 23.
60. Mason, p. 104.
61. Campbell, p. 22.

62. *Ibid.*
63. Campbell, p. 3.
64. 1 H 252.
65. Quoted in Campbell, p. 4.
66. 10 V 286.
67. Campbell, p. 3.
68. Campbell, p. 23n.
69. Campbell, pp. 23-24.
70. Starkey, p. 16.
71. Starkey, pp. 31, 32.
72. Starkey, p. 17.
73. Starkey, p. 15.
74. Mason, p. 105.
75. Starkey, p. 16.
76. Starkey, p. 20.
77. Starkey, p. 22; Hobson was formerly a resident of Hampton.
78. Starkey, p. 21.
79. Starkey, pp. 21-22.
80. Tyler, p. 29.
81. Starkey, p. 29.
82. Starkey, p. 27.
83. *Ibid.*
84. Campbell, pp. 6-7.
85. Starkey, p. 35.
86. Campbell, p. 6; Taylor was later in Princess Anne County, and in 1694 donated the land for the second Lynnhaven Parish Church, predecessor of Old Donation. (See Kellam, p. 27.)
87. Campbell, p. 7.
88. Campbell, p. 6.
89. Campbell, pp. 7-8.
90. 20 W (1) 169.
91. Campbell, p. 8.
92. 2 H 472; this aim is discussed in detail in Chapter XII, *infra*.
93. 3 H 59, see also Chapter XII, *infra*.
94. Tyler, p. 29; 10 W (1) 282.
95. 20 W (1) 168.
96. "The Tabb Family," 13 W (1) 125.
97. Tyler, p. 29.
98. 20 W (1) 169.
99. Starkey, p. 16.
100. 3 H 416; see also Chapter XII, *infra*.
101. Starkey, p. 17.
102. George Harrison Sanford King, "Virginia Militia Officers, 1698," 49 V 304.
103. Middleton, *Tobacco Coast*, p. 316.
- 103a. Williams, *Pirates of Colonial Virginia*, pp. 5-8.
104. Middleton, p. 317; Heffelfinger, p. 20.
105. 14 W (1) 168-9.
106. Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-75.
107. Middleton, "Chesapeake Convoy System," 3 W (3) 182-207.

Chapter VI

Elizabeth City County and the Town of Hampton 1700-1814

By *Marvin W. Schlegel*

DURING THE FIRST half of the eighteenth century Elizabeth City grew rapidly; the number of tithables rose steadily from 410 in 1698 to 1,125 in 1747. Although the population did not increase in the same proportion because of the increase in the number of Negro slaves, there were probably twice as many people in the county in 1747 as there had been at the beginning of the century. Most of this growth was in the town of Hampton, since farming had already begun to decline. The long-tilled soil of Elizabeth City County was approaching exhaustion in comparison with the fresh lands being opened up in the Piedmont, and tobacco planting was gradually dying out. By the 1740's the county lands were described as being "chiefly in pasture."¹

There was still much grain being produced in the county, however, as is indicated by the regular applications to the county court for permission to build a mill on Back River. Almost every year some one appeared with a plan for another mill, and the court appointed viewers to estimate the amount of damage to property owners which would be caused by the building of the dam. In 1729, for example, Samuel Tomkins asked for a permit to erect a mill at Finches' Dam, near the York County line. Sheriff Robert Armistead, who had a mill himself, was ordered to summon a jury to determine the damages. The jury apparently found that the mill would have little effect, for Tomkins was required to pay damages only to John Patrick, and the amount was a mere ten shillings.²

In addition to these millers on Back River, more skilled craftsmen were settling in the town of Hampton. Apprenticeship records indicate the presence of sawyers, carpenters, shoemakers, and coopers. There are references in 1726 and 1727 in the court records to John Ryland, glazier, John Henry Rombrough, joiner, John Middleton, carpenter, Benjamin Rolfe, shipwright, and John Smith, the blacksmith.³ A few years later a jeweler was advertising in the newly-founded *Virginia Gazette*:

Samuel Galt, of Elizabeth City County, makes and mends all Sorts of Clocks and Watches; Gold, Silver and Jewellers Work; also Billiard Balls and Dice.

N. B. Gentlemen and others may be furnish'd with any of the abovesaid Works, either at his own House, on Mill-Creek, near Hampton, or at Mr. John MacDowell's in Hampton, for Cash, broken Gold or Silver, Tobacco, Pork, Wheat or Corn.⁴

Whether the "Gentlemen and others" of Elizabeth City County kept Samuel Galt busy repairing their watches must remain uncertain, as the jeweler on Mill Creek did not advertise again; perhaps he may have been forced to supplement his income by working at the old windmill near his home. The gentlemen probably were interested in his billiard balls and dice, however, as they represented divertissements very popular in eighteenth century Virginia. Along with these new pastimes, there was a more old-fashioned way of losing money; Elizabeth City men were so fond of betting on their horses that there were no less than three "race paths" laid out in Isaac Prilly's field. Although wagers between gentlemen seldom found their way into the court records, an interesting dispute in 1725 gives us a little glimpse of this custom. On that occasion William Copland and Samuel Sweny backed their "geldings" to the extent of £10 each and went off to Isaac Prilly's field to settle the wager. When they arrived, Copland was surprised to discover that the course had been lengthened by 140 yards, presumably from the customary quarter-mile distance. Sweny, confident that his horse had the better wind, insisted on racing the new length, while Copland protested that the bet applied only to the old course. Copland took his case to court, but the records unfortunately do not tell us what the racing experts on the bench decided in this matter.⁵

These horses, of course, were not specially bred for racing, like the modern racehorse, but were only the ordinary Virginia "quarter horse,"* ridden by everyone who could afford one. They were common enough in Elizabeth City County to receive special consideration in an act of 1702 reestablishing the ferry across Hampton River once kept by Henry Hawley. The act required that a ferry be constantly kept "at Hampton towne from the town point to Brooks point, the price for a man three pence, for a man and horse six pence."⁶ Discovering that these rates were too low to attract a ferryman, the county court granted additional incentives by freeing the ferrykeeper of all taxes and, even more attractive in view of the visiting sailors in Hampton, the privilege of keeping an ordinary without paying a license fee. Rachel Skinner, who kept the ferry from 1736 to 1738, was apparently more interested in her tavern than in her ferryboats, since Samuel Sweny, who had gone her security, complained that she was not keeping the ferry according to law. By 1756 traffic across Hampton River had become so heavy that

* So-called because its best distance was a quarter mile; it was the ancestor to the cow horse of the western plains.

John Proby resigned as ferrykeeper because business was too good; he told the county court that he could not find boats enough for his passengers. Eventually, in 1765, the justices set up a free ferry, allowing everyone to cross the river without charge.⁷

As early as 1705 the General Assembly attempted to make it easier to get to Hampton by establishing ferries across Hampton Roads and over the bay to the Eastern Shore. The fare to Seawell's Point was three shillings for a man and six shillings for a man and horse, while the fare to "the port of Northampton" was set at fifteen shillings for a man and double that for a man and horse.⁸ Forty years later and again in 1748, the General Assembly authorized a ferry to operate "From York, Hampton, and Norfolk towns to the land of Littleton Eyre, on Hungar's River in Northampton county, for a man or horse twenty shillings, for man & horse fifteen shillings each."⁹ This time the ferry was so successful that unlicensed ferrymen entered the business, and the General Assembly had to protect the ferrykeeper by authorizing him to collect £5 from anyone accepting a fee for carrying passengers over the bay to Northampton County.¹⁰ When individualistic boatmen evaded this ban by putting their passengers ashore farther up the bay in Accomack County, the ferrykeeper's monopoly was extended to cover that county as well.¹¹

All of these developments reflected the growing importance of Hampton as a commercial center, and the town was gradually acquiring a more urban appearance, befitting its new position. In 1729 more streets were ordered laid off to provide for new houses, and three years later the court ordered all wooden chimneys pulled down as a menace to the public safety, to be replaced by safer brick stacks.¹² Meanwhile Hampton had in 1730 received from the General Assembly what amounted to its official recognition as a town, an act requiring hogs to be kept penned in town.¹³ The justices waited another seven years before they actually deprived the hogs of their freedom to roam the Hampton streets. In March, 1736/37, the county court ordered that "the constable do kill all the hoggs that shall come within the limits of the town from the last of this month."¹⁴

The weight of Hampton's increasing population inevitably pulled the county's public buildings to it, although not without opposition from the people on Back River, who found Hampton inconveniently remote. When the justices in 1715 decided to move the courthouse to Hampton, they took the precaution of obtaining the governor's approval to forestall any possible criticism. Governor Alexander Spotswood gave his written consent, saying:

Mr John Halloway Haveing this Day applyed to me in Behalfe of the Justices of Elizabeth City County for Leave to build their New Court House at Hampton, I Doe approve of the Removall and shall accordingly order the

Sheriff to attend the court there so soon as the House shall be fitt for the Reception of the Justices.¹⁵

The construction of the courthouse was begun that same year on land donated by Captain William Bosel.* The contract was let to Samuel Sweny, owner of the long-winded horse, for £137, while Simon Hollier built a new prison.¹⁶ Hollier's jail did not last very long, and in 1726 Charles Avera was paid 8,900 pounds of tobacco for building a new one. This likewise proved unsatisfactory, for each new sheriff complained about the "insufficiency of the prison." Finally, in 1744 Merritt Sweny, evidently the son of the horse-racing Samuel, was given the contract to build a new jail for £130 and the old prison. This was located on a 9½ acre tract on the edge of the churchyard, extending down the south side of Queen Street to the east of North Street. The new structure was built of brick, with the walls "timbered all around at the distance of seven inches and lined with pine and oak plank." It was thirty by eighteen feet in size and divided into three rooms. In spite of these impressive specifications, the new jail was not a success; in 1747 the new sheriff, James Wallace, was complaining about the insufficiency of the prison.¹⁷

In addition to the jail, Elizabeth City had a complete set of the other devices necessary for punishing criminals in the eighteenth century. It had a gallows which stood at the crossroads as a constant reminder to potential wrongdoers. At the jail were a whipping post, a pillory, a set of stocks, and a ducking stool. In spite of the fact that the records do not show that anybody was ever ducked in the stool, it rotted as rapidly as did the prison. One stool was built in 1717, another ten years later, and in 1757 the court ordered a stool with wheels so that it could be rolled down to the water's edge whenever it was needed.¹⁸

One woman who escaped ducking was the widow Judith Bayley, whose late husband John had once been county sheriff. She embarrassed his former friends on the county bench by twice giving birth to children without having gone to the trouble of marrying again. On both occasions the justices had the widow brought up before them, but each time came to the conclusion that, since she could afford to support the unexpected child and it would thus not become a public burden, the whole incident was strictly the Widow Bayley's private affair.¹⁹

Meanwhile, the courthouse built in 1715 had proved more durable than the several prisons and their penal equipment. After many years, of course, it did stand in need of repairs, and in 1750 the sheriff was directed to attend to the "plaistering." Several years later William Randolph built steps, pre-

* Or Boswell? It is a strange coincidence that Capt. William Boswell was living next to the Court House in Norfolk Town in 1721 (see Chapter XIII).

sumably to replace the old ones, and Captain Selden dug a drainage ditch to keep water out of the building and planted a tree to shade the entrance. The dignity of the justices was also improved by the insertion of a little upholstery between them and their hard wooden bench. The sheriff was instructed to find "one dozen of cloth quoshings for the justices and a cloth for the judge of this court." The "quoshings," at least were found, for John Almond was paid £1 for the wool to stuff them.²⁰

Another important building was the public warehouse, where tobacco was inspected and stored until it was shipped. When the first permanent inspection law was passed in 1730, the Hampton warehouse was built on Mr. Miles' lot conveniently near the water—too near, in fact, as it turned out, for, when the tides were unusually high, water got into the warehouse. In the hurricane of 1749 the storm washed away the entire building, along with the tobacco stored in it. While the inspectors temporarily took up their quarters in a building rented from Alexander Kennedy, the justices ordered the sheriff to dispose of the lot on which the demolished warehouse had stood. Another site was purchased from Wilson Curle for £25, and Henry Allen received £71, 15 shillings for building a new warehouse, which he turned over to the county in 1753.²¹ About the same time a new public wharf was built by John Bushell, as the old one apparently had been damaged by the hurricane.²¹

In addition to the public warehouses, there were several similar structures, privately owned, where merchants stored their goods. Ships headed up the James dropped off cargo destined for the bay at Hampton, and vessels going up the bay likewise unloaded there shipments intended for the James River plantations. This meant speedier delivery, as the first ship up the James might bring the goods a month or more before the boat which had brought them from England arrived there. It sometimes resulted in dissatisfaction, as in the case of a barrel of long-awaited purchases which arrived at Westover in the summer of 1741. When William Byrd unpacked the shipment and discovered everything inside broken, he sat down and wrote an angry letter to the English merchant who had shipped the goods. The damage he attributed "partly to your masters tumbling them ashore at Hampton, & tossing them into a warehouse, & then they were rolled to the water-side again & put aboard another ship, which called there by chance, or else we might have been several Months with-out them."²²

In spite of these occasional accidents, trade at Hampton continued brisk. King Street had a cosmopolitan air with its sailors from ships out of many ports—other colonial towns, like Norfolk, Boston, New York, and Philadelphia; the usual British ports, Bristol, Glasgow, Liverpool, and London; the British island colonies, Bermuda, Barbados, Jamaica, Antigua, and St. Kitts; and the Madeiras. In the middle of the century the total tonnage of vessels

arriving in the port of Hampton was only a little less than that in New York. Although 279 ships called in New York in 1754, compared to 169 in Hampton in 1752, the Hampton tonnage was 10,557 compared with New York's 11,525.²³

It should be remembered, of course, that the port of Hampton was not the same as the town of Hampton. Since 1680 a new commercial center had been developing on the north bank of the Elizabeth River. The town of Norfolk remained subsidiary to the port of Hampton, although by 1738 it had grown large enough to petition the council for the appointment of a deputy collector of customs to reside in the town and save the Norfolk people from the burden of making frequent trips across Hampton Roads for the necessary papers.²⁴ Norfolk soon had the largest share of the business in the lower bay but it had not yet become an independent port.

In the early years of Hampton's existence observers had commented that, while it had many taverns, it had no church. This was only technically true, for the third Elizabeth City parish church, built in 1667, stood just beyond the northern limits of the town. Nevertheless, the pull of Hampton's urban gravitation made it inevitable that the church must sooner or later follow the courthouse to town. The time for the migration came in the 1720's when the Pembroke church building began to show signs of decay, perhaps because of deliberate neglect by Hampton-minded vestrymen. In 1724 the grand jury presented "the Church Wardens of this Parish and County for not keeping the Churchyard in good repair."²⁵ When the vestry then proposed to build a new church in Hampton, the opposition to the move was so strong in the Back River section that the people there appealed to the General Assembly, and the burgesses ordered the vestry to take no action until the next session of the assembly. The next session, however, was postponed so often, that the vestry, or at least its Hampton members, asked the council to meet the emergency created by the hazardous condition of the church. The council on October 27, 1727, overruled the burgesses, declaring:

Whereas Sundry Inhabitants and the Majority of the Vestry of Elizabeth City Parish have represented to the Governour that the Church of the said Parish is so ruinous that it is dangerous for them to Repair thither for the Performing Divine Service and that great Differences have arisen between the Inhabitants of the said Parish and upon the occasion of the said Differences an Order was made by the last House of Burgesses that the present vestry should not proceed to the building of a New Church before the next Session of Assembly, which is complained of as a great grievance to the Petitioners and other Inhabitants who have petitioned the Governour for relief therein; the Governour this day in Council took the Matter of the said Petition into consideration and upon hearing of all Parties by their Council, It is the Opinion of the Board that the New Church ought to be built in the Town of

Hampton as the most convenient place in the said Parish and that the Vestry be at liberty to proceed to the building of the same accordingly.²⁶

The following January the Elizabeth City County court, acting upon this opinion, ordered that "Mr. Jacob Walker and Mr. John Lowry are appointed to Lay off and Value an Acre and half of Ground at the upper end of Queens Street, joining upon Mr. Boswell's* Lott for the Building the Church there-



HAMPTON—FOURTH ELIZABETH CITY PARISH CHURCH (1727)
NOW ST. JOHN'S EPISCOPAL CHURCH

on. . . . It is agreed by the Minister, Churchwardens and Court to furnish Mr. Henry Cary with wood, at the rate of Six Pence per load, to burn bricks for the Church from the School land."²⁷ Henry Cary's bricks were well-laid; in spite of the vicissitudes of three wars and years of neglect the walls he put up in 1728 are still standing.

The new church, which another century was to name St. John's, differed from its framed predecessors not merely in being constructed of more permanent brick but also in its plan. The simple rectangular shape of the earlier structures gave way to the new style of eighteenth century Virginia, which was actually a return to the traditional English cruciform. The church was built in classical proportions, with the three short arms of the cross exactly the same length, fifteen feet two inches, according to the careful measure-

* Was this the same individual who donated the Court House lot? (V. *supra*)

ments of George Carrington Mason, while the width of the transept and of the nave of the church are precisely twice this distance, or thirty feet four inches. Only the length of the nave fails to meet this exactitude, being eight inches short of twice the length of the arms of the cross.²⁸

The substantial walls were two feet thick, laid in Flemish bond with glazed blue headers. The secondary doorways in either end of the transept were decorated with pilasters surmounted by a gable-shaped classical pediment, while the main entrance in the west end was larger and more elaborate, topped by an arched pediment. The windows were balanced formally in keeping with the proportions of the church, two on either side of the nave, one on each side of the arms of the cross, two in the east end behind the altar, and round windows over each of the doorways. The one exception to this formal arrangement was a small window on the north side, designed to throw light on the pulpit so that the minister could see to read his sermon. Inside there was a gallery in the west end for the slaves who were brought to church by their masters.²⁹

The ministers who served Elizabeth City parish during these years were usually of the Scottish clergy, like Virginia's Commissary James Blair. When the Church of Scotland was permitted to return to Presbyterianism, the Scotch ministers who persisted in the Anglican faith found little employment at home and were therefore more willing to come to America than were their English brethren. The Elizabeth City minister at the beginning of the eighteenth century was one of this group, a man named James Wallace, who came from Erroll in Perthshire, Scotland. He took the Elizabeth City charge in 1691, at the age of twenty-four; according to Heffelfinger, he was also a doctor of medicine as well as an ordained clergyman, but this seems doubtful.³⁰ In 1695 he married Mrs. Ann Wythe, widow of Thomas Wythe, and thus became stepfather to Thomas, Jr., the future father of George Wythe.³¹ When Commissary Blair began his historic quarrel with Governor Francis Nicholson, Wallace sided with his fellow Scot and found himself involved in a quarrel of his own with the Elizabeth City justices, who supported the governor. The existing records leave the nature of the dispute somewhat clouded, but a suit was brought against him in the county court, and he departed for a prolonged stay in England to win the support of the Bishop of London, whose diocese included Virginia.

Returning with the bishop's blessing, he proceeded to harass the discomfited justices. When they called a grand jury to indict him in spite of the restraining order issued by the bishop, he warned the jurors that they were in danger of being punished for violating the law and alarmed the justices, who feared that his influence might prevent them from obtaining a grand jury. At the next term of court, when he was brought to trial, he demanded the right to cross-examine the witnesses, a request which the justices indignantly re-

fused. The clergyman further horrified the justices by daring to speak boldly to Governor Nicholson himself, who was present in court. When the court met again, Wallace appeared to challenge its authority once more. Changing their tactics, the justices told him that his case had been dropped and offered to let him cross-examine any witnesses, whereupon he replied that he would take his own time and left the court.

At this point the infuriated magistrates sat down and vented their feelings in a long letter to Governor Nicholson, reciting all their grievances and asking him to appeal to the bishop. After listing everything he had done to injure the dignity of the court, they added the charge that he was mixing in local politics:

. . . ye s^d Wallace Much Concerns himself in Severall affairs of the Parrish which Doth in no way belong to his Ministerial Function & p'ticularly on our meeting together in choosing of ye Late Burgess, when Mr. Wallace was very zealous & busy in preferring his Relation & went often Backwards & forwards among ye people to Engage them to vote for his s'd Kinsman & after election was over went too & fro thanking y^m for y^t Service & Kindness, & at Sundry times giving Threatning words to some of us telling us he should be parson when wee were not Justices with Many Reflections agst our Credits and Reputation, endeavoring as wee apprehend to Incense ye People agst us, w^{ch} if not Timely prevented may be of very ill & fatall Consequence to ye County, &c., & Therefore wee humbly pray yo^r Exc'l'y to Send us Some Directions to Curb y^t unruly Priest who Scoffs at Justice. . .³²

The rights and wrongs of this quarrel are difficult to assess, since our only account of these events is the letter written by the justices. The justices, appointed though they were by Nicholson, were respected citizens of Elizabeth City County; four of the nine who signed the letter—Edward Myhill, William Wilson, Bertrand Servant, and Augustine Moore—had been on the bench as far back as 1680, while William Lowry was on the court in 1699. On the other hand, the letter itself reveals that the minister had a great deal of popular support on his side. In any case, the issue was already decided; Commissary Blair was on his way back from London with an order for Nicholson's removal. Wallace continued in his Elizabeth City post until he died in 1712 and was buried at his home on Back River, named "Erroll" after his Scottish birthplace.³³

Wallace's successor was another Scotchman, the Reverend Andrew Thompson, who served the parish seven years before he died in 1719 at the age of forty-six and was buried in the churchyard at Pembroke, where his gravestone can still be seen.³⁴ He seems to have tried to stimulate church attendance through legal process, for the most vigorous prosecution of the law requiring everyone to go to church took place during his time. In August, 1715, fourteen persons were presented to the court by the churchwardens for not attending

service, and in February, 1718/19, eighteen more were brought up before the justices for the same offense.³⁵

Not everyone in Elizabeth City County was required to attend the Anglican service, however, as Virginia's toleration act of 1699 permitted dissenters to worship in their own way. The most prominent dissenter in Hampton was George Walker, one of the James River pilots. He was a member of the Society of Friends, or Quakers, who had been expelled from Virginia not so many years before on account of their radical religious views, and his wife Anne was the daughter of George Keith, who had been a prominent Quaker. Unfortunately for the happiness of the Walker family, George Keith returned to the Church of England and became an energetic Anglican missionary. When Keith with a fellow Anglican named Talbot came to Hampton in 1704 to carry on his missionary activity, he stayed with his daughter and made sure that she followed the faith of her father rather than her husband's. He reported in his journal:

Mr. Talbot preached at Kirketan;* we stayed there about ten days at my daughter's house at Kirketan, by James River; she is fully come off from the Quakers, and is a zealous member of the Church of England, and brings up her children, so many of them as are capable through age, in the Christian religion, praised be God for it.³⁶

What the pacifistic Quaker son-in-law thought about this parental intrusion on his domestic bliss is not recorded, but a year later he got his revenge on his wife by entertaining a Quaker missionary, named Thomas Story, from Philadelphia. Story noted in his journal for April, 1705:

On the 29th we went to Kicquotan, where we had a meeting at our friend, George Walker's house, to which came Col. Brown, one of the provincial council and several commanders of ships and others of note, who were generally satisfied with the meeting. George Walker's wife is one of George Keith's daughters and follows him in his apostacy and enmity.³⁷

The family quarrel reached all the way to Williamsburg in 1708 after George Walker put his foot down and refused to allow Anne to take the children to the parish church. Anne appealed to the council that her husband had "violently restrained her and her children from going to church to attend the worship of God according to the established religion." Embarrassed by being involved in these marital difficulties, the council handed down a decision worthy of Solomon, ordering:

That she, the said Anne, ought to enjoy the free exercise of her religion, and that her husband ought not to restrain her from going to church; and as

* It is interesting that this doughty Scot saw the word "Kirk" in the savage name of Kecoughtan, and so distorted it. Ed. Note.

to that part of the petition relating to the children, it not appearing of what age these children are, nor how far they are capable of choosing a religion for themselves, this board do not think proper to determine anything in that matter at this time.³⁸

The issue which the council evaded was settled by time itself. The dispute over the children's religion died out as the children grew up and got married—daughter Margaret married the younger Thomas Wythe, a member of the House of Burgesses, and in 1726 they had a son they named George. Two years later another visiting Quaker named Samuel Bownas reported a family reconciliation:

George Walker was very kind, invited us to stay at his house which we did four nights and had a meeting or two in his house, his wife being more loving than I expected. She was George Keith's daughter, and in her younger days showed great dissatisfaction with Friends, but after her father's death the edge of that bitterness abated, and her husband was very loving and hearty to Friends, frequently having meetings at his house.³⁹

Some idea of the extent of dissent, or at least of non-church attendance, in Elizabeth City County is revealed in a report made to the Bishop of London by the Reverend James Falconer,* who served the parish from 1720 to 1727. He stated that service was held every Sunday and attended by most of his parishioners and that he had about one hundred communicants. Since he said at the same time that he had 350 families in his charge, he apparently regarded only about fifty of these, assuming two communicants to a family, as members of his parish.⁴⁰ In other words, six families out of seven were, like George Walker, no longer attending the parish church.

Falconer was succeeded by the Reverend Thomas Peader, who arrived in 1727 while the debate over the proposed new church was going on and left four years later after the new building on Queen Street had been completed. On his departure the vestry chose as the new rector a local schoolmaster, William Fife. Falconer in 1724 had mentioned that he kept "a good private school," where Latin and Greek were taught in addition to the three R's, which constituted the curriculum of the free schools.⁴¹ The Reverend Mr. Fife served the parish an uneventful twenty-five years until his death in 1755.

The choice of his successor, however, precipitated a controversy which badly split the vestry. A young lawyer from the county, named William Selden, had decided to become a minister, and under the rules of the church he was required to have a parish before he could be ordained by the bishop in England. Some of the members of the vestry supported his application for the Elizabeth City vacancy, but Governor Robert Dinwiddie, insisting on his right to induct the new minister, nominated the Reverend Thomas Warring-

* Formerly minister in Elizabeth River Parish, Norfolk. (See Chapter XIII.)

ton, who was then serving Hampton parish in York County. The minutes of the vestry for January 12, 1756, report this dispute:

The late Rev'd Mr. Fyfe, minister of this parish being dead, the vestry proceeded to the choice of another minister, and (having first received the governor's and commissary's letters) and thereupon mature deliberations being there had, proceeded to the choice of a minister for this parish to fill up the said vacancy, and the Rev'd. Mr. Selden, and the Rev'd. Mr. Warrington, standing candidates, the question being put, the vestry are divided in their opinions.⁴²

The vestry remained "divided in their opinions" for ten more months until they finally surrendered to the governor in October and agreed to accept the Reverend Mr. Warrington. He served for fourteen years until he died on October 28, 1770, and then at last Selden had his chance. Without interference from the governor, the vestry elected him to the post, and he sailed for England to be ordained. Returning in May, 1771, he became the last rector of the parish before the Revolution.⁴³

Meanwhile, the parish church had been undergoing repairs and improvements. The preservation of the vestry book beginning in 1751 provides us with some details of these changes. By that time the new church was already old enough to require painting on the outside and whitewashing within and to need the framing of the floor replaced. A new gate with cedar posts was ordered for the fence around the churchyard, which was then probably made of wood. A brick wall to replace the old fence was begun by 1759, but the contractors made such little progress that the vestry ordered the churchwardens to bring suit if the wall were not finished by September 15. In spite of this threat of legal action the wall was not actually completed until more than two years later, and even then the vestry complained that it was "insufficient." The parking problem of the day was solved by the erection of "horse-racks" inside the churchyard, and a "cover" was built over one of them to protect the horses from the hot summer sun.⁴⁴

The most important change made in the church was the addition of a bell-tower at the west end of the church. This was begun as the result of a bequest from Alexander Kennedy, the merchant who had rented his building to the tobacco inspectors after the public warehouse was destroyed by the hurricane of 1749. He left £40 to the parish to buy a church bell on condition that the parish erect a belfry for it within one year after his death. On February 6, 1761, the vestry ordered the construction of a brick tower about eighteen feet square, two and a half bricks thick to the ceiling of the church and two bricks the rest of the way. The tower closed up the two windows in the gallery and required the removal of the trim of the west doorway, which now became an interior door opening on the vestibule created by the tower.

On top of the tower a wooden belfry was erected. The vestry specified that it be fourteen feet square, built of the best white oak timber, and painted white, with a lead-colored roof. Originally it was left open to the elements, but in 1766 it was ordered "to be closed up with Cyphered Plank and that Window Shutters be made and put to the Steeple Windows." Although the structure was finished in 1762, it took four more years to get the money from the executor of Kennedy's estate, and the bell was not hung until November 26, 1766.⁴⁵

Two years later the vestry made the last improvement before the Revolution when it ordered the wardens to "send home for ornaments for the Church." These consisted of a cloth for the pulpit, another for the communion table, and kneeling cushions, all to be of crimson velvet with a silk fringe. A levy of 14,000 pounds of tobacco was laid in order to pay for them, and they were to be insured for £30. One of the vestrymen, Colonel Wilson Miles Cary, agreed to assume all the freight charges.⁴⁶

While the parish church with its new white steeple and crimson cushions was prospering, the free schools were suffering from their location on Back River, which had now become a remote end of the county. The Syms school especially, being on the north side of the river, seemed exceedingly remote from Hampton. At one time indeed the trustees temporarily surrendered their authority over it, as is indicated in this entry for November 17, 1725:

Upon the motion of William Tucker setting forth he is willing to take the school land and provide a scholemaster it is ordered that the sd Tucker have possession of the sd land with this proviso and condition that he constantly keep and provide a schoolmaster to teach the said children in the said land.⁴⁷

How long this agreement to let the tenant appoint the schoolmaster endured is uncertain. One may surmise that William Tucker proposed to hire a tutor for his own children and intended to have his tutor teach the other children of the neighborhood free in return for the use of the school land. The arrangement must have seemed a very practical one to the trustees at the moment, but one may also surmise that the parents in the neighborhood were soon complaining to the trustees about the inadequacies of Tucker's tutor and demanding that the trustees resume direct control of the school.

While the Syms land was generally leased as a single unit, the larger Eaton tract was divided among several tenants and created more problems for the trustees. It still contained a great deal of timber, which was becoming increasingly valuable with the disappearance of the local forests, and the trustees became one of the first agencies in America to tackle the question of conservation of natural resources. Tenants sometimes squeezed a little extra income out of their lease by cutting down more trees than the trustees

considered justified. In 1720, for example, Henry Irvin, "gent.," brought tenant John Curle into court on charges that he was wasting the timbers on his holding. The trustees themselves, as has been noted, sold off enough wood to Henry Cary to burn the bricks for the new church in 1728, using the amount accumulated at six pence per load to pay the quitrents. At the same time they brought suit against the Quaker pilot, George Walker, who "acknowledged in Court that he had cut down timber within the bounds of the survey upon the schoole lands."⁴⁸

These issues inevitably raised the question of the legal status of the trustees themselves, who were acting as a corporation with no other authorization than the deed of gift made by Thomas Eaton. Having already obtained legislative approval to act in behalf of the Syms school as far back as 1643, they now went again to the General Assembly and in May of 1730 obtained the necessary law enabling "the Justices of the Peace of the County of Elizabeth City, and the Ministers and Churchwardens of the Parish of Elizabeth City, in the said County, for the time being, to take, and hold, certain Lands, given by Thomas Eaton, to charitable uses; and to lett leases thereof."⁴⁹

Although this act put both schools on the same legal footing with the same trustees, the governing board some years later decided to acquire formal status as a corporation. The Syms Free School was incorporated by Act of Assembly in November, 1753, and in February, 1759, the trustees returned to obtain similar recognition for Eaton's Charity School*. The Acts incorporating the two schools, like their board of trustees, were identical, with only minor variations. They made no revolutionary changes, merely detailing what were already long-existing practices: the "Trustees and Governors" were authorized to

nominate and appoint . . . such person as they shall approve of, to be master of the said free school; which said master, before he be received or admitted to keep school, shall undergo an examination before the minister of the said parish, for the time being, and produce a certificate of his capacity and also a license from the governor or commander in chief of this dominion, for the time being, agreeable to his majesty's instructions. And the said trustees and Governors, and their successors . . . shall . . . have full power and authority to visit the said free school, and to order, reform, and redress all disorders and abuses in and touching the government and disposing of the same, and to remove the said master, as to them, or the greater part of them shall seem just, fit, and convenient.⁵⁰

* It is to be noted the Acts of 1753 and 1759 were acts of incorporation but in no sense charters; each established "a body politic and corporate . . . with perpetual succession." There were only three *chartered* corporations in Colonial Virginia: the College of William and Mary, the City of Williamsburgh and the Borough of Norfolk, as will more fully appear in Chapters XII and XIII.

The most important difference between the two Acts was the distinction implicit in the names adopted for each of the schools. The Syms school remained free to all comers, presumably including persons from Poquosin parish, across the line in York county, since it was located in a thinly populated region. The Eaton school, much closer to Hampton, naturally attracted the larger number of the county scholars and thus seems to have been overcrowded. Moreover, there is some evidence that the Eaton endowment had been dissipated, since the available figures indicate that the much larger Eaton tract was producing less income than was the Syms land. At any rate, the trustees decided to restrict the number of free students there as the law incorporating "Eaton's Charity School" stipulated that only poor children should be admitted without charge, declaring:

Whereas the said foundation hath been abused, by admitting a great number of children into the said school whose parents are well able to pay for their education; for remedy whereof, Be it enacted . . . that no person shall enjoy the benefit of the said charity-school without consent of the master . . . except such poor children as the said trustees . . . shall from time to time declare to be proper objects of the pious founder's charity.⁵¹

The organization of the two corporations probably led to a more formal regulation of the schools than had previously prevailed. In spite of the fact that the legal trustees were the county justices in association with the minister and the two churchwardens, the property seems to have been administered at times by the parish vestry; the court order of 1720 concerning the lease made to John Curle states that the land was granted to him by order of the vestry. Since school and church were so closely associated in that day, it was natural, if extra-legal, for the vestry to assume control of the schools' affairs. This would account for the fact that there are virtually no surviving records of the school business; they were presumably kept in the now vanished parish vestry books of the period before 1751. By the time the surviving vestry records begin, the trustees were probably keeping separate books for the two schools, books which disappeared in the general confusion at the end of the Revolution.

In view of this situation, it is not surprising that there are only three known references to the operation of the schools during the first seventy-five years of the eighteenth century. The Falconer report of 1724 informed the bishop of London that "there are two Publick Schooles in the Parish, endowed though very meanly, whereof John Mason and Abraham Parish are teachers."⁵² In 1745 the schoolmaster at the Syms school, a man named John Hunter, got his name into the county records by becoming involved in a legal dispute. The third mention is an advertisement in the *Virginia Gazette* for March 12, 1752:

Notice is hereby given, That the Symes's Free School, in Elizabeth-City County, will be vacant on the 25th of March Inst. A Tutor of a Good Character, and properly qualified, may meet with Good Encouragement, by applying to the Trustees of the said School. N. B. The Land Rent of the said School is 31 1 per ann. besides Perquisites.⁵³

A little more is known about the leases, since several of them were recorded by the county court. In 1737 the current trustees leased 193 acres of the Eaton land to Robert Armistead, not merely for his own natural life, as was the customary term, but for as long as any of his three sons, named in the lease, should live; thirty-seven years later Robert Armistead left the lease to William, one of the three sons listed. Armistead was to build two tobacco houses, thirty feet by twenty-six feet, and two dwelling houses, each twenty-six by sixteen feet, and to plant an orchard of two hundred winter apple trees. His annual rent was set at six pounds, indicating that the total income from the entire five hundred acres of the Eaton land must have been less than eighteen pounds.⁵⁴

An effort to overcome the natural tendency of the tenants to let the buildings deteriorate as the end of their lease approached is seen in the more elaborate specifications incorporated in an agreement for the rental of another part of the Eaton lands, perhaps the tract leased to Merritt Sweny in 1737. The required building was to be "A dwelling twenty-eight feet long by sixteen feet wide, the pitch nine feet, covered with good heart-pine or cypress shingles to be tarred once in every two or three years, having a brick chimney, and two rooms above and two below lathed and plastered, and floors, doors and windows of good plank. And to set out an orchard of a hundred Grixon apple trees at usual spaces which is to be kept well fenced and secure against all damage."⁵⁵

The most interesting of these agreements is a lease of the Syms lands on July 15, 1760, to George Wythe. The indenture is drawn in such legal language that it may well have been written by the famous lawyer himself. Wythe, then thirty-four, was already in possession of the tract by some earlier agreement, and he now was granted life tenure of "all houses, orchards, ways and waters, watercourses, woods, trees, marshes, low grounds, profits and commodities to the said parcel or tract of land appertaining together with eleven head of black cattle belonging to the said lands." The one reservation was the acre lot at the southwest corner, where the schoolhouse stood, which remained under the jurisdiction of the trustees and governors.

In return he was to pay thirty-one pounds and five shillings in the current money of Virginia on the fifth of each February in addition to the annual quitrents. He was also to deliver to the schoolmaster "four good milch cows in the month of April in every year during the said term; to be returned to

their calves in good order the November following, unless the said Master should chuse to keep them during the winter in which case he may retain them instead of others and return them in November afterwards." Wythe was required to plant the customary apple orchard of one hundred trees, to keep the houses to be built on the land in good repair, and to leave eleven black cattle and three thousand fence "rales" on the property.⁵⁶

The presence of the free schools encouraged a high standard of education in Elizabeth City County. Although the day of compulsory education was still far in the future, the duty of seeing that the child learned to read was generally imposed on anyone to whom it was bound out, and the same duty was likewise required of parents. In the years from 1756 to 1762 four fathers were summoned to court "to show cause why they have neglected the education of their children." One of these, William Smelt, was evidently a black-sheep descendant of the earlier tavernkeeper and county justice with the same name; he was likewise brought up for failure to attend divine service.⁵⁷

Free education on the south side of Back River was limited, as we have seen, to those who could not afford to pay tuition. Others either paid their fees to the Eaton schoolmaster or hired a private tutor. Those who wanted to learn Latin and Greek, essential in those days for a higher education, had to attend a private school, since only the elementary subjects were taught at the free schools. William Fife, who was operating such a private school in 1724, probably continued to take pupils during his long ministry. His successor, Thomas Warrington, certainly did so, for the records reveal that the guardian of young John Tabb paid the minister £6 a year for schooling and books from 1765 onwards.⁵⁸

Young men who had exhausted the educational offerings in Hampton could and did go up to Williamsburg to continue their studies at the College of William and Mary. One of them, Wilson Cary, went all the way to England in 1721 to attend Trinity College of Cambridge University. Still another, James McClurg, went to Edinburgh in 1770 to study at the famous medical school there.⁵⁹ He was Surgeon, Continental Line, member of the Cincinnati, and first professor of Anatomy and Medicine at William and Mary College. His father, Dr. Walter McClurg, had been a surgeon in the British navy and had been sent to Hampton to establish the first hospital in America for inoculation against smallpox.⁶⁰

Although business and social life left little time for recreational reading, the gentlemen in Elizabeth City County owned books, as the inventories of their estates reveal. In some cases it was only one, as in the instance of Anthony Tucker who in 1759 left twenty-eight Negroes, two mulattoes, and one large Bible, but a good Christian in those days needed no other book. Westwood Armistead, who died the following year, was less religious or more practical; his estate included twenty-four Negroes, seventy-five gallons of

brandy, and one dictionary. Broader cultural interests were indicated by the library of William Parsons, who possessed in addition to fourteen slaves, a set of the *Spectator*, a *History of Marlboro*, and Bayley's dictionary, not to mention various law books, prayer books, and Bibles. John Tabb owned a two-volume set of Josephus, a seven-volume history of England, law books, sermons, and a bundle of Latin books. Tabb also possessed a set of china dishes, a new-fangled luxury in a community accustomed to eating off pewter plates.⁶¹

The life of the slaves owned by these gentlemen and other residents of Elizabeth City County went unrecorded in the pages of history. According to the Reverend Mr. Falconer, their owners were careful to instruct the young Negro children,⁶² and in those pre-segregation days it may be assumed that they attended the parish church as faithfully as did their masters. The only Negroes who got into the records were those who were charged with crimes, and these received justice tempered with mercy. Jack, for example, accused of raping and robbing a white woman in 1741/42, was acquitted of the rape, in spite of the racial feeling that the accusation must have aroused, although he was sentenced to thirty-nine lashes for beating and robbing her. Those who did overstep the invisible bounds set between the two races were, of course, properly punished; Sheppy, who had spoken indecently to Dr. Brodie's daughter, was put in the pillory during the whole sitting of the court and then given the customary thirty-nine lashes.⁶³

Sometimes the necessity for maintaining strict discipline over the untutored slaves required a curious compromise with justice. Gomery, who belonged to the promiscuous Judith Bayley, was found not guilty of the felony with which he was charged. "But," the court decided, "there appearing great reason to believe that he was guilty, though the evidence did not prove the fact. It is Orde'd that the sheriff do cut off his right ear at the pillory and that afterwards he do whip the said Negro through the town of Hampton." This was, to be sure, a merciful sentence, since the usual punishment for a felony by a slave was death. The slave Ned, however, who was convicted of stealing, was allowed to plead benefit of clergy under English law and escaped with thirty-nine lashes at the whipping post. In accordance with the usual custom he was also branded in the hand as a mark that he had received benefit of clergy, which could be granted only once. One Negro received the death sentence for a rather surprising felony, practicing medicine. This was the result of a colonial law which forbade slaves to administer drugs for fear that the drugs might be deliberately intended to poison their masters.⁶⁴

The most common crime among the Negroes, however, was theft, and this in at least one case was punished by death. Will, slave of Anthony Tucker, who also owned the large Bible, was convicted of stealing two gal-

lons of rum and six pounds of sugar from John Bordland's warehouse and was sentenced to be hanged at the crossroads in 1728. Another slave involved in the crime was found to be only an accessory, and the sheriff was ordered to whip him through King and Queen Streets with thirty-nine lashes.⁶⁵

The Bordlands seem to have been troubled by theft, for a few years later Mrs. Bordland was advertising in the *Virginia Gazette*:

*Ran away from Mrs. Bordland, of Hampton, a Servant Man, named William Brown, alias Henry Danelly, an Irish Man, of a middle Stature, and a fair Complexion; mark'd with the Letter W. on one of his Hands. He had with him a White Fustian Coat, a German Serge Coat, a Black Wastcoat, and Five Pair of Different Sorts of Breeches. He stole, and took with him, a Gold Locket, and a Silver Stock-Buckle, mark'd I. B. Whoever apprehends and brings the said Servant to his Mistress aforesaid shall be well rewarded.*⁶⁶

While these and other local events were being talked about in the King Street taverns, the tide of world events from time to time beat upon the coasts of Elizabeth City. World wars were frequent in the eighteenth century, and there were few years when privateers or pirates were not harassing the commerce in the bay. Governor Alexander Spotswood, on his arrival in 1710, proposed to improve the coastal defenses by reviving the old fort at Point Comfort. When the English government sent the necessary guns and ammunition, he "made shift" to build the fort and mount cannon there in the following year. Although the Peace of Utrecht in 1713 brought Queen Anne's War to an end, pirates continued to infest the region, and in 1718 Spotswood dispatched Lieutenant Henry Maynard to Pamlico Sound to attack the notorious pirate Blackbeard. Maynard returned in triumph, bringing with him as a trophy of his victory the pirate captain's head. This was stuck up on a pole on the west side of Hampton River, on the point which is still called Blackbeard's Point.⁶⁷

Spotswood's wooden fort rotted away as rapidly as had its predecessors, and by 1730 Governor William Gooch proposed a new fort built of more durable material. Nothing was done about this plan, however, until after the outbreak of King George's War in 1740.⁶⁸ The following spring Spanish privateers arrived to prey upon the tobacco ships, and the merchants of Hampton and Norfolk joined in a petition to the governor and council for protection. The council met this request by authorizing the fitting out of two sloops to patrol the bay,⁶⁹ and in 1742 Governor Gooch at last carried out his project for a brick fort at Point Comfort.⁷⁰

This massive structure, named Fort George in honor of the king, consisted of two walls, sixteen feet apart, the outer wall twenty-seven inches thick, the inner one sixteen inches. Every ten or twelve feet there was a cross-wall to brace the structure; the pockets between were probably filled with

sand for additional strength. The fort mounted twenty-two guns under the control of George Walker, storekeeper and gunner. The name of the Quaker pilot seems oddly out of place in such a warlike position, but this seems to have been the son, won away from his father's principles by his mother's earnest instruction. One other problem was the acquisition of title to the land on which the fort stood, for in 1706 sharp-eyed Robert Beverley had noticed that Point Comfort was unoccupied ground and had promptly taken out a patent for it His claim was settled in 1744 by the payment of £165 to his son William.⁷¹

The new fort proved less effective than had been hoped; in 1748 a French privateer captured a Norfolk schooner within sight of the defenders of Point Comfort. Fortunately the war ended the same year, and a little later the fort itself came to an end. The hurricane of October, 1749, washed the sand from under the brick foundations, and the walls collapsed in ruins. The commander, Captain Samuel Barron, assembled all his men on the second floor of the wooden barracks to protect them from the fury of the storm; according to popular belief, their combined weight held down the wooden building and saved it from destruction. Colonel Thomas Lee, then acting governor of the colony, came to examine the pile of bricks and sand which had once been the fort and reported that all the guns were dismounted and "Honey-coomb'd." Governor Robert Dinwiddie in 1755 also investigated the disaster, reporting that the collapse was the result of "Sea and Weather," since no pilings had been driven into the sand to protect the foundations. In 1763 Governor Francis Fauquier observed of what was left of the fort that it "serves now only as a signal house to give notice of what Ships enter the Capes."⁷² Point Comfort was reduced again to the position it had had in the early days of the colony, when a tall cedar tree had served as the lookout post.

Meanwhile, the effects of war had swept around the Strawberry Banks and into the town of Hampton itself. In May, 1746, troops enlisted and organized by the colony sailed out of the port on their way to a projected invasion of Canada. Nine years later, in February, Major General Edward Braddock landed there, and British redcoats gleamed on King Street, while the soldiers he had brought with him refreshed themselves after their long ocean voyage before proceeding to the Potomac and their impending rendezvous with disaster on the banks of the Monongahela. The following November the war brought another problem to Hampton, when the British government, suspicious of the loyalty of the French living in Nova Scotia, decided to evacuate them. Five ships, loaded with 1140 of these exiles, arrived in the bay, and two of the vessels were directed to Hampton, which had to face the problem of trying to feed and house them. Luckily for Hampton's slender resources, the refugees were eventually evacuated to French Louisiana.⁷³

Even before the French and Indian War was over, Elizabeth City was join-

ing with the rest of Virginia in demanding greater independence from the king. During the war the General Assembly because of a crop failure had authorized the commuting of debts payable in tobacco into cash at the rate of twopence a pound. A number of the Virginia clergy, feeling that this law discriminated against them, since the market value of the tobacco customarily paid them as salary would have been much greater than the cash payments they received, appealed to the king and obtained a royal veto of the law. Under the usual interpretation of the royal authority, this meant that the act had been null and void from the beginning, and the clergy were thus entitled to recover what they had lost by accepting money instead of tobacco.

A number of the clergymen brought suit against the vestry in the county courts to collect the sums due them and thereby made themselves unpopular with the local authorities. The most famous of these "Parsons' Causes" was in Hanover County, where the court upheld the clergyman under the law but was overruled by the jury as the result of Patrick Henry's impassioned plea. The defiance of Elizabeth City was more forthright, if less dramatic, and was made nine months before Patrick Henry addressed the Hanover County jury. When the Reverend Thomas Warrington brought suit in the Hampton courthouse to collect the money due him, the court impaneled a jury to hear his case. The jury on January 5, 1763, tossed the problem back to the bench by rendering an ambiguous verdict; it found for the plaintiff if the law was with him, against the plaintiff if the law was against him. At the next term of court the justices, with George Wythe presiding, boldly challenged the royal authority by ruling that the law was against the rector.⁷⁴

Elizabeth City County in the same unspectacular way likewise cooperated in opposition to the Stamp Act in 1765. Local planters and merchants supported the colonial boycott of British goods, which eventually brought about the repeal of the detested measure, but the resistance was without violence or open disobedience of the law. Since the county court could not legally meet without either complying with or deliberately defying the act, the court ceased to sit after the legislation went into effect on November 1, 1765. It did meet the following January for the important business of laying the tax levy, but it heard no cases until word arrived that the law had been repealed.⁷⁵

Passive resistance could not indefinitely postpone, however, open conflict between imperial authority and local desire for home rule. When the news of the passing of the Intolerable Acts arrived in 1774, Virginia took the lead in calling for a Continental Congress to discuss colonial grievances, and the people of Elizabeth City County held an unofficial election to choose delegates to a colonial convention, which in turn named representatives to go to Philadelphia. Following the program of opposition adopted by the Continental Congress, the county court stopped meeting, as it had in 1765. This time, however, its place was taken by an informal government, a committee

of correspondence, which was to be granted by popular consent all the powers of the county court. On November 21, 1774, the voters of Elizabeth City County chose their first committee of correspondence. Heading the list as chairman was the bearer of several old county names, William Roscoe Wilson Curle. The other members of the committee included Henry King, Worlich Westwood, William Armistead, James Wallace (grandson of the minister), Jacob and George Wray, John Cary, John Tabb, Rae Cowper, Joseph and Cary Selden, and Miles King.⁷⁶

By the summer of 1775 this unofficial organization had become the real government in Elizabeth City although the colony still hesitated to take up outright resistance to the King's representative, Governor Dunmore, who had taken up his headquarters in Norfolk. That step was to be left to the people of Hampton. Local resentment had built up against one of Dunmore's subordinates, Captain Mathew Squiers of the British sloop-of-war *Otter*. In order to keep the governor's forces supplied, Squiers had been pressing into the royal service whatever poultry and swine his boats could find running loose on the north side of Hampton Roads. When the *Otter* was driven into Hampton River by a storm on September 2, 1775, Squiers apparently went ashore in his tender and visited a Major Finn. Some of the local patriots seized this opportunity to get their revenge on the "chicken-thief" by burning his boat and looting the stores on his ship.⁷⁷

After Squiers had returned to Norfolk, he demanded that his stolen supplies be returned to him. The committee of safety, as the committee of correspondence was now called, replied that his stores would be given back if he restored one of Henry King's runaway slaves and promised to stop plundering. When negotiations broke down, the committee sank five sloops in the channel to block the entrance to Hampton River and appealed to Williamsburg for assistance. On October 24 Squiers launched his attack against Hampton. Landing parties in boats tried to get ashore, while the ship, coming in as close as it could, fired its guns into the town. Several houses were hit, and fires were started in George Cooper's house and in the parish church. Little damage was done, however, and the local militia drove off Squiers's boats. The next morning a hundred mounted riflemen from Culpeper, under the command of Colonel William Woodford came riding into town, and Squiers's renewed attack was easily repulsed. In the battle of Hampton the British suffered a loss of two killed and two wounded, while the colonial defenders appear to have come off unscathed.⁷⁸

Even after this conflict, all-out war did not begin, and uneasy relations continued between the two rival authorities. Hampton's collector of customs, Cary Mitchell, who had followed Governor Dunmore to Norfolk, wrote to Colonel Cary Selden on November 23 that it was unfair to condemn him as a Tory. He was, he protested, a friend of the country as far as he could be con-

sistent with his office. The reason for his complaint was that a sloop he had sent to Hampton to pick up his household effects had been seized by the colonists and that a hogshead of fine "Old Spirits" had likewise been confiscated.⁷⁹ The unhappy Mitchell never had a chance to recover his lost goods, for a month later Virginia launched an attack against Lord Dunmore in Norfolk and the property of all Tories was soon legally confiscated. Another Hampton Tory, Osgood Hanbury, had his land seized and sold by the town in 1778.⁸⁰

Hampton's most important service during the Revolution was its contribution to the Virginia Navy. With the outbreak of war Virginia, which for more than a century had been appealing to the British navy for protection against its sea-borne enemies, now had to create its own defenses against that same British navy. Ships had to be built to patrol the bay, and many of them were constructed at Hampton's South Quay by local workmen. Shipbuilding was directed by the state board of naval commissioners, headed by Colonel Thomas Whiting of Hampton, while another Hampton man, George Hope, was in charge of a state shipyard near Richmond. The largest of the vessels constructed at Hampton carried thirty-two guns; one of these, the *Gloucester*, was converted into a prison ship. A locally-built schooner, appropriately named the *Liberty*, figured in twenty engagements and came through the war still afloat.

Among the many Hampton sailors who served in the Virginia Navy the most prominent was James Barron, son of the commander at Fort George, who had been born at the fort just before it was washed away by the hurricane. He had gone to sea at the age of ten with a Captain Barrington, and while still in his teens had been entrusted with the command of a small ship called the *Kickotan*, owned by Colonel John Hunter of Hampton. When he reached maturity, he was placed in charge of a fine ship by a London merchant named Samuel Guest. At the outset of the Revolution he gave up his excellent prospects to take part in the defense of Virginia. After commanding a company of sailors during the battle of Hampton, he joined the newly-organized Virginia Navy and, while cruising in the bay in April, 1776, intercepted one of Dunmore's dispatch boats. The captured papers revealed the British plans for an attack on Charleston, permitting a warning to be sent in time to save that city. Three years later he was promoted to the command of Virginia's navy, and he held that post until his death in 1787.⁸¹

Two of Barron's son were also destined to attain naval prominence. His oldest, named Samuel after his grandfather, was born in Hampton in 1765, just in time to serve during the Revolution. At the age of fifteen he joined the Virginia navy as a midshipman and remained in that service until the state navy was abolished with the ratification of the Federal Constitution, rising to the rank of captain. After a brief period in the merchant marine,

he joined the United States Navy and was in command of the fleet sent to the shores of Tripoli in 1804 to fight the Barbary pirates. He later became commandant of the Norfolk Navy Yard, where he died in 1810. His son, Samuel, Jr., also served in the United States Navy until Virginia seceded in 1861, when he resigned to become a commodore in the Confederate navy.

James Barron's second son, James, Jr., was born in 1768, too late to fight in the Revolution, but he likewise entered the Virginia Navy and went from that to the United States Navy. He served on board the *United States* as a lieutenant during the naval war with France in 1798 and later became its captain. He commanded the *Essex* during the expedition to Tripoli headed by his brother. The most controversial incident in his career came in 1807 when he took over the *Chesapeake*, just completed in his brother's navy yard, and set out on a trial voyage. Stopped at Lynnhaven Bay by the British ship *Leopard*, he found himself involved in a battle in which he was forced to strike his colors. Instead of going to war with Great Britain over this incident, the United States court-martialed Captain Barron for "neglecting on the probability of an engagement to clear his ship for action," and he was relieved of command for five years. He was restored to active duty over the protests of his fellow-officer, Stephen Decatur, and their quarrel eventually led to a duel in 1820, in which Barron was wounded and Decatur killed. The duel did not end Barron's career; he became commandant of the Philadelphia Navy Yard and there received Lafayette on his return visit to America. He later retired to Norfolk where he died at the ripe old age of 83. His daughter, Jane, who married Wilton Hope, became the mother of the famed Virginia poet, James Barron Hope.⁸²

Meanwhile, before the Revolution ended, Elizabeth City had figured in land as well as sea operations. The General Assembly in October, 1776, had authorized the governor to erect fortifications at Hampton, and a fort was built there under the supervision of a German named John Stadler.⁸³ Lookouts were regularly posted at Point Comfort to keep an eye out for approaching vessels. On the last day of 1780 they reported the arrival of twenty-seven ships in the bay and passed the news on to the state's new capital at Richmond. Governor Thomas Jefferson, as he later told the General Assembly, "stationed expresses from hence to Hampton" in order to get prompt information. When he learned on January 2 that the fleet was hostile, he called out the militia but to no avail; the British commander, Benedict Arnold, who had just turned traitor to the Americans, raided Richmond without interference.⁸⁴

Arnold continued to linger in the bay, subject to the harassment of Hampton patriots. While Colonel Francis Mallory of the Elizabeth City

militia was temporarily held prisoner on one of the British ships, his brother, Captain Edward Mallory, took off after an English foraging party about seven miles north of Newport News Point. Leading a group of forty mounted volunteers, including "Young Barron"—that is, Samuel, aged fifteen—he fell upon the raiders and drove them back to their boat, leaving upon the field their badly wounded commander, Captain Brown of the Royal Marines. Mallory's party carried him back to Hampton and entrusted him to the care of Dr. Brodie, the physician whose daughter had once been insulted. After two months of illness, Captain Brown died there.⁸⁵

In March, 1781, another group of British raiders, numbering about two hundred, attacked the Halfway House between York and Hampton and then started back to Newport News. On the way back they ran into the Elizabeth City militia, this time under the command of Colonel Francis Mallory, near Big Bethel. Since Mallory had only forty men with him, Jacob Wray urged him to flee, but the colonel charged boldly into the British troops and fought until he fell dead after receiving many severe wounds. Colonel William Roscoe Wilson Curle was taken prisoner in the same engagement. Colonel Mallory's mangled body was later recovered from the field and buried in the family cemetery at Clover Dale.⁸⁶

A few months later the Elizabeth City militia got their revenge for this defeat. When Cornwallis allowed himself to be bottled up at Yorktown, the Elizabeth City men turned out to help take part in the siege and soon rejoiced to see the British redcoats marching out to the surrender field to the tune of "The World Turned Upside Down." Hampton itself figured in the battle, as the French took over the courthouse and used it as a hospital for some time.

When the last wounded soldier had been evacuated from the courthouse and the French ships had sailed out of the bay, Elizabeth City was left with few perceptible signs of the Revolution it had experienced. The royal coat of arms on the parish church steeple had been symbolically shattered by lightning from heaven; the fort of 1776 was crumbling into the inevitable ruins; and three orphaned Mallory children mourned at the side of a grave at Clover Dale. Gone from the county were two of its prominent citizens, Lawyer George Wythe and young Doctor James McClurg, who had returned from his medical studies at Edinburgh just before the Revolution. When Governor Thomas Jefferson had reorganized the College of William and Mary in 1779, he had abolished the two professorships of theology in keeping with the spirit of the new age. In their place he had introduced the more practical studies of modern languages, law, and medicine, and for the latter two positions he had summoned Wythe and McClurg, McClurg to be the second professor of medicine at an American college, Wythe to be the

first professor of law.* The respect of the state for these two Elizabeth City men was shown eight years later, when they were chosen as two of Virginia's seven delegates to go to Philadelphia to draw up a new Federal Constitution.

When the work of these men was submitted to Virginia for ratification, Hampton with its interest in improved trade naturally supported the new Constitution and rejoiced when Virginia was brought in under the "New Roof" by a narrow margin. Federalism remained strong in Hampton, even when it was deserted by one of its ablest leaders, Virginia's James Madison. The Republican movement, sponsored by Madison and Jefferson, soon came to dominate Virginia, but not Hampton. In 1798 the Republican General Assembly enthusiastically adopted Madison's famous Virginia Resolves, which suggested that a state might interpose its sovereignty to prevent the enforcement of the detested Alien and Sedition Acts, and sent copies to the county courts for distribution. When the Elizabeth City court received the resolutions, old Colonel Wilson Miles Cary, who thirty years before had paid the freight on the crimson cushions for the church and who had served on the committee of safety in 1775, thundered his protest against what he considered this perversion of the principles of the Revolution for which he had fought. To make certain that his feelings might be "known to Posterity," he had the clerk record in the county deed book that he was opposed to the "assumed powers of the said House of Delegates and Executive, and to the constitutionality of the measure, and most sincerely deprecates the evils that must result from such novel and rash proceedings."⁸⁷

Colonel Cary must likewise have deplored the sad state of the parish church, which had fallen upon evil days as a result of the Revolution. The more radical leaders of the Revolution, allied with dissenters like the Baptists and Presbyterians, had succeeded in toppling the established church from its historic position by a series of laws which nearly brought about its total destruction. The beginning of the end came in 1776 when the General Assembly suspended the collection of the parish tithes for religious purposes. Although the Elizabeth City vestry laid a parish levy for the parson's salary in April, 1777, it was never collected. The vestry continued to exist as an agency of the state and laid taxes for the performance of its secular duties, such as caring for the poor, and it continued to manage the affairs of the church through whatever voluntary contributions it could obtain. In 1780 it raised some income by selling for £3400 in inflated Continental currency the west gallery in the church, which belonged to Alexander McKenzie, a

* Wythe counted among his students Jefferson and Marshall; the Law School at William and Mary now bears the name Marshall-Wythe. Wythe was a resident of Williamsburg by 1754, a member of the House of Burgesses like his father, Clerk of the House from 1769 to 1775, and in 1769 Mayor of the Capital City. McClurg was Surgeon-General of Virginia State Troops in Continental Service and an original member of the Society of the Cincinnati; his official title at the College was "Professor of Anatomy and Medicine."

Scotch merchant who had gone back to Britain in 1763 and never returned. Again two years later it appealed to each person to contribute six shilling per tithable to pay the rector's back salary, but there was little result.⁸⁸

The Reverend William Selden, who must have sometimes regretted that he had ever decided to leave the law, managed to exist on whatever income he could get out of the parish glebe land and the slaves belonging to it. Finally, in January, 1783, he came to the conclusion that six years without salary was enough and gave up the post. The following October the vestry persuaded the Reverend William Nixon to agree to serve for one year for the use of the parish glebe and slaves, but at the end of his term he too decided to leave the ministry and went to Baltimore to establish a classical school there.⁸⁹ For the next five or six years the church seems to have been without a regular minister, although there is mention of the Reverend William Bland serving the parish in 1786. The parish also was without a vestry, for the vestry was dissolved as a civil agency by the legislature and its secular duties were handed over to the newly-created overseers of the poor. The Elizabeth City overseers also took over the vestry records along with its duties, and for the next twenty years the vestry book contains the proceedings of the overseers of the poor.⁹⁰

The church property meanwhile was administered by a board of trustees, who kept no records that have been preserved. Indeed, they did not even keep up the church itself, for the county justices in 1788 disapprovingly rebuked them for letting "the horses and cattle run in the church yard," indicating that the gates had collapsed.⁹¹ Nothing was done about this problem for want of the necessary financial contributions, but the trustees did succeed in keeping the pulpit filled for the next few years. About 1789 the Reverend Henry Skyren arrived and served the parish until his death in 1795, when he was buried in the churchyard; according to his tombstone, he had been born in Whitehaven, England, in 1729. He was succeeded by a Harvard man, the Reverend John James Spooner, who had left Massachusetts after business reverses and come to Virginia. Ordained a priest by Bishop James Madison in 1792, he came to Hampton in 1796 and served as minister until he died three years later at the age of forty-two.⁹² He in turn was probably succeeded by the Reverend Benjamin Brown, who came to Hampton from New Kent County. He was married to Rachel C. Garrett, a Hampton girl who, according to local tradition, had married Count Rochambeau when the French soldiers were in town and had gone back to France with him, only to learn that the Frenchman was a gay deceiver, and had returned disillusioned to Hampton. The Reverend Mr. Brown died in 1806 at the age of thirty-nine and, like his two immediate predecessors, was buried in the churchyard.⁹³

His death brought parish affairs to a crisis, for the glebe land had been sold in 1802 by act of assembly, and nothing was left but the church itself,

which was threatening to fall down at any moment. The congregation at last awoke from its apathy and attempted to save the church. A new vestry was organized, and the old vestry book rescued from the overseers of the poor. The churchyard wall was repaired and new gates installed to keep the cows out; the book records the melancholy fact that the work had to be done at the joint expense of the vestrymen. Since replacing the rotting steeple was beyond the power of their purse, they had the bell taken down and set up on the ground in the corner between the tower and the church. A new minister, the Reverend Robert S. Symes, was elected, but unfortunately no provision was made for his salary, and he failed to come. At last, in 1810, the Reverend George Holson, who was principal of Hampton Academy, agreed to act as rector, but nothing further came of this. The vestry did not meet again for sixteen years, no money was collected for the minister's salary, and the church continued to decay.⁹⁴

The Hampton Academy of which Mr. Holson was principal was the result of a minor revolution staged by the people of the town. The gentlemen of Hampton, feeling the need of an academy to provide higher education for their sons who had completed their studies in the private elementary schools of the town, in 1804 hit upon the scheme of using the endowments of the Syms Free School and the Eaton Charity School for that purpose. The plan could scarcely have been more revolutionary: it proposed to convert the endowments from land into cash; it proposed to transfer them from their original intention of providing free schools to operate one where tuition would be charged; it proposed to transform two elementary schools into one secondary school; and, worst of all from the viewpoint of the people on Back River, it proposed to move the school to Hampton.

In order to carry out their plans, the sponsors of the new academy went to the legislature for permission to take over the Syms and Eaton lands. Their petition began by piously deplored the sorry condition of the free schools:

We view with anxious concern, the unfortunate Situation of the Youth who are debarred from enjoying and receiving that inestimable blessing of useful and ornamental education contemplated even in the plain manner of their charitable Patrons by default of the Trustees continuing to manage this valuable Property in the way pointed out by the testators, which causes a deficiency of funds to carry the same into effect; past experience has fully proved to us that a CONTRARY PLAN of management and we trust similar to the one now ardently PRAYED for would produce the fortunate effects now contemplated, and that the interference of your honorable house will be the only means from which we may hope to see these interesting plans realized, and this donation become beneficial to Society.

THE SMALL and limited income of these Lands is not an object sufficient to induce a Man of literature to take charge of the Schools and it is a very

natural conclusion that when Men are badly paid for Services, They are as indifferently rendered, hence we may trace one of the principal causes of neglect in attending to the instruction of youth under Charitable institutions.⁹⁵

The petitioners followed this with an explanation of their proposal for ending this unfortunate situation. All the school lands were to be sold—the lessees would be glad to surrender their rights—the money was to be invested at interest along with other large sums which were to be subscribed in the county, and this income was to be used for the operation of the new Hampton Academy. All the children entitled to attend the existing schools would of course be permitted to come to Hampton and go to the academy without charge.⁹⁶

The news of this scheme to close the free schools ruffled the waters of Back River. In reply to "one of the most unreasonable and injurious Petitions that could be invented," the Back River residents presented their protest, declaring that granting the requests of the Hamptonites would be

attended with the most injurious consequences to the poor inhabitants residing in the vicinity of said Schools that could happen, because there are a number of poor people who reside in the vicinity of the School who have not a Horse for their Children to ride on and have heavy rent to pay and perhaps not a second suit of Clothes to appear decent in so public a place as Hampton is; then pray what advantage would this Academy be to the poor objects of Charity who reside in the vicinity of the two Schools.

The one called Eaton part of its vicinity is six miles and Syms's Ten Miles from the same place: now in this case, pray let your Hon. House judge what profit or signification would this Academy be to those poor Children who we may suppose were the very objects of the Donations; now for the reasons above mentioned, we beg leave to observe to your Hon. House that an Academy might as well be established in Kentucky as at Hampton if those poor children cannot repair there for to receive their education.

If these Gentlemen who are at the helm of that Petition are so zealous for erecting an Academy as is prayed for, for Heaven's sake why do they not do it and of their own estates? as there are some of them who are very able and could perhaps contribute two or three Thousand Dollars without injuring their families; but for Heaven's sake do not permit them to meddle with private and benevolent Donations.⁹⁷

The Back River petitioners might have made more impression if a number of the signers had not revealed their own failure to take advantage of their educational opportunities by being unable to write their names. At any rate, the General Assembly made its own investigation of the situation before approving the Hampton Academy proposal, as the preamble to the incorporating act reports:

that for a number of years past, the schools thereon established, have been most shamefully neglected, the buildings suffered to tumble into ruins, and the land dismembered of nearly all its most valuable timber, and used for purposes not designed by the donors: That the magistrates of the said county, who heretofore have considered themselves as answering the description of "commissioners," and "commissioners of the liberty," designated and declared in the said deed and will, trustees to carry into effect the benevolent intentions of the aforesaid donors, are unwilling to exercise any authority over the said property and schools, because there are now no persons in the said county under the denomination of church wardens, with whom they can associate, and who are required by the said charters of conveyance to be co-trustees with those commissioners described therein; in consequence whereof, one school is totally discontinued, and the other under no control, but in the most wretched and deplorable situation.⁹⁸

These facts convinced the legislature that the "wretched and deplorable" school still open—evidently the Syms school, which still had an income under the 1760 lease to George Wythe—should be closed. The only concession won by the Back River folks was a provision for popular election of the academy trustees, which gave the county people a chance to outvote the townsmen and take control. One fair-minded assemblyman, studying the documents in the case and noticing Syms's interest in Poquoson parish, inserted into the bill a provision that "the said parish of Poquoson . . . shall be . . . authorized to send six poor and indigent children to be educated at the said academy," without seeming to realize that there had been no legal parish of Poquoson in Virginia for many years.⁹⁹

The first county election to choose the new trustees was called for April 25, 1805, and on June 27 the new board of trustees was reported chosen. The promised subscriptions came in, a lot was bought on Cary Street, and a building was erected there. The school lands were all sold within the next few years, the last to go being the Syms tract, which reverted to the trustees after George Wythe's death in 1806. When it was disposed of three years later, it turned out to have three hundred acres in it after all instead of two hundred Syms supposed he had. The Eaton tract likewise seems to have grown from five hundred to seven hundred acres, demonstrating the generosity of seventeenth century surveying. The school lands brought in altogether something less than \$7,000, and enough subscriptions were paid in to raise the cash endowment to \$20,000. The trustees used this as a mortgage fund, lending it to local citizens, and the interest paid the teacher's salary. Certainly by 1810, and probably earlier, the Hampton Academy was in operation.¹⁰⁰

In 1811 Hampton had some excitement over suspected arson. When two houses in town caught fire, three slaves named Jupiter, Billy, and Caesar were

brought before the county court on charges of having started the fire, but all three were acquitted. The next month, on November 11, James Banks's blacksmith shop near the courthouse burned down, and Billy and Caesar were brought back to court again, accused of having set this fire. Billy and Caesar produced alibis, supported by several fellow slaves. Their case collapsed, however, when a deaf mute named Edward Hurst testified by the sign language, with his father interpreting, that he had seen them pass the courthouse with fire in their hands, place the brands inside the blacksmith's shop, and carefully blow it into a flame before escaping through a back door and over the fence. Billy and Caesar were sentenced to be hanged at the crossroads on the first Friday in January, 1812.¹⁰¹

The hanging in January was followed by the news of war in June. Once more, the United States, provoked beyond endurance by its mother country, went to war against England, and again Hampton became involved. The town cheered its naval hero, Commodore Lewis Warrington, grandson of the minister who had been thrust upon Elizabeth City parish by Governor Dinwiddie. Commodore Warrington, commanding the *Peacock*, captured the British sloop of war *Epervier* with £118,000 sterling aboard and took fourteen more English merchantmen before ending his voyage in New York.¹⁰²

By 1813 the war had taken a more threatening turn, as England prepared to invade the United States. A small force was stationed at Hampton under the command of Major Stapleton Crutchfield to defend the town against possible attack. Four artillery pieces, manned by sixty-two artillerymen, were placed on the town waterfront to cover the channel, while the 349 infantrymen and 25 cavalrymen camped out at Little England plantation on Sunset Creek. For the camp's dinnerbell they carted off the old bell from the abandoned parish church and rang it lustily until the tongue fell out; after that they pounded it with an ax until the aged metal cracked in protest.¹⁰³

By that time, however, the camp had far more to worry about than a cracked dinner bell. In June a British fleet under Admiral Cockburn arrived in the bay, and Hampton's defenders watched while the Virginia militia on the south side boldly drove them off as they attempted to land at Craney Island. Peacefully remote from the battle, the justices sat at the Hampton courthouse on June 24, levying the taxes as usual, but that night the British decided to avenge Captain Squiers. Next morning a force was landed two miles west of town at Indian River to attack the Little England encampment. Landing boats trying to come up Hampton River were repulsed by the cannon on the water front, but the ships at the mouth of the river began firing into the town and the arrival of the superior British force from the west forced the men at Little England to flee, leaving the town to the British. The casualties for this second battle of Hampton were, for the

Americans, 7 killed, 12 wounded, 1 prisoner, 11 missing; for the British, 5 dead, 33 wounded, ten missing.¹⁰⁴

The people of Hampton now learned something of the problems of being occupied by a rough and ill-disciplined soldiery. Many civilians fled in alarm, leaving their empty houses to be plundered by drunken redcoats. The county clerk took time to get the precious records, going all the way back to 1634, out of the courthouse and cart them off to safety. As those who remained burned with indignation at the insults and the thievery of the British, rumor quickly multiplied their tales into an orgy of crime and violence. Four days after the British landings and even before the town had been evacuated, Armistead Thomson Mason was writing from Fort Norfolk on the south side:

The conduct of the British toward the inhabitants of Hampton has been cruel and infamous beyond expression. They have literally plundered the town of every atom of moveable property; they have insulted and abased the citizens in the grossest and most brutal manner; in several instances they committed deliberate murder.¹⁰⁵

Governor Barbour reported to the Virginia legislature that private houses had been plundered, gray hairs exposed to wanton insult, a sick man murdered in his bed, females publicly borne off to suffer the last degree of unutterable violence, and the house of God given over to sacrilegious outrage. By the time war propaganda and legend had done their work, it was common belief that many buildings had been burned.¹⁰⁶

Bad though the British misbehavior was in the theoretically enlightened nineteenth century, the evidence shows that it was not as bad as reported. One man, a Mr. Kirby, who was sick in bed, did die, either from fright or some action of the soldiers who broke into his house and shot his wife in the hip; four women claimed to have been raped; and the aged Mr. Hope was insulted and maltreated. These were the only reports of physical violence, and the only property burned was John Shields' pilot boat. If the British did quarter their troops in the empty old church and slaughter cattle in the church-yard, they showed the building no more irreverence than the people of Hampton did by their neglect and did it less permanent damage than the troops at Little England.

The best confirmed of the stories are those concerning the efficient looting of the redcoats; it was said that there was scarcely a silver knife, fork, or piece of plate left in Hampton. The soldiers naturally fed themselves generously on all the stray livestock they could round up; lovers of mutton carried off sixty-five of Miles Cary's sheep. Zerubabel Roberts reported a total loss of eight head of cattle, twenty-four sheep, one hundred fifty poultry, forty geese, some corn, a teakettle, a gun and shot bag, and his Negro boy Luke. Negroes were the biggest loss to local residents, as slaves seized the oppor-

tunity for emancipation offered by the presence of the British fleet. While the British were still at Point Comfort, three of the Widow Lowry's servants came in and offered their services to Captain Stewart of the Royal Marines. The captain gave them their choice between the army and the navy, and all three decided to become soldiers.

In spite of Hampton's anger at the late occupation forces, relations with the enemy became quite sociable as the British fleet remained anchored in Hampton Roads for a month. As early as July 1 Thomas Griffin and Robert Lively had rowed out to get permission to obtain medical supplies. Charles M. Collier, who operated the Norfolk ferry, hailed the British vessels as he passed them on his regular trips to the Elizabeth River; one day the captain of the *Plantagenet* told him that a whole boat load of Negroes had come in from Newport News Point a few days before. William Cooper went out to see and reported that there were thirteen Negroes belonging to John Cooper's estate on board one vessel. John's widow Ann, a determined woman, rowed out herself, climbed aboard the *Plantagenet*, where she saw five of her slaves, and got close enough to the *Dotterel* to spot three other fugitives.¹⁰⁷

Although these runaway servants sailed with the British fleet out through the capes to freedom, their owners were eventually compensated for their loss by the Federal Government; the government, in fact, paid for everything, down to the cracked bell. Another British fleet came back the following summer, but this one did not stop to visit at Hampton. It proceeded on up the bay to a more important mission, the burning of Washington. As the lookouts at Point Comfort saw the fleet come back down the bay and watched its sails disappear between the capes, they could hope that for the last time a hostile invader had troubled the peaceful waters of the Chesapeake.

NOTES ON CHAPTER VI

N.B. See remark at beginning of Chapter I notes.

1. Starkey, *op. cit.*, p. 43.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 27.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 28.
4. *Virginia Gazette*, June 2, 1738.
5. Starkey, *op. cit.*, p. 23.
6. 3 H 219.
7. Starkey, *op. cit.*, p. 41.
8. 3 H 471.
9. 5 H 364, 6 H 19.
10. 6 H 496.
11. 8 H 264.
12. Starkey, *op. cit.*, p. 43; see also 4 H 376.
13. 4 H 306.
14. Starkey, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

15. 20 W (1) 169.
16. Starkey, *op. cit.*, p. 43.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 25.
18. *Loc. cit.*
19. Starkey, *op. cit.*, p. 22.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 43.
21. *Loc. cit.*
22. 37 V 110.
23. Huntley, "The Seaborne Trade of Virginia."
24. Virginia Council Journals, 14 V 242.
25. Mason, *op. cit.*, p. 107.
26. 32 V 246-7.
27. Mason, *op. cit.*, p. 108.
28. *Loc. cit.*
29. *Ibid.*, p. 109.
30. Heffelfinger, *op. cit.*, p. 19.
31. 2 W (1) 210, 9 W (1) 130.
32. "Papers Relating to the Administration of Governor Nicholson," 8 V 276-8.
33. Heffelfinger, *op. cit.*, p. 19.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 20.
35. Starkey, *op. cit.*, p. 23.
36. Tyler, *op. cit.*, p. 30.
37. *Loc. cit.*
38. *Ibid.*, p. 31.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 33.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 34.
41. *Loc. cit.*
42. Heffelfinger, *op. cit.*, p. 23.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 25.
44. Mason, *op. cit.*, p. 110.
45. *Ibid.*, pp. 110-111.
46. Heffelfinger, *op. cit.*, p. 25; Mason, *op. cit.*, p. 111.
47. Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 8
48. *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.
49. 4 H 306, quoted in Campbell, p. 9.
50. 6 H 392, quoted in Campbell, p. 10.
51. 7 H 317-20, quoted in Campbell, p. 10.
52. Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 8.
53. *Ibid.*, p. 9.
54. *Ibid.*, pp. 24-25.
55. *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.
56. *Ibid.*, pp. 25-26.
57. Starkey, *op. cit.*, p. 35.
58. *Loc. cit.*
59. 21 V 197-8.
60. "Medical Men of Virginia," 19 W (1) 157.
61. Starkey, *op. cit.*, p. 35.
62. Tyler, *op. cit.*, p. 34.
63. Starkey, *op. cit.*, p. 24.
64. *Ibid.*, pp. 24-25.
65. *Ibid.*, p. 24.
66. *Virginia Gazette*, September 9, 1737.
67. Middleton, Tobacco Coast, pp. 323-327; Heffelfinger, *op. cit.*, p. 20.
68. Middleton, *op. cit.*, p. 329.
69. 15 V 123, 127.
70. Middleton, *op. cit.*, p. 330.
71. Tyler, *op. cit.*, p. 36.
72. Middleton, *op. cit.*, pp. 332-333, 425; Tyler, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-37.
73. Starkey, *op. cit.*, p. 44; 6 V 386-8.
74. 20 W (1) 172-3.

75. 20 W (1) 173.
76. 5 W (1) 103.
77. Starkey, *op. cit.*, p. 46.
78. Starkey, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-47.
79. 19 V 164-5.
80. Starkey, *op. cit.*, p. 46.
81. Tyler, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-43.
82. *Ibid.*, pp. 44-45.
83. 9 H 192, 17 V 248.
84. 10 H 573.
85. Heffelfinger, *op. cit.*, p. 27.
86. *Ibid.*, pp. 26-27; Tyler, *op. cit.*, p. 43.
87. Starkey, *op. cit.*, p. 53.
88. Mason, *op. cit.*, p. 112; Heffelfinger, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-28.
89. *Ibid.*, p. 28; 19 W (2) 413.
90. Heffelfinger, *op. cit.*, p. 28; Mason, *op. cit.*, p. 112.
91. Starkey, *op. cit.*, p. 50.
92. Heffelfinger, p. 29; 14 W (1) 168-172, 19 W (2) 417.
93. 8 W (2) 204.
94. Mason, p. 112; Heffelfinger, p. 30; 19 W (2) 427.
95. Campbell, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-27.
96. *Loc. cit.*
97. *Ibid.*, pp. 30-31.
98. *Ibid.*, p. 12.
99. *Loc. cit.*
100. *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14, 32-33.
101. Starkey, *op. cit.*, p. 54.
102. Tyler, *op. cit.*, p. 46.
103. Starkey, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-56; Mason, *op. cit.*, p. 113.
104. Starkey, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-56.
105. 23 W (1) 230.
106. Tyler, *op. cit.*, p. 46; Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 14.
107. Starkey, *op. cit.*, p. 56, 57.

Chapter VII

The Town and City of Hampton and Elizabeth City County 1814-1957

By *Floyd McKnight**

THE MODERN CITY of Hampton is thus descended from what is the oldest continuously occupied English-speaking settlement and Anglican parish in America, which has borne the same name since 1620.

From the ashes of destruction, detailed in the preceding chapters, a new Hampton began to rise in 1814. Though a portion of St. John's Church was almost the only building of any kind left standing, this vestige of a one-time faith encountered a period of disgust and religious apathy—not the less so because of its straight-line descent from a no-longer-popular Church of England, the Established Church of a nation which had been twice a bitter enemy of a daughter nation disposed toward independence. What the plunder of war had not accomplished, the ensuing lassitude of peace performed. The church itself fell to ruin. Its yard became pasture land. And such continued to be the condition until 1824, when a revival began under the leadership of Bishop Richard C. Moore. Perhaps apathy had run its course, and Mrs. Jane Barron Hope is quoted as having remarked. "If I were a man, I would have these walls built up."

Feminine enthusiasm is most likely the strongest pillar of religion. Her plea seemed not to fall upon deaf ears. And further talk of a similar nature led to a popular subscription movement by the church vestry, who so voted on April 28, 1826. In that year the citizens of Hampton met at the Court House and elected a full vestry of twelve men. In September the vestry elected churchwardens, and the Rev. Mark Chevers was chosen to be minister. Repairs to the church building were finished in 1828, and the newly reconstructed St. John's Church was consecrated on March 6, 1830, by Bishop Moore.

It may seem somewhat strange to begin the story of present-day Hampton with repairs to a church. Yet those repairs were significant, in that, from all accounts, the church was the only structure left that was susceptible to repair—so complete had been the town's destruction. Besides, the very approach to those repairs indicated the general state of mind of the populace at that time—a fact of considerable importance when one recognizes that states of mind precede, as well as follow, important historical developments, especially when these

* See Foreword.

developments represent creations and not demolitions. Indeed, a greater number of events than may at first be imagined are the results of cultural-spiritual impulses.

Another such impulse was discernible in the establishment in 1814 of the Syms-Eaton School—a more important step than the founding of a single small institution of learning could possibly possess as an event in itself. For the school so founded was a direct descendant of the first free school in America. The first such school came into being almost as early as the first church. It was in 1623/4 that an act of the Virginia Assembly called for a house or room to be set apart at every plantation for divine worship. As the commanding voice in the Elizabeth City Corporation settlement, Captain William Tucker was in charge of its construction. In 1634/5 Benjamin Syms wrote his will bequeathing 500 pounds of tobacco to "the Church of Old Poquoson" and 200 pounds to its minister at the time when the will was proved*, and, additionally, left a bequest for a "free school" for poor children of the adjoining parishes of Elizabeth City and Poquoson. Another early school was the Eaton Charity School. Eventually the two free schools were combined to form the Syms-Eaton Academy. This academy, now converted into Syms-Eaton Museum, occupies a brick structure visible to the passerby proceeding westward on Queen Street just before he reaches the bridge.

In 1846 the General Assembly adopted the public school system for the entire state of Virginia, and five years later Hampton Academy, as the school was known in the early nineteenth century, became a part of the public school system, which still derives income from the seventeenth century legacies. Meanwhile, John B. Cary, the academy's last principal, headed it for seven years until the change was effected. In 1852 Mr. Cary purchased a home on "the Point" and bought adjacent land from the old academy, then proceeded to put up the most finely equipped school building south of Boston and New York on the basis of a thorough study of school systems and methods. A military feature was added, whereupon the name was changed to Hampton Military Academy.

Hampton Military Academy continued for some years under eminent teachers, having had a faculty on which European universities were represented. There was always a man from Virginia Military Institute on the faculty. Teachers included such men as Colonel Thomas Tebb, of Hampton, a Princeton graduate; Jesse Jones, of the College of William and Mary; and Colonel W. E. Cutshaw, of Virginia Military Institute, the school's last commandant. While he was so serving, the War between the States started and in May, 1861, the school was closed after Mr. Cary called his students to a quiet meeting and told them the dire turn of events.

The bombardment of Fort Sumter came on April 13, 1861, and on April 15

* Probably in 1636.

President Lincoln called for volunteers. On April 17 Virginia passed an act of secession, which was later ratified by a 100,000 majority. On the 20th, large reinforcements landed at Fort Monroe. A figure who was destined to play a prominent role in the early stages of the War between the States was the former head of Hampton Military Academy, Mr. Cary, who was commissioned a major and assigned to take charge of troops in the Hampton area. He headed a unit of 200 undisciplined men at a period when the Union forces were 10,000 strong and were no farther than three miles away.

Instructions from General Lee were to watch closely every Union move, even though Virginia was still in the Union pending ratification of secession. Lee's command was that his troops should abstain from any action which would provoke a collision. If an attack came, his men were to fell trees and throw them and other obstacles in the enemy's path. There was not yet war, but there was terrific tension—perhaps the 1861 version of "cold war" uncertainty.

It was on the evening of May 23 that pickets on duty announced that a regiment was approaching. They were United States troops, supported by a battery of six field pieces. At that juncture citizens of every walk of life rushed forward with whatever arms they could find. Major Cary, the leader, ordered the men to assemble at the Court House and fall back beyond New Bridge, which spans Back River, one and one-half miles away from Hampton and on the road to Big Bethel, there to await orders. He called to his aid his former Academy assistant, Lieutenant Cutshaw, and ordered "tar, pitch and turpentine" to be carried to the bridge between Hampton and Old Point. The bridge was to be set afire to prevent entry of the Union troops into Hampton. Seeing the flames, the federal men advanced in double-quick time. Lieutenant Cutshaw then rode across the burning bridge and asked the troops with what intent they came. The answer was that they had orders to march to Hampton. Major Cary thereupon met Colonel Phelps of Vermont, the commanding officer of the Union men, and remonstrated over the invasion as an "act of war," not justified by existing circumstances.

Colonel Phelps insisted that he must obey his orders. His men thereupon attempted to extinguish the fire by destroying the timbers of the bridge. At length a compromise was reached, with a mutual pledge that no act of violence be committed by either side. Cary himself ordered the flames extinguished, and the Federal troops moved into the town. Colonel Phelps and Major Cary walked side by side at the head of the regiment, to the tune of curses uttered in audible tones against Cary as well as against the "invaders." But no shot was fired. The men marched back to Fort Monroe.

Who is to say whether, if such calm had continued to prevail, war might not have been prevented? Certainly any other course would have meant the sacking of the town and the killing of helpless people, women and children along with the male population. In addition, the Federal troops

would have been enabled to proceed immediately to Yorktown and occupy it, held as it was at that time by only three companies of infantry under Major Montague (later Colonel Montague). In fact, the Town of Hampton remained thereafter a continuing obstacle on the Union path to any march on Richmond.

General Benjamin F. Butler was then in command of the Union forces at Fort Monroe, which was the only place in Virginia held by Federal troops.* Butler also held a number of runaway slaves, who had come to be called "contraband" because Butler had refused to return some of them to a protesting Southern owner, declaring these escaped Negroes to be "contraband of war." The term came into common use thereafter. Protesting Butler's action, Major Cary sent a flag of truce to Butler, and they met on May 24. At that conference, as far as is known, the term was first used. Although some later disputed this origin of the term, Butler himself confirmed it in his autobiography, in which was reprinted a letter from Major Cary substantiating his statements. Many of the "contrabands" remained residents of the area after the war.

When the two men were about to separate after their conference, Cary asked Butler a single favor—that he be allowed to move his personal library to a safe place, to which Butler allegedly agreed. But meanwhile Hampton was blockaded before Major Cary had an opportunity to do anything about his books. Butler had said that "books neither fed nor clothed an army," and he personally sent a permit to have his enemy's library moved to Smithfield, Virginia. Evacuation of Hampton on the following Monday, following the landing of Federal men at Newport News, eliminated the last chance to carry out that removal. Butler himself then took charge of Major Cary's library, writing a letter:

Hd. Qrs. of Va.
June 22, 1861.

Major J. B. Cary.

Dear Sir,

Finding that your library had been disturbed at Hampton, I have done that which I advised you to do, brought it to Fortress Monroe for safe keeping where it awaits your requisition unless you deem it safer there than anywhere else you can send it.

I have the honor to remain

Very respectfully your obedient servant

Benj. F. Butler,
Major Gen. Com.

At the end of the war Butler had been long since gone from Fort Monroe. The library of Major Cary had been placed in the Soldiers' Hospital at Hampton. A few scattered and defaced volumes were rescued—a painful

* See Chapter VIII for the story of Fort Monroe.

souvenir of the four years' destructive warfare, which the best of good will on the part of two understanding officers could not render less painful!*

When the Federal forces landed at Newport News on May 27, 1861, Cary ordered his battalion to fall back to Big Bethel, where the first engagement of the war took place, except for a brief skirmish at Winchester, in which Lieutenant Marr was killed. Citizens were notified that the new bridge which they had built would be burned on that afternoon, and an exodus of families took place to Yorktown and Williamsburg. Many of those families wandered homeless and penniless throughout the war. One officer from Yorktown wrote:

My heart is torn every day by the sufferings of our people, of the wives and children of the private soldiers with nothing to live on but their monthly pittance, and provisions so scarce and high that a good meal is unknown even to the wealthy. Our good friend, Jim Massenburg, had to make a coffin for his own child.

The Confederates themselves burned Hampton on August 7, 1861. General Magruder, encamped near New Market, ordered Major Jeff Phillips of the Third Virginia Cavalry, which contained the "Old Dominion Dragoons" of Hampton and Elizabeth City County, to report to him at a house two miles from town. He announced on that occasion that articles in a number of Northern newspapers said that the Federal forces would make Hampton their headquarters in the coming winter. Four squads thereupon levelled the town that very evening, many men setting fire to their own homes. The only visible remains of Hampton after that fire of 1861 was a wall of St. John's Church.

Thus becoming the first Virginia community to be occupied by Federal troops in the War for Southern Independence, Hampton later in the war was the site of a large Army hospital. After the war it underwent some development as a result of the introduction of many modern industries into Newport News in the wake of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway's construction of its terminal there. The township status continued until 1908, although in 1849 it became an incorporated town. At the time of incorporation, the Act of Assembly of 1849 declared that "the town of Hampton in the County of Elizabeth City, as the same as heretofore laid off into lots, streets and alleys, and as the same may be hereafter further laid off into lots, streets and alleys, shall be a town corporate by the name, Town of Hampton in Elizabeth City County." Subsequent acts affecting incorporation were adopted in 1852, 1860 and 1887.

In order to understand the history of Hampton's municipal organization through its many changes, against the background of Virginia political

* Butler's reported behavior in this affair—if true—certainly was not in accord with the character he later displayed in Norfolk and New Orleans, which earned for him the nickname "Beast" Butler and the undying hatred of the people there.—Editor's Note.

philosophy and the economic changes of the nineteenth century, it will be best to review prevailing Virginia practices with respect to community organization and incorporation. The four stages of municipal development or status in Virginia are: (1) Establishment as a town. (2) Incorporation. (3) Elevation to cityhood. (4) Advancement to a city of the first class. Hampton has, in the course of its history, enjoyed all four of these conditions which it is possible for Virginia municipalities to attain. In 1680, 1691 and 1705 came the first status, establishment as a town;* in 1849, incorporation; in 1908, elevation to cityhood; and in 1952, its present status as a city of the first class.

Hampton was, in fact, one of twenty towns required to be established in 1680; exactly how soon after that date the construction was begun is impossible to say because of lack of legal records.** Feoffees (trustees) were named in unincorporated towns, their main duties being to sell lots and choose public building sites. When Hampton entered upon its incorporated state in 1849, its organization was evidently not sufficiently clarified or perhaps failed to function as it should have done, for a reincorporation took place on May 11, 1852. The act of 1852 was repealed on March 27, 1860. A third incorporation took place on May 23, 1887 and on March 30, 1908 Hampton became a city of the second class by court order under provisions of general law.

The act of 1952, which produced the present-day City of Hampton, involved a consolidation of Elizabeth City County, the Town of Phoebus and the second class City of Hampton to form one large city to be known as Hampton. From a small community embraced within a square mile's area, Hampton thus became overnight the second largest city in the state in geographical extent, the sixth largest in population and the eighth largest in taxable wealth. A population of 60,000 came within its purview, and this figure grew in the years that followed as new industries settled here. The present city is estimated to have a population of 80,000.

Back in 1776, when independent nationhood began by adoption of the Declaration of Independence, there were only three chartered corporations in Virginia—the College of William and Mary, chartered by the Crown in 1693; the City of Williamsburg, chartered in 1722; and the Borough of Norfolk, chartered in 1736. Throughout the colonial period no other firm, company, society or association was chartered, though Sym's Free School and Eaton's Charity School were incorporated by Act of Assembly in 1753 and 1759 respectively. Only six incorporations took place during the later eighteenth century—between 1776 and 1800. The nineteenth century brought a tremendous number of requests for incorporation by organizations, with the

* Each time, the enabling act was repealed.

** See chapters X and XII for details.

result that the Legislature's time was increasingly taken up with handling them all individually.

To overcome this legislative bottleneck, an act was adopted in 1854 empowering courts to incorporate organizations under provisions of general law. That act was afterward repeatedly amended to meet new conditions and sew up loopholes. An act of 1871 empowered courts to incorporate any stock company to conduct almost any kind of business, notable exceptions being the operation of a bank and the construction of a railroad, a turnpike or a canal beyond the limits of the county in which the organization's principal office was established. In 1860 an attempt was made to create a single standard form of corporate charter, and an act of 1870 amended and re-enacted that law.

Before 1902 the Board of Public Works had supervision over stock companies, but not power to incorporate them in the first instance. In 1902 the State Corporation Commission was created as successor to the Board of Public Works. This newly-created commission, as an agency of the State Government, sets up corporations of companies, societies, associations, towns and second-class cities. Only rare cases now require an act of Assembly to effect transitions of towns to second-class cities or second-class cities to first-class cities; the State Corporation Commission customarily handles these changes in local governmental form. If the Assembly is required to take action, any act it passes pertaining to a particular municipality has to be a special act, and a two-thirds majority is required in both legislative branches. This set-up for creation of towns and cities was established in the present State Constitution, adopted in 1902.

For a considerable period talk of consolidations took place. When such projects failed, propositions for annexation were heard. And, naturally, the State itself had built up a body of law governing both annexations and consolidations of political divisions and units. Both Hampton and Warwick considered that they had the right of self-determination whenever rumors were heard that the city of Newport News was ready to annex them. As protection against the annexation talk, which many feared might suddenly crystallize in legislative acts that would be hard to stop, both Warwick and Hampton started their own campaigns for cityhood. Newport News had actually been successful in seven annexation suits, the last of them in 1940. Large population ratios were made up of newcomers who did not necessarily share the old-timers' sectional loyalties. And two world wars did not help to suppress the modern trend. Newport News was again instituting an annexation suit in 1950, in which year a three-way merger of Newport News, Warwick and Hampton was proposed.

Dissent from the idea of annexation and consolidation was at all times strong in Hampton, Elizabeth City County and Phoebus. An antagonism,

very deeply felt, existed against the tendency of recent annexation laws to allocate a secondary position to counties as compared with more thickly populated areas involved. Pressure for change was strong, however, not only in Newport News, which needed breathing space, but in state governmental circles, where the feeling in favor of cityhood status was strong. As recent a leader as Governor Ritchie of Maryland expressed the feeling very succinctly when he said that "cities must be permitted to grow." Virginia law has consistently implied acceptance of this doctrine. An act passed as long ago as 1705, rejected by the English Crown only because of certain weaknesses, exempted town residents from certain taxes, debts, impost duties, military service and other burdens. The tendency in Virginia law also was to allow broad independence to cities.

A state which has been recognized as a leader in introducing more efficient forms of government—both the city manager and county manager forms originated and were first applied in Virginia, along with the added feature of a referendum for their adoption—was in a strong position to enforce its will. And annexation was usually a strengthener of cities. The 1902 Constitution made annexation a subject of judicial rather than political determination, but no great change in principle developed. The courts followed the same general trend toward "giving the big city the break," and both the press and the vested interests adopted the same attitude. The press has frequently held that annexation was a judicial matter, even when the areas affected were in disagreement with the annexation proposals involved. And the law has generally continued to favor city organization—now, of course, by newer privileges. On occasion, power rates have been cut in half for newly-created cities or for county areas scheduled for cityhood. Actually, Virginia cities are patterned after the English form as far as independence is concerned.

A prime virtue in the Virginia concept of the independence of cities is, of course, the preclusion of overlapping taxes and resulting confusion and inconvenience, such as has occurred in Atlanta, for instance, where many commercial and other activities are subject not only to municipal regulation, but also to that of Fulton and De Kalb Counties, between which the city area is divided. It is said that only four instances of such independence exist in the United States outside of Virginia, these instances being the cities of St. Louis, San Francisco, Denver and Baltimore; and in these four cases such independence exists only because the cities have taken over entire counties. In other instances, not even that development has produced the same kind of independence, because the concept does not exist in the first place.

The need for some sort of co-operation among the several political divisions and subdivisions of the Peninsula had long been felt. It was strikingly pointed up whenever calamity threatened, calamity always being a unity-

producer. One such calamity was the yellow fever epidemic of 1855, whose devastation on the Peninsula was sufficient to place health problems at the forefront in the minds of local leaders in all sections and districts. It was not until 1909 that Dr. Walter Reed's discovery of the role of the mosquito in the spread of disease pointed challengingly to the necessity of sanitation in the interests of health and well-being. As late as 1923 the state had as many as 3,611 cases of malaria, 45 of which were fatal. Such disturbing conditions led to ever greater co-operation of federal, state and local forces. As a result, the *Aedes aegypti*, or yellow fever mosquito, was practically eliminated and the plague itself stamped out.

To further such ends, improved drainage in Elizabeth City County was most important. The area was barely above sea-level and practically without fresh-water streams of any size from which even a decent water supply was to be obtained. Development of sizeable supplies from surface water was impossible, although limited water supplies were available from smaller streams. The development of large reservoirs, it was known, would greatly improve the situation; but the political and financial hurdles to be surmounted were numerous and often discouraging. Eventually, but only after a terrific struggle, the Newport News Waterworks Commission was established to provide filtered and chlorinated surface water for the entire area. The prominence of Federal Government installations at the Peninsula's tip resulted also in the establishment of several government water systems for use by its own facilities. Such supplies furnish water for Langley Field and Fort Monroe. Large supplies of water for what was formerly Elizabeth City County come now from the Chickahominy River, at the western boundary of James City County.

The industrial importance of the Peninsula in wartime was another factor which pointed the need of water purification and many other changes. The vast influx of population during the two world wars and the Korean War, in fact, drained the Peninsula's resources. Particularly for Elizabeth City County, a tremendous sanitation problem arose in 1942. The county was literally smothered by the arrival of thousands and tens of thousands of war workers who had to be fed, clothed and housed, many of them with families of varying sizes. Three thousand new housing units quickly arose to meet the emergency. Applications for help were filed somewhat in advance with the FWA, as a result of which the establishment of a new incinerator for garbage disposal was made possible in greatly reduced time, even though wartime restrictions had cut down on the original plan. For the emergency, a land-fill type of disposal plan was adopted. Sanitary land-fills were almost unknown in the United States prior to World War II, although they had been used for many years by the English, who referred to them as "controlled tipping." Elizabeth City County had 134,000 cubic yards of garbage and

trash in a ten-acre tract purchased for it by the FWA. Trenches 8 feet wide and 4 to 9 feet deep were dug, with a 4-foot space between trenches. The second was not dug until the first had been compacted and covered. Beginning parallel to a road built for the purpose, this Virginia land-fill was extended trench by trench, with an upward grade of 30 degrees, to the extreme limit of the tract. A gradient run-off of water was thus provided from the fill operation, and the method took care of the emergency over a two-year period.

More than 70 per cent of the FWA money obtained went into improvement of drainage and ditching. State aid of 25 per cent was also available, not to exceed \$10,000 annually. Thousands of feet of ditches were dug. Old ditches were cleaned. Many were regraded. The Army put men to work in the marshlands, bombarding thousands of acres with larvicides and germ-killers. This work was heavily carried out in both Elizabeth City and York Counties, which were adjacent to Langley Field, and the aerial spraying program was dovetailed with ground work on the Peninsula by control commissions working in Elizabeth City County, Newport News, Warwick County and Hampton, with both United States and Virginia State representatives serving on the several commissions established.

The Hampton Roads Sanitation District, operating from Newport News Creek Boat Harbor, now serves not only Newport News proper, but congested areas in the City of Hampton; and before Warwick County was a part of Newport News, it came within the scope of that organization's services. Four Federal facilities in Hampton are now served by Federally-owned plants —Fort Monroe, Langley Field Air Force Base and Aeronautical Laboratory, the National Soldiers' Home and the Kecoughtan Veterans' Hospital.

In other words, the days of water supply from brackish wells and the open dumping of sewage in vacant lots is at an end. Yellow fever is eliminated. Other diseases are under control. And the entire program of health, sanitation and good drinking water is a result of co-operation of a high order of effectiveness—some of it resulting, it is true, from the enforced circumstances of war and catastrophe, but all of it with continuing usefulness and value.

Wartime growth was to a degree transitory, but much of it became permanent. Many who came to serve in time of need stayed to cast their lot with the new industries of the Lower Peninsula. In 1930 Elizabeth City County had a population of 19,835; Hampton, 6,382. By 1940, the county had 32,283; the city, 5,898. The 1950 figures stood at 55,028 and 5,966 for county and city respectively—a combined total of 60,994. The county in 1950 had 15,425 dwelling units; the city, 1,977. The consolidation of July 1, 1952, one of the results of co-operation among communities, brought these populations within a single governmental system. The merged city has its own

Planning Commission, Zoning Ordinance and Subdivision Regulations—now unified for the whole broad area.

Those who had twice opposed entry into Newport News were able to form their own independent city in 1952 on the basis of a real people's movement. Warwick County at the same time became an independent city, although it continued as such for only five years before deciding to throw in its political lot with Newport News. But the creation, in 1952, of two new cities—Warwick and Hampton—attracted wide attention throughout Virginia and beyond the state's borders. For these actions meant that the Lower Peninsula was destined to take an ever-increasing role in the economy of the nation as a whole. When a three-way consolidation of Hampton along with Newport News and Warwick was under consideration, the name of "Hampton Roads" was being considered for the proposed new city. But neither the city nor the name ever became a reality—the city, because the people of Hampton opposed it; the name, because Norfolk and Portsmouth put up objections.

The motives for creation of the cities of Hampton and Warwick in 1952 were almost identical—the desire for exercise of the right of self-determination and protection against annexation. Warwick came into being by special charter provision. But Hampton was established a first-class city by authority of the consolidation act of 1950 by the General Assembly. Despite the variance of method, the resulting forms of government were very similar. An election had already been ordered by the court on the subject of incorporating a first-class city embracing Hampton, Elizabeth City County and the Town of Phoebus at the time when the governing bodies of city, county and town concurred in the consolidation agreement. A court order then made a second election unnecessary. Endorsement of the merger plan was unanimous in Elizabeth City County, and a majority in the Town of Phoebus approved it, the main opposition coming from the small area which was formerly the second-class city of Hampton. County officers were retained, and provision was made to retain the town's elected officers, with the former Hampton's assistant treasurer and commissioner of revenue serving with the authority of deputies. The school boards of all three were combined.

The major provisions controlling creation of first- and second-class cities in Virginia have been the same since 1902, when the present Constitution came into being. A first-class city must have a population of 10,000 or more or embrace an area which by consolidation will have 10,000. Court systems and plans for city officers may differ, though the 1902 Constitution requires that every county and city shall have a judge of the Court of Record, a clerk of the same court, an attorney for the Commonwealth, a sheriff or sergeant, a commissioner of revenue and a treasurer. First- and second-class cities are equal in governmental powers. Both are separate and distinct from the coun-

ties surrounding them. Both have the same officers required of a county, with the single exception of the county surveyor. And both have what the Constitution requires of every county—an Electoral Board and a School Board. With one or two exceptions, every city of either class is, within itself, a separate school division.

The spirit of merger and consolidation extended beyond the political sphere. In 1944 the Virginia Transit Company, operating the Richmond



(Courtesy Va. Peninsula Ass'n of Commerce)

HAMPTON—BUCKROE BEACH

street cars and buses, had taken over the Virginia Electric and Power Company's transit system, which had been independent prior to that time. The purchase of 163 new buses was effected—which meant replacement of more than 70 per cent of the fleet—at a cost of \$2,523,639.96. New bus routes were planned, and buses replaced the outmoded "street cars" of old. In the Peninsula that development took place in 1945 and 1946. By 1947 Richmond's trolley tracks were made obsolete and a new bus system established in that city, and in the same year the disappearance of the street car was celebrated in a giant September parade of new buses through Norfolk's streets. The same development took place concurrently in Portsmouth.

The communities of Phoebus and Buckroe Beach, along the Chesapeake Bay side of the Lower Peninsula which also figured in the Hampton-Elizabeth

City County consolidation of 1952, were quieter areas which naturally fitted into the merger scheme. Phoebus lies between Mill Creek and Hampton, with Old Point Comfort beyond it, across Mill Creek, and the Veterans' Administration center on its western side. Buckroe Beach lies to north-northeast of Fort Monroe, sprawling along the Chesapeake.

After the War between the States, Buckroe Beach consisted mainly of fishing camps, summer houses built of driftwood, and a summer inn. In 1896 an amusement park came, as did also a dance pavilion, the Buckroe Hotel and a post office. The beach was then for a decade or more a fashionable upper-class resort. Fine homes arose, and were occupied by Senators, generals and socialites. Severe storms wrought havoc in the 1920s and 1930s, and were climaxed by the terrific 1933 hurricane which produced such terrible destruction along the Atlantic coast. Buckroe now has a population of about 3,500, with numerous tourist homes and businesses, including supermarket and publishing facilities. The beach is shallow and safe. As a part of the enlarged City of Hampton, the Buckroe Beach community has great expectations.

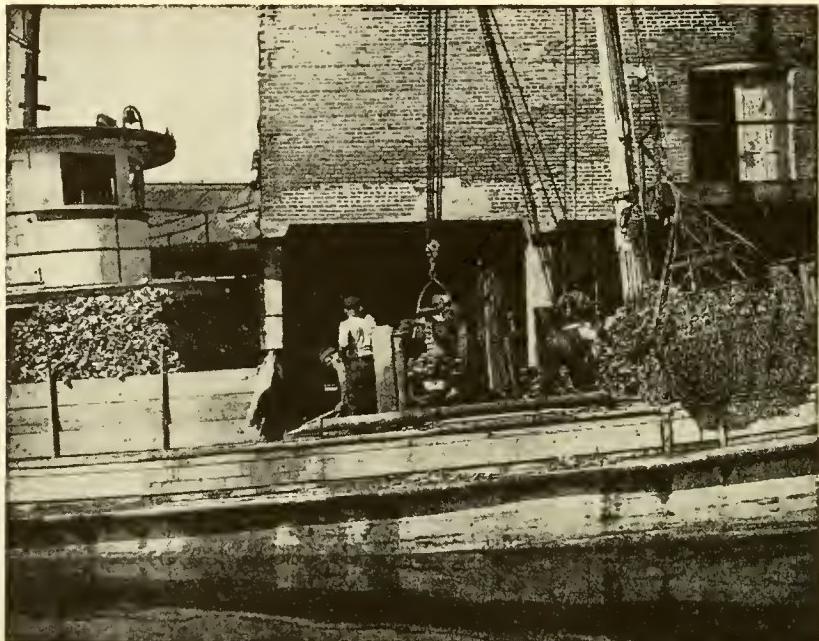
Hampton's first mayor under the first-class city provision of 1952 was James G. Crenshaw, who had been a member of the Elizabeth City County Board of Supervisors from 1935 and chairman of that board after 1948. As an indication of the colossal land area covered in the merger, the second-class city of Hampton, consisting of about one square mile, grew as a first-class city to 57 square miles of land area plus an additional water area of 15 square miles. About half of the land area is forested, which means that Hampton and Warwick were two cities which, contrary to most similar instances, were created with sufficient area to allow for growth for generations to come without need of further territorial expansion. The area of each of these new cities exceeds that of Pittsburgh, Dallas, Milwaukee or Buffalo. The land area of present-day Hampton is about twice that of Norfolk. Under the new plan, Hampton maintains its own roads, regulates traffic and bus schedules, and is enabled to spend much more money on highway improvement.

In the present Hampton, fishing is important to commerce. There are numerous seafood canning and packing houses. Minerals include sand, gravel and clay. Other industries are lumbering and the production of iron castings, millwork, boxes, barrels, furniture, building blocks, and radio and television parts. Boat repairing is an important enterprise. Many Hampton citizens are employed in the nearby Newport News shipyards, as well as in other peninsular industries.

Culturally Hampton has also grown. There are amateur dramatic groups, including the Hampton Little Theatre, which has regularly produced plays since 1936, and the Arena Theatre, which operates in the summer months at the Hotel Chamberlin, situated at Old Point Comfort. The hotel has long

been distinguished as a resort and convention center. Through World War II it was operated by the Navy for its officers in the service but in March, 1947, it was resold to civilian interests. It now serves as a resort hotel for the general public.

Lectures, concerts and art exhibitions are regular occurrences in Hampton, which has its own orchestra and choral society. Summer band concerts at



(Courtesy Va. Peninsula Ass'n of Commerce)

HAMPTON—UNLOADING DAY'S CATCH OF OYSTERS AT PLANT
OF J. S. DARLING & SON

Fort Monroe are open to the public. The Hampton Yacht Club, a rendezvous for yachts to and from Florida, is the scene of annual regattas held each July 4 weekend. On Route 60, between Hampton and Phoebus, is the Hampton Roads Golf and County Club, with its excellent 18-hole golf course. Parks and playgrounds, all carefully supervised, offer recreational facilities for the people, and there are many schools, churches, Scout groups, civic organizations and 4-H Clubs. Swimming, fishing, deep-sea fishing and other water sports are widely offered, and the surrounding waters abound in fish, crabs and clams. Chesapeake Bay yields about four times as many oysters as are to be found in all the other oystering places along the coast. A National Seafood Festival is held here each year, and September always has its parade, water carnival and related events in Hampton. Football, baseball, basketball, softball and bowling are sports widely played and enjoyed.

Hampton has one very unusual cultural institution which merits special mention—Hampton Institute. It has already been related that many former slaves who escaped from their owners during the War between the States gained admittance to Fort Monroe, where General Butler held them as "contraband of war," refusing to return them to their owners. During the war, those who did not serve in a military capacity were put to work, if they were sufficiently able-bodied, as a part of Union policy. After the conclusion of hostilities they were thrown upon their own resources, and, having no better place to go, many settled in the region nearest the fort. Sometimes they were helpless and penniless without the help of their erstwhile masters, and it behooved the community to do something in their behalf.

It was in April, 1868, that the effort started in earnest to help these former slaves solve their problems. The so-called Freedmen's Bureau assigned Samuel Chapman Armstrong, a 27-year-old brevet brigadier general and son of missionary parents, to the task. He thereupon founded, with the aid of the American Missionary Association, a school for the training of selected young men and women of the Negro race "who should go out and teach and lead their people, first by example . . . and in this way build up an industrial system for the sake, not only of self-support and intelligent labor, but also for the sake of character." The first cards of admission to be issued declared the requisites for admission to be "sound health, good character, age not under 14 nor over 25, ability to read and write intelligibly, knowledge of arithmetic through long division, and the intention to remain through the whole three-year course and to become a teacher."

Hampton Institute thus gained its start with two teachers, fifteen students, little money or equipment, and deep and abiding faith in the principles of "learning by doing" and "education for life." Chief support came from philanthropic and religious groups and federal land grant funds, which were available between 1872 and 1920. Some other sources of income appeared as time went on. In 1878 a group of Indians was sent to Hampton Institute to receive their educations with the aid of federal funds provided for the purpose. The appropriations continued until 1912, and even though they were not available thereafter the Indians stayed until 1923. Meanwhile, numerous Indian institutions of learning had sprung up elsewhere, with the result that Hampton's Indians for the most part left to attend other schools.

The death of General Armstrong in 1893 was a shock to the Institute, but the Rev. Hollis B. Frissell continued his work. In the early 1920s the school offered courses leading to the Bachelor of Science degree, and gradually dropped its elementary and secondary courses. The campus of seventy-four acres lies along the waterfront, and is dotted with about 150 buildings which house libraries, laboratories and other educational activities. In addition there is a large football stadium. The school is affiliated with the United

Negro College Fund, and receives support currently from endowments, student fees and contributions. It now offers courses in business, home economics, nursing, teacher education and technology. Its scope is national and international—not merely regional. It is situated just outside of Newport News, in the former Elizabeth City County portion of Hampton, and is one of the largest and foremost colleges for Negroes in the United States. Its numerous cultural programs are open to the public, and its museum, with unusual African and Indian collections, inspires wide admiration.

Like the other communities of the Lower Peninsula, Hampton gave its best to the general welfare in two world wars. Six Hampton and Elizabeth City County churches reported 206 men in the Army in World War I, 26 in the Navy, and 2 in the Marine Corps. The churches were St. John's Episcopal, Hampton Presbyterian, the First Methodist, East Hampton Methodist, Phoebus Presbyterian and Immanuel Episcopal of Phoebus. In the three drafts of that war, 4,561 men were registered in Elizabeth City County and 486 were accepted at camp. There were no volunteer units, nor was there a Home Guard. Liberty Loans were heavily subscribed, the four loans having brought in subscriptions of \$2,100,150 from 10,983 subscribers. The quota was \$2,-084,250. Women's work was successful. Booths for war aid were set up in banks and other public places. Four-minute speeches were made in schools. War Savings Stamps were sold to the tune of \$96,720 in Hampton, \$17,065 in Phoebus and \$22,060 in Fort Monroe, while Thrift Stamps were taken to the extent of \$11,832.50 in Hampton, \$2,021 in Phoebus and \$2,827.50 in Fort Monroe. There were wheatless and meatless days here, as elsewhere, and the ice famine of 1918 produced a special hazard. Soft drinks were prohibited to preserve ice. In the rural districts, crops increased as a result of shortages and public education. The Hampton Women's Service League performed valuable service, including hospital visits by committees of women to cheer and help the wounded.

World War II produced the same spirit of devotion to a cause, though the work involved struggle against the same kind of difficult conditions, sometimes even more baffling and discouraging than those of the earlier war. Newport News shipyards and embarkation activities had grown on an ever more expansive scale, and the problems of departing and returning soldiers were in themselves a challenge. Many were treated to the blessings of Virginia hospitality, and some still refer lovingly to their "Virginia families" though they live in regions far removed.

Some, of course, never returned, having made the supreme sacrifice in the course of duty. A compilation of the war dead from Hampton City after World War II showed that the following had lost their lives in the course of service:

From Hampton City (the former second-class city)—

ANDERSON, VAN B., Capt., A.

ANDROKOVICH, STEPHEN ANDREW, T/Sgt., A. Mother, Mrs. S. A. Androkovich

Bailey, James, Cpl., A. Sister, Miss Clarstine Bailey

BRADLEY, ELMER C., Jr., Pvt., A. Parents, Mr. and Mrs. Elmer Bradley

CAMPBELL, LAWRENCE M., Pfc., A. Mother, Mrs. Mary F. Campbell
(Also Warwick County)

CARTER, JIMMY SMITH, FO, A. Mother, Mrs. Frances R. Carter

CATE, RICHARD EVANS, S/Sgt., A. Mother, Mrs. Hazel Cate

COLLINS, MARSHALL L., T/3, A. Mother, Mrs. Edith F. Collins

DAVENPORT, JOHN B., Jr., Lt. Col., A. Father, John B. Davenport

DAVIS, JOEL ARCHIBALD, Jr., Lt. (jg), N. Wife, Mrs. Joel Archibald Davis, Jr.

DUDLEY, ROBERT POWELL, Lt., A. Wife, Mrs. Robert Powell Dudley
(Also Warwick County)

EYRE, LLOYD, Capt., A. Wife, Mrs. Isabella B. Eyre

GOLBERDING, DANIEL ANTHONY. (*See* Newport News City)

GUMMERE, OTTO O., Pvt., A. Mother, Mrs. Anna Gummere

HEDDEN, DONALD EARLE, 2nd Lt., A. Father, Clarence Earle Hedden

HEDDEN, HERBERT BREWSTER, Lt., A. Father, Clarence Earle Hedden

HENDRICKS, WILFORD W. (*See* Richmond City)

HENZE, RICHARD A., Sgt., A.

HOLLAND, GORDON LEE, 1st Lt., A. Father, Reginald D. Holland
(Also Surry County)

JOHNSON, HOLLIS FRISSELL, Pfc., A. Wife, Mrs. Carrie Louise Johnson

JONES, JAMES W., Sr., Pvt., A. Wife, Mrs. Gladys E. Jones

KOSTYAL, PHILIP LEE, Ens., N. Parents, Mr. and Mrs. Stuart J. Kostyal

LAWRENCE, HURLEY B., Pfc., A. Wife, Mrs. Ruby Hunsuckel Lawrence,
R. F. D. 2

LOVE, JACK T., Pvt., A. Wife, Mrs. Carrie M. Love

LYON, DONALD R., Col., A. Wife, Mrs. Iris Joan Lyon

MCLEOD, THEODORE W., Pvt., A. Mother, Mrs. Sadie McLeod

MCPHAIL, WILLIAM WARNER, S/Sgt., A. Mother, Mrs. Coeina D. McPhail

MASON, ELVIN ROY, RM3c, N. Parents, Mr. and Mrs. John A. Mason

MASON, JOHN WILLIAM, EM2c, N. Parents, Mr. and Mrs. Clarence Mason

MASSENBURG, GEORGE ALVIN, Jr., Ens., N. Parents, Captain and Mrs. G. A.
Massenburg

MAURO, STANLEY ALLEN, Pvt., A. Parents, Lt. Col. and Mrs. J. A. Mauro

MELSON, MELVIN M., Pfc., A. Mother, Mrs. Daisy M. Melson, R. F. D. 3

MYERS, WILBERT J., Pfc., A.

NOTTINGHAM, JAMES CHARLES, Pvt., A. Mother, Mrs. Kathleen M. Nottingham
POTVIN, ARTHUR E., S/Sgt., A. Father, A. J. Potvin
PUGH, ERNEST LOUIS, Sgt., A. Wife, Mrs. Dorothy Pugh
(Also Gloucester County)
RECTOR, EARL H., Cpl., M. Mother, Mrs. Etta D. Rector
REYNOLDS, OLLIE C., Pfc., A. Mother, Mrs. Malinda J. Reynolds Price
ROGERS, JAMES P., 1st Lt., A. Wife, Mrs. Betty M. Rogers
ROSSER, REGINALD T., Cpl., A. Parents, Mr. and Mrs. Jasper O. Rosser
SELF, CECIL HENRY, Pvt., M. Mother, Mrs. Nora Self
SHEFFIELD, CLIFFORD M., Pvt., A. Mother, Mrs. Hilda Sheffield
SHOCKLEY, AUBREY KENNETH, Pvt., A. Parents, Mr. and Mrs. K. G. Shockley
SINCLAIR, CARROLL F., 1st Lt., A. Wife, Mrs. Audrey Sinclair, 1st Lt., Nurses' Corps
SMITH, EMANUEL, Pvt., A. Wife, Mrs. Sadie Smith, R. F. D. 2
(Also York County)
SMITH, WILLIAM DONALDSON, PhM2c, N. Parents, Mr. and Mrs. Robert Ramsey Smith
SPENCER, LEWIS F., Pvt., A. Wife, Mrs. Lucille Brown Spencer, R. F. D. 3
THOMPSON, HARRY PLEASANT, Pfc., A. Mother, Mrs. Mary E. Thompson
THOMPSON, RAYMOND, Pfc., M. Mother, Mrs. Lily M. Campbell
VAUGHAN, LOCKIE LEE, Pfc., A. Father, Robert Vaughan
VENABLE, HOGE CRALLE, JR., SK2c, N. Mother, Mrs. Elizabeth S. Kirtley
(Also Newport News City and Richmond City)
VOLKMER, WILLIAM WESTWOOD, Sgt., A. Parents, Mr. and Mrs. William P. Volkmer
WATKINS, KENNETH F., T/5, A. Mother, Mrs. Ada Watkins
WILI, ALBERT THOMAS, WO, N. Wife, Mrs. Florence Joan Wili
WINDER, ALONZO LEE, 2nd Lt., A. Sister, Mrs. Thelma Winder Lewis
WINTON, MERBELL C., T/5, A. Wife, Mrs. Rebecca Winton
WOOD, NEIL S., Capt., A. Wife, Mrs. Martha E. Wood
WYCHE, RICHARD A., Cpl. Mother, Mrs. Lucy J. Wyche

From former Elizabeth City County—

ACKERLY, HORACE R., M/Sgt., A.
BAIRD, JOHN E., S/Sgt., A. Wife, Mrs. Mollie A. Baird, Phoebus
BASHAM, ULVA, Sgt., A.
BOOTH, BENJAMIN F., T/Sgt., A.
BOWEN, JOHN D., 1st Lt., A.
BRADLEY, JAMES T., S/Sgt., A. Wife, Mrs. Ruth M. Bradley, Phoebus
BROWN, HERMAN W., 1st Sgt., A.

CLOUD, EUGENE H., Maj., A.
COOPER, WARREN H., 2nd Lt., A.
COUGHLIN, JOHN J., Capt., A.
DANIELS, CHARLES S., Pfc., A.
DENSLOW, GUY A., Jr., Pvt., A.
DICKINSON, JESSE S., Pfc., A.
DUTTON, WILLIAM THOMAS, M/Sgt., A. Wife, Mrs. Violet A. Dutton, Fort Monroe
EAST, JOE C., Maj., A.
EDWARDS, FRED LEE, S1c, N. Father, Frank Edwards, Phoebus
EFANTIS, ANGELUS C., Pvt., A.
FERRIS, JOHN D., Pvt., A. Wife, Mrs. Josephine J. Ferris, Phoebus
FLUKER, JOHN WILLIAM, TM1c, N. Parents, Mr. and Mrs. George Robert Fluker, Phoebus
FOWLER, JAMES G., Lt., A. Parents, Lt. Col. and Mrs. Henry G. Fowler, Phoebus
FULLER, WENDELL E., S/Sgt., A. Mother, Mrs. Grace R. Fuller, Phoebus
GREENE, CARL F., Col., A.
HALL, DUDLEY JAMES, QM3c, N. Mother, Mrs. Annie Harris Hall, Phoebus
HARVELL, WILLIAM H., Pfc., A.
HAZLETT, GEORGE W., Maj., A.
HOWELL, WILLIAM R., Pfc., A.
JENKINS, ARTHUR GUY, JR., 2nd Lt., A. Mother, Mrs. Arthur Guy Jenkins, Sr., Phoebus
JOHNSON, WILLIS G., Pvt., A. Mother, Mrs. Jennie Johnson, New Bern, North Carolina
KROGSTAD, ARNOLD NORMAN, JR., Pfc., A. Parents, Brig. Gen. (Ret.) and Mrs. Arnold Norman Krogstad, Miami Beach, Florida
LASSITER, RANDOLPH M., Pfc., A. Mother, Mrs. Stella B. Lassiter, Buckroe Beach
LATHAM, EUGENE W., JR., M/Sgt., A.
LOHMANN, LEROY H., Lt. Col., A.
LOPEZ, HUMBERTO M., Pfc., A. Mother, Mrs. May Lopez, Fort Monroe
McCAFFREY, MORRIS FRANKLIN, RT3c, N. Parents, Mr. and Mrs. Hugh J. McCaffrey, Buckroe Beach
(Also Roanoke City)
MCKINSTRY, ROBERT L., M/Sgt., A.
MYERS, JOHN W., Pfc., A.
PARKER, HAROLD V., Pfc., A.
REEDER, RUSSELL P., Col., A.
REUTER, GEORGE JULIUS, 1st Lt., A. Mother, Mrs. J. George Reuter, Cleveland, Ohio

RHEA, JOHN E., Pfc., A.
 ROBINSON, CHARLES C., Lt. Col., A.
 ROSE, HARRY, WO, A.
 ROSS, BENNIE, Pvt., A.
 RUNEY, PAUL E., M/Sgt., A. Wife, Mrs. Katherine A. Runey, Phoebus
 SATTERFIELD, GEORGE WILLIAM, AvC, A. Wife, Mrs. Elizabeth Shackleford
 Satterfield, Phoebus
 SHEPHERD, WILLIAM H., Col., A.
 SHERMAN, DEAN, M/Sgt., A.
 SPINKS, MARCELLUS G., Brig. Gen., A.
 STEWART, LESLIE A., Sgt., A.
 TOTTEN, JAMES W., Col., A.
 TYNDALL, THURMAN, CWO, A.
 WORTHINGTON, JOHN H., CWO, A.
 YOUNG, EARL R., 1st Sgt., A.
 ZAHN, HARRY A., Pfc., A.

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Chapter VIII

Fort Monroe and Langley Field

1609-1957

By *Floyd McKnight*

FROM EARLIEST TIMES, the Lower Peninsula has figured prominently as a springboard for military operations and national defense. In modern years the role of Fort Monroe and Langley Air Force Base has been particularly important.

Fort Monroe stands on the very site of the first fortifications built by English-speaking people in North America. Just 350 years ago the first English settlers landed where the present fort stands at the lower end of the Peninsula. Since that time the fort has been almost continuously occupied, and has been garrisoned longer than any other Army post in the United States. From a crude stockade erected for the protection of the early settlers, it has grown to be one of the outstanding military installations in this country.

It was on April 26, 1607, that Captain Christopher Newport sailed into Chesapeake Bay with the expedition which he commanded, landing first at Cape Henry and then setting out for a detailed examination of the southern shores of the bay. After discovering only shoal water between Lynnhaven Bay and Willoughby Spit, they turned northward and rowed to a point of land near which they found a channel where they sounded twelve fathoms of water. It was perhaps suggestive of their feelings that they named this point of land "Cape Comfort." Subsequent changes developed this name to "Point Comfort" and eventually "Old Point Comfort" to distinguish it from New Point Comfort, at the mouth of Mobjack Bay, twenty miles to the north.

On April 29 the remaining ships of Newport's expedition were moved to Point Comfort, from which place members went to the nearby village of Kecoughtan at the invitation of the local Indians. Afterward further explorations were made by Sir Christopher Newport's men, who numbered about 100, resulting in the first permanent English colony in America at Jamestown. One of Newport's party was Captain John Smith, who was captured by the Indians and presented to Chief Powhatan but was afterward released through the instrumentality of Pocahontas, the Chief's daughter. The further story of Captain John Smith's adventures is told elsewhere in this work.

The first actual fort built at Point Comfort was named Fort Algernoun in honor of William de Percy, First Lord Algernon, who had come to England in 1066 with William the Conqueror. This fort was constructed under the direction of Captain John Ratcliff with the aid of a detachment from Jamestown. Captain Ratcliff had been commander of the pinnace *Discovery*,



(U. S. Army Photo—Courtesy Va. Peninsula Ass'n of Commerce)

OLD POINT COMFORT—VIEW OF FORT MONROE (BEGUN 1819)

smallest of the three vessels which arrived here in April 1607. At the beginning Fort Algernoun was but a simple earthwork. Sir Thomas Dale, who arrived in 1611 to take charge of the colonists, ordered Forts Henry and Charles, near Kecoughtan, abandoned so that Fort Algernoun might be strengthened to secure protection of the entrance to the James River. At that time Captain Davis was placed in command of the fort.

The existence of the original Fort Algernoun was of relatively brief duration. In February or March of 1612 it was burned to the ground. Captain Davis lost no time in undertaking the rebuilding, but was greatly hampered by the illness of his men and their lack of provisions. It was not until 1630 that resources were sufficient to enable the General Assembly to adopt a

measure for the erection of a new and much more elaborate fort at Point Comfort. Completed in 1632, it was of a more permanent character than any such structure previously built in Virginia. Only because of lack of maintenance did the new fort gradually fall into a state of decay until in 1665 it was abandoned and its garrison and ordnance were transferred to Jamestown.

At this juncture, mainly because they were required to pay duties to maintain a fort that was worthless, the ship owners and traders exerted enough pressure upon the English authorities for reestablishment of a fort at the mouth of the James River. When the King gave orders for the rebuilding of the fort, Governor Berkeley reluctantly returned the guns to Point Comfort in 1666 despite his opposition to the project. The rebuilding program gained impetus when, at about that time, the Dutch entered the James River and captured and burned vessels loaded with tobacco. By June, 1667, eight guns were mounted, but the work thus begun was destroyed by a hurricane in the following August.

Until 1728 the fortifications at Point Comfort depended upon the generosity of the House of Burgesses in providing funds. In 1673, after a Dutch man-of-war destroyed a number of vessels in the James River, the merchants and ship owners renewed their demand for adequate fortifications, but accomplished little because the other colonists objected to the maintenance costs. The outbreak of war in Europe in the opening years of the eighteenth century and rumors of the approach of the French Fleet, however, caused Governor Spottswood to strengthen the fort at Old Point, and by 1711 he had serviceable cannon mounted there. But the colonists did not want to spend their time and energies on military preparations, and the works again fell into decay.

Spain declared war on England in 1727, and in 1728 work was started at Old Point on the most substantial and elaborate fortification built up to that time. But the new fort named after George II of England was destroyed by a hurricane in 1749. Its commander at that time was Samuel Barron, a resident of Mill Creek, father of Commodore James Barron, Sr., senior officer of the Virginia State Navy in 1779. The garrison thereafter consisted of one man, who was charged with "care of the ruins remaining at Old Point Comfort." To relieve his boredom, the caretaker began exhibiting a light at night for the benefit of passing ships. In 1802 a lighthouse, which still is in operation, was built on the Point.

Advent of the Revolutionary War revived interest in coastal defense, but no significant improvements were made in the old colonial forts. In 1781 only six guards remained at Old Point Comfort and twelve at Newport News to cope with the British, who landed unopposed and set fires at will.

Construction of more modern fortifications was begun in 1819, and Fort

Monroe resulted from plans drawn by Simon Bernard, French military engineer and former aide-de-camp to Napoleon. These plans in general followed the plans of fortifications constructed by General Bernard on the Moselle at Toul, France. When Lafayette visited America in 1824, Bernard had the pleasure of showing him Fort Monroe, then under construction. Progress on the work was slow, however, due primarily to the difficulty of obtaining workmen and the outbreak of disease among them. The Corps of Engineers reported the project largely completed in 1834. Both the artillery and engineers worked on the fort in the following years, declaring upon the outbreak of the Civil War that it was "in a reasonable state of defense." At the same time, work was begun on Fort Calhoun* on Rip-Raps shoal in the middle of Hampton Roads about a mile from Old Point Comfort. Before the fort could be built, however, an artificial island of stone had to be constructed. In March, 1862, the name was changed to Fort Wool in honor of Major General Wool, who was then commanding officer at Fort Monroe. Fort Wool was intended to figure prominently in Atlantic coastal defenses, but is now in a caretaker status.

Being completely surrounded by a water-filled moat with the gun positions on the terreplein, the old fort at Monroe, as it is now known, is the only fort of its type in this country maintained in its original form. Hexagonal in shape, three of its sides face the waters of Chesapeake Bay and Hampton Roads. The walls of the Old Fort rise about twenty-five feet above the flat terrain, which has an average elevation of eight feet above sea level, and the whole area, inclusive of the moat, is approximately 80 acres.

An act was passed in 1821 by the Virginia Assembly authorizing the Governor to deed to the United States "the right of property as well as all jurisdiction which this Commonwealth possesses over the land and shoal at Old Point Comfort and the Rip-Raps." Certain rights were reserved, one of which was the use of the roadway to the dock. Originally, the grant was for 250 acres at Old Point and only 15 acres at the Rip-Raps. Fort Monroe was afterward further enlarged by hydraulic fill, so that it now covers about 613 acres.

In July, 1823, the fort was first occupied by a company of artillery, who were transferred from Fort Nelson to guard convicts at work on the construction of the Old Fort. One-tenth of the entire United States Army and one-third of the artillery troops were stationed within the walls of Fort Monroe in 1825. It was then the largest garrison in the United States.

The Secretary of War gave Fort Monroe its official name on February 1, 1832, directing that "all military posts, designated as cantonments, be hereafter called forts and that the work at Old Point Comfort be called Fort

* The names of the two forts are significant in that John C. Calhoun was Secretary of War in the cabinet of President James Monroe.

Monroe and not Fortress Monroe." Before that time it had not received an official name, but was called Fortress Monroe in honor of James Monroe, fifth President of the United States, who was in office when work was begun on the project.

Although the change of name was official, the old term "Fortress Monroe" lingered on. It was the name used by the newspaper correspondents in the War between the States. A regular column in the *New York Herald* and other newspapers was headed "News from Fortress Monroe." The term even crept into the orders of the War Department. Of two orders issued on the same day by Major General Wool in March, 1862, one was dated at "Fort Monroe" and the other at "Fortress Monroe."

On February 3, 1880, the erroneous designation was given new life when the name of the post office at Old Point Comfort was changed by the United States Post Office Department to "Fortress Monroe." The military authorities pointed out in vain that the official name of the fort was "Fort Monroe," and that a fortress was a special European type of fortification containing a town within its walls. For sixty-one years the fort officially named "Fort Monroe" had a post office named "Fortress Monroe." Not until November 15, 1941, did the Post Office Department change the name of its post office to "Fort Monroe" to agree with the official name of the fort and put an end to the confusion.

Edgar Allan Poe joined the Fort Monroe garrison on December 15, 1828, having enlisted in the United States Army under the assumed name of Edgar A. Perry on May 26, 1827. The eighteen-year-old poet was destitute after having attempted to make a living with his pen for a few months and following a violent quarrel with his foster father in March, 1827, when he left home.

Poe was promoted to sergeant major, the highest rank to which an enlisted man could attain, on January 1, 1829, but now wanted to attempt once more a career as a writer and leave the Army. Just before arriving at Fort Monroe, Poe had implored the help of his foster father, John Allan, to whom he addressed two more letters, one on December 22, 1828, and one on February 4, 1829, in quest of a resumption of civilian life. His foster father ignored all three letters, the third of which requested additionally that help be given him to get out of the Army so he could enter West Point to become an officer. Poe's suggestion was that he would be able to "run through" the courses at West Point in six months because of his experience as an enlisted man. The same letter told Mr. Allan of his debts. Poe had first been in trouble over gambling debts at the University of Virginia, and, expressing regret over his "infamous conduct," he pointed out, as a partial excuse, that he had never been away from home before. At the close of his letter, he told

John Allan that if he did not receive an answer he would go into self-imposed exile in a foreign land.

On February 28, 1829, Poe's beloved foster mother died and he returned to his home in Richmond at Mr. Allan's invitation. A partial reconciliation took place between the two men, the foster father agreeing to furnish money to pay a substitute to complete the balance of Poe's term of enlistment, and also promising to assist his adopted son to enter the United States Military Academy at West Point.

On April 15, 1829, Poe was discharged at Fort Monroe, having served almost two years of his five-year term of enlistment. Sergeant Samuel ("Bully") Graves of Fort Monroe agreed to serve out the balance of Poe's enlistment for the sum of \$75.00. The officers at Fort Monroe gave Poe excellent letters of recommendation. Poe's conduct was described as "unexceptionable" by Lieutenant J. Howard, and Captain H. W. Griswold said he was "highly worthy of confidence." The Commanding Officer of Fort Monroe, Lieutenant Colonel William J. Worth, recommended Poe for a cadetship without hesitation, stating that Poe's education was of "a very high order" and that he appeared to be "free of bad habits."

On July 1, 1830, Poe entered West Point. After eight months, he contrived to get himself expelled. Poe's West Point venture appears to have been largely a subterfuge to induce John Allan to help him get out of the army. For eighteen months, what Poe actually wanted was to return to civilian life and carve out a career as a writer.

The poems written by Poe brought him world fame and he became one of the great literary figures of America. In France and other countries his short stories were widely acclaimed. The poet held responsible editorial positions in New York, Richmond and Philadelphia, but at the same time, he was a moody, unhappy man who sought escape in alcohol, causing much suffering for himself as well as those close to him.

Poe returned to Old Point Comfort to spend a Sunday at the fashionable Hygeia Hotel twenty years after his discharge at Fort Monroe. The forty-year-old poet must have recalled memories of his youthful days there when he heard the bugle calls behind the walls of the fort and the boom of the evening gun. On the hotel veranda Poe recited poetry in the moonlight to a group of friends, the waters of Hampton Roads sparkling in the background. "Annabel Lee," "The Raven" and the weird and mystic "Ulalume" were presented. He told his listeners that the last stanza of "Ulalume" might not be intelligible to them as he scarcely understood it himself!

Appreciation of this obscure poem was expressed by a young girl who admired Poe—Miss Susan Ingram, of Norfolk. She was surprised the next day to receive from the poet a manuscript copy of "Ulalume," written in his painstaking script on five sheets of paper pasted together to form a scroll,

accompanied by a most gracious note. Poe's last taste of unclouded happiness may well have been this enchanted evening at Old Point Comfort, Sunday, September 9, 1849, for less than a month later, on October 3, he was picked up in the streets of Baltimore in a dying condition. "God help my poor soul!" were the last words of Edgar Allan Poe, uttered in a delirium before he died on October 7.

In the Fort Monroe Casemate Museum, the Edgar Allan Poe Exhibit contains two original pictures of the poet, one by Shirley S. Hogge showing the young soldier leaning against the carriage of a cannon rereading a letter to his foster father, and the other by Allan Jones showing Poe on the veranda of the Hygeia Hotel reciting to his friends in the moonlight.

Robert E. Lee reported for duty at Fort Monroe on May 7, 1831. He was then a young lieutenant of engineers who had graduated from West Point in 1829 and had completed his first assignment in the United States Army at Cockspur Island near Savannah, Georgia. At that time the main part of the fort had been finished and garrisoned, but construction had not yet begun on the outworks and approaches. Captain Andrew Talcott, Lee's superior officer, was absent much of the time, which left the young lieutenant in virtual charge of the construction program. Lee supervised the building of the famous old Water Battery (no longer in existence), put the finishing touches on the moat and designed some wharves and buildings. The construction of the foundation of the Rip-Raps (later known as Fort Wool) was also supervised by young Lee, who lived on this island for several months. Together with Fort Monroe, the island fort controlled the channel from Chesapeake Bay into Hampton Roads.

Less than two months after his arrival at Fort Monroe, Lee was married. The wedding took place at Arlington, Virginia, the home of his bride, Mary Anne Randolph Custis, on June 30, 1831. Mrs. Lee's father was George Washington Parke Custis, a stepson of George Washington. Lieutenant and Mrs. Lee arrived at Fort Monroe in August, 1831, and when their first child was born there on September 16, 1832, they named him George Washington Custis Lee.

It is known that one of the happiest periods in Lee's life was his tour of duty at Fort Monroe. He admired and respected his chief, Captain Talcott, and enjoyed domestic and social life at the fort. His talents as an educator found a constructive outlet in his constant associations with young officers, and friendships formed with military and civilian leaders at the first Hygeia Hotel, just outside the fort's main gate, were doubtless among the considerations causing Lee to write to a close friend that "Fort Monroe is a post by no means to be despised." He was stationed here from May, 1831, to November, 1834. Here he was closely associated with men who were his friends and later his brother-officers—for instance, Joseph E. Johnston, Ben-

jamin Huger and James Barnes. Thirty years later two of these men were Confederate generals serving with him; the third, James Barnes, was a Union general. In his administrative work at the fort, Lee was a careful and economical planner, bargaining closely for schooner hire and seeking the most favorable terms and times when awarding contracts. When stone was needed for the work at Fort Monroe, he took rough hewings from the Rip-Raps and dressed them, with resultant expenditures of about half what the material would have cost elsewhere. A Fort Monroe Casemate Museum portrait of Lee shows him in dress uniform as a young lieutenant of engineers—ruddy-complexioned, dark-haired, with sideburns, but without beard or moustache. At the museum are also letters written by him while he was stationed at Fort Monroe, as well as an engineering drawing of the fort made by him in 1832.

Fort Monroe's role in historic events of America has been astoundingly all-inclusive. After Black Hawk's War, Black Hawk himself and several other chiefs were captured and brought here as hostages. Much of Old Point Comfort's prestige as a tourist resort dates from that time, when many flocked to the fort to see the Indians. Black Hawk acquired fame by his stubborn refusal to recognize the treaty by which his people, the Sauks and the Foxes, ceded all their land east of the Mississippi to the white man. He contended that Jumping Fish and other chiefs who signed the treaty had no authority to sell the land, and had done so because they were drunk. Black Hawk held to his own village of Saukenuk (now Rock Island, Illinois), even after white people had ploughed up the cornfields of his people. When finally menaced by United States troops, he reluctantly moved to the farther side of the Mississippi River. Brooding over the loss of his village, he fell under the influence of White Cloud, an Indian prophet, whose seership was perhaps clouded by tribal patriotism when he prophesied that Black Hawk would lead his people back across the Great River, and that the white people would not resist. He even predicted that the other Indians would help and that the British would send help from Canada. When Black Hawk crossed the river in April, 1832, with 200 warriors and their families, tragedy met their venture.

With United States regulars converging upon his band, the chieftain sent out a flag of truce, only to find that the undisciplined volunteers shot down the truce party. The outraged Indians thereupon threw themselves upon the volunteers and drove them from the field, beginning what went down in the history books as the Black Hawk War. Although they fought a brilliant campaign, the Indians were finally crushed at the battle of Bad Axe River in Wisconsin on August 2, 1832. The white troops, aided by a gunboat, on that occasion shot down all Indians, including women and children.

For some months a prisoner at St. Louis, Black Hawk was then brought

to Fort Monroe along with some of his head men. Here escape would be more difficult. But the more important reason for bringing them here was to let them see for themselves the density of population in the East and the firm control which the white men had already established in this part of the continent. With Black Hawk at Fort Monroe were the prophet White Cloud and Black Hawk's own eldest son, Whirling Thunder. Colonel Abraham Eustis, post commander at the fort, was instructed to deal leniently with them. The officers' wives gave them presents. Noted painters came to paint their portraits. The public flocked to the Point to see the "Lions of the West." Of his stay at the fort, Black Hawk himself said:

The war chief [Colonel Eustis] met us on our arrival, and shook hands, and appeared glad to see me. He treated us with great friendship, and talked to me frequently. Previous to our leaving this fort, he gave us a feast, and made us some presents, which I intend to keep for his sake. He is a very good man, and a great brave! I was sorry to leave him, although I was going to return to my people, because he had treated me like a brother, during all the time I remained with him.

The imprisonment of the Indians continued from April 26, 1833, to June 6, 1833, at Fort Monroe. Before leaving, Black Hawk made a farewell speech to Colonel Eustis:

Brother, I have come, on my part, and in behalf of my companions, to bid you farewell. Our great father [President Andrew Jackson] has at length been pleased to permit us to return to our hunting-grounds. We have buried the tomahawk, and the sound of the rifle will hereafter only bring death to the deer and the buffalo. Brother, you have treated the red men very kindly. Your squaws have made them presents, and you have given them plenty to eat and drink. The memory of your friendship will remain till the Great Spirit says it is time for Black Hawk to sing his death song. Brother, your houses are as numerous as the leaves upon the trees, and your warriors like the sands upon the shore of the big lake [Chesapeake Bay and Hampton Roads] that rolls before us. The red man has but few houses, and few warriors, but the red man has a heart that throbs as warmly as the heart of his white brother. The Great Spirit has given us our hunting-grounds, and the skin of the deer which we kill there is his favorite, for the color is white, and this is the emblem of peace. This hunting dress and these feathers of the eagle are white. Accept them, my brother . . . as a memorial of Black Hawk. When he is far away this will serve to remind you of him. May the Great Spirit bless you and your children. Farewell.

During their stay in the East, the Indians were taken on a tour of the large cities. At the Navy Yard in Portsmouth, they saw the warship *Delaware*, and Black Hawk said he would like to shake hands with the man who had built this "big canoe." In Norfolk dense crowds blocked the street in front

of the Exchange Hotel to see them, and both Black Hawk and White Cloud spoke from the balcony. Everywhere the Indians were received by public officials and lionized by their "squaws." In New York they actually saw a man get into a balloon and rise so high in the air that he could no longer be seen. One of the young Indians asked the prophet White Cloud if the man was going up to see the Great Spirit.

Back at home, Black Hawk dictated his autobiography to Antoine Le Claire, United States Indian interpreter, who translated the story for a Virginia journalist named John B. Patterson, who wrote it in English. The book was published in 1833. Black Hawk lived peacefully in Iowa until his death in 1838.

A more than ordinarily interesting sidelight of the Black Hawk episode was the identity of Black Hawk's captor. He was given into the custody of a young lieutenant of the United States Army at Bad Axe, who took him down the Mississippi River to St. Louis. That lieutenant was none other than Jefferson Davis, later President of the Confederate States of America, who himself was a prisoner at Fort Monroe after the War between the States thirty-three years later! At Galena, Illinois, when the steamer aboard which Black Hawk was a prisoner was confronted by gaping crowds, Davis refused to let them violate the Indian chief's privacy. Black Hawk wrote of that event, "The War chief would not permit them to enter the apartment where we were—knowing, from what his own feelings would have been, if he had been placed in a similar situation, that we did not wish to have a gaping crowd around us."

At the Casemate Museum is a fine portrait of Black Hawk—a facsimile of a painting by Charles Bird King. It was given to the museum by Professor Donald Jackson, of the University of Illinois, an authority on Black Hawk. In 1955 Jackson published a new edition of the original autobiography, which came out under the University of Illinois Press imprint.

In 1828, the year in which Poe came to Fort Monroe and four years before the Black Hawk War, Jefferson Davis was graduated from the United States Military Academy at West Point, and became a lieutenant of infantry in the wilds of Wisconsin, Illinois and Iowa. It was while he was so engaged that he was given custody of Black Hawk, whom he took as a prisoner to St. Louis before the chieftain was brought to Fort Monroe. Wounded in the Mexican War, Davis served as United States Senator from 1847 to 1851, then during the administration of President Franklin Pierce (1853-1857) was Secretary of War of the United States. While heading the War Department, he strengthened the army, instituting reforms and introducing new weapons. He also made surveys of the Far West for future railroad routes, some of which were later adopted. In 1857 he returned to the Senate, re-

signing only in 1861, when his own state of Mississippi seceded from the Union.

His expectation was to serve as an officer in the army of the newly established Confederacy of the South, but to his surprise he was elected its President on February 9, 1861. His strong connection with Virginia began when this State entered the Confederacy and the Confederate capital moved northward from Montgomery, Alabama, to Richmond. Four years later, after that bitterest and most deadly of American wars, President Davis heard while attending church services at St. Paul's Church, Richmond, on Sunday, April 2, 1865, that Petersburg was to be evacuated on order from General Lee. He immediately moved the Confederate Government to Danville, Virginia, 120 miles from Richmond. After the surrender at Appomattox on April 9, Davis intended to take the Confederacy to Texas, but was captured *en route* to that state near Irwinville, Georgia, early on the morning of May 10, 1865.

Learning at that time that he was accused of plotting the death of President Lincoln—a charge from which he was later exonerated—Davis was taken to Fort Monroe and imprisoned in a hastily improvised cell in Casemate No. 2 on May 22, 1865. On the following day he was shackled with ankle irons at the instigation of Charles A. Dana, Assistant Secretary of War. When the shackling was being carried out, Davis knocked down the blacksmith who brought the irons. Tragedy was averted by the quick action of Captain Jerome Titlow, Third Pennsylvania Heavy Artillery, who stopped the blacksmith from returning the attack with his uplifted hammer. A day later Colonel John J. Craven, chief medical officer at the fort, visited the prisoner and immediately recommended removal of the ankle irons. No action was taken, however, until news of the shackling leaked out and enraged influential people in the North to the point that the Secretary of War in Washington ordered the irons removed on May 28. Once removed, they were never reapplied.

Davis spent four and one-half months in the casemate cell, then was moved to Carroll Hall, a brick building which then stood in the northwest bastion of the fort, on the site of the present guardhouse. In due course the Bureau of Military Investigation in Washington discovered that Davis was in no way implicated in the assassination of Lincoln, an accusation that had been faked by Sanford Conover, termed "a master perjurer," who was arrested and sentenced to the penitentiary. In June, 1866, Colonel Craven, who had returned to his home in Newark, New Jersey, published a sympathetic book, *Prison Life of Jefferson Davis*, which had a wide sale and helped to prepare the way for Davis' eventual release. Mrs. Davis, who worked untiringly for her husband's freedom, obtained President Johnson's permission to live at Fort Monroe near her husband in May, 1866. At first she stayed

in a casemate, but later in the year General Burton, who had succeeded General Nelson A. Miles as commanding officer, permitted her to move into Carroll Hall with her husband. With them also were their daughter, "Winnie," and Mrs. Davis' sister, Margaret Howell. Davis was then given the freedom of the fort, while his wife came and went, making trips about the country to intercede in his behalf. Acting on the advice of volunteer counsel, Charles O'Conor and George Shea, of New York City, she personally appealed to Horace Greeley, editor of the *New York Tribune*, who agreed to sign her husband's bail bond if the Government would release him. The release came May 13, 1867. The amount of the bail bond was \$100,000. It was signed by Horace Greeley, Commodore Vanderbilt and others. After traveling in Europe for a time, Davis engaged in business in Memphis, Tennessee, later retiring to "Beauvoir," the estate of a friend, near Biloxi, Mississippi, where he wrote the two-volume work, *The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*. Mrs. Davis also began the writing of a biography of her husband, which was published in 1890. Davis lived to be 81 years old, dying December 6, 1889. He was buried amid pomp and ceremony in New Orleans, Louisiana, and in 1893 his body was brought to Richmond and reinterred in Hollywood Cemetery.

Another historic spot at Fort Monroe is now the Jefferson Davis Casemate, which is open to the public daily from 8 to 5 o'clock. In the outer room is a painting of Davis and Colonel Craven, made by Jack Clifton, of Hampton, Virginia, and given to the Committee for the Fort Monroe Casemate Museum by three chapters of the United Daughters of the Confederacy—Bethel Chapter, of Newport News; Hampton Chapter; and Old Dominion Dragoons Chapter, of Hampton.

Fort Monroe was one of the few forts in the South which was not captured by the Confederates at the start of the War between the States. Throughout the war it remained a continuing center of important operations, and the Union determined to hold it at all costs. Depleted early in 1861 to send reinforcements to Fort Sumter, South Carolina, and Fort Pickens, Florida, it was quickly brought up to strength by volunteers and militiamen rushed in by boat. Most of these regiments were from Massachusetts, Vermont and New York. They included such units as Duryee's Zouaves (Fifth New York) and Hawkins' Zouaves (Ninth New York), both uniformed in the style of the famous French Zouaves, with turbans or fezzes for headgear, short blue jackets, baggy red trousers and white leggings. Before long the fort was filled with troops, and the overflow of them went to camp on the opposite shore of Mill Creek, where Phoebe later arose. The new encampment was named Camp Hamilton. The troops took over the building of the Chesapeake Female College nearby, from which teachers and students alike had fled, and eventually converted it into a hospital.

Newport News was occupied by troops from the fort on May 27. They threw up an entrenched camp which was named Camp Butler after Major General Benjamin F. Butler, who was commanding officer at Fort Monroe. He had come recently from Maryland, where he had alarmed President Lincoln by occupying Baltimore without authorization. A man of impulsive nature, he was inclined always to act on his own initiative. When three runaway slaves sought refuge at the fort on May 23, 1861, he put them to work in the Quartermaster Department. Their owner, Colonel Charles K. Mallory, of Hampton, hearing their whereabouts, sent an emissary to demand their return under the Fugitive Slave Act. But Butler, in a conference held at the Phoebus end of the Mill Creek bridge, brought his legal prowess into play when he refused to return the runaways on the ground that they were "contraband of war." The result was that the fort was soon besieged with runaway slaves—men, women and children. Butler appealed to the War Department for advice, and was instructed to house and feed them and put the able-bodied ones to work. Thenceforth all slaves who sought refuge within the Union lines were called "contraband."

On June 9, 1861, word came that a Confederate outpost had been established at Little Bethel, about eight miles northwest of Fort Monroe. One column of troops was sent from Camp Hamilton and another from Newport News, with orders to converge near Little Bethel and attack at daybreak. By some confusion in communications, the men from the two camps mistakenly fired upon each other, killing and wounding several, and arousing the attention of the Confederates by their gunfire. When the confusion ended, Confederate fire came from the stronger position at Big Bethel, driving the Union forces back. Union losses on that occasion were eighteen killed, 53 wounded and five missing. Confederate losses were one killed and seven wounded. The battle of Big Bethel, which took place June 10, 1861, attracted wide attention, for it was the first engagement of any note in the war. Skirmishes took place in the following month near Newport News.

Throughout the war Fort Monroe, Camp Hamilton and Camp Butler were lone Union outposts in the heart of Confederate territory. To the south were Confederate batteries on Seawell's Point, the site of the present Naval Base, and Pig Point, at the mouth of the Nansemond. There were Confederate troops around Norfolk. To the west were the vast reaches of the James River; to the north, Confederate forces at Yorktown. From any direction the fort was subject to attack. From this fact stemmed many of the unusual events that took place in the area.

One of these involved the need for accurate reconnaissance. The man of the hour might well be, General Butler thought, the balloonist, John La Mountain. The French had used balloons for military observation in 1794, 1830 and 1859, but military aeronautics were practically unknown

in the United States. Butler sent for La Mountain, trusting that he could later get authorization to cover the expenses involved. Between July 25 and August 10, 1861, he made several fixed ascensions, which revealed that the Confederate concentrations were much less than had been rumored. La Mountain's employment by Butler made him the first airman in the Union Army, inasmuch as Professor Thaddeus Lowe in the Washington area was not officially employed by the War Department before August 3, 1861. La Mountain had another "first" to his credit—his ascension from the deck of the gunboat *Fanny* in Hampton Roads, a ship which thus became the first ancestor of today's famous aircraft carriers. It was not until November 12, 1861, that Professor Lowe made a flight from the deck of his balloon barge *G. W. P. Custis*.

The Town of Hampton, which was three miles from the fort, had been occupied July 1, 1861. But after the battle of Bull Run, the War Department transferred three regiments from Fort Monroe to the Washington area. With his garrison again weakened, Butler ordered Hampton to be evacuated. The Confederates set fire to the town to prevent Union re-entry, and at that time, August 7, 1861, Hampton was almost wholly destroyed.

The fort needed a Regular Army commander of long experience and high rank, of whom there was a shortage because so many such leaders had been lost with secession of the South. In its extremity the North called upon a 77-year-old officer, Major General John E. Wool, a veteran of the War of 1812 and the Mexican War, who arrived August 17, 1861, to take command. But real fighting did not begin before 1862 in this area.

On March 8, 1862, the C.S.S. *Virginia* (ex-*Merrimac*) steamed out of the Elizabeth River to break the Union blockade by sinking the entire fleet of wooden ships, then starving Fort Monroe itself into submission. Destroying two powerful frigates anchored off Newport News, the *Cumberland* and the *Congress*, and driving off the *Minnesota*, the *St. Lawrence* and the *Roanoke*, she then returned to Seawell's Point to spend the night. The story of her construction, with full iron armor and heavy iron ram, told in fuller detail elsewhere represented another "first" of the war—the first "ironclad" of history.

The second "ironclad" was even then on its way to the rescue. The U.S.S. *Minnesota*, driven off by the *Virginia*, had run aground out of reach of Southern guns. But when she ventured forth next morning to finish off the *Minnesota*, the *Virginia* encountered the *Monitor*, which had arrived during the night. For four hours the two ironclads pounded savagely at each other in a battle which is usually described as a draw. The *Virginia* retired to the Norfolk Navy Yard for repairs, and did not reappear in Hampton Roads until April 11, 1862.

By April 1 the Union had landed 100,000 men, mostly volunteers, at

Fort Monroe for the Peninsular campaign, a project mainly designed by General George B. McClellan. A fleet of 113 steamers, 118 schooners and 88 barges had brought the newly-arrived Union forces through the Chesapeake Bay to the fort. Quickly McClellan took his men through Hampton and up the Peninsula, only to find Yorktown exceedingly well defended. The siege began April 5, 1862. McClellan's request for naval support was refused by Commodore Louis M. Goldsborough, commanding the Union fleet in Hampton Roads, who feared getting the entire fleet bottled up in the James River and at the mercy of the *Virginia*, still hovering about the mouth of the Elizabeth River.

Disturbed by the turn of events, Lincoln himself came to Fort Monroe, arriving May 6 and staying until May 11, and personally deciding while here that the capture of Norfolk was an absolute necessity to Union success. Otherwise the *Virginia*, enjoying the protection of Norfolk and Portsmouth while using them as a base, could menace the entire Union fleet and prevent it from being sent to McClellan's aid. All the more stirred to action by McClellan's success in the battle of Williamsburg on May 5, Lincoln personally participated in a reconnaissance by boat to select a landing place where the Union forces would not be subject to attack by the *Virginia*. Ocean View was chosen. It was on the Chesapeake Bay shore, to reach which the *Virginia* would have to pass through the cross-fire from both Fort Monroe and Fort Wool, which at her slow speed of four knots would be disastrous, and at the same time leave Norfolk exposed to attack by the *Monitor*. Troops were landed at Ocean View on the afternoon and evening of May 9, 1862, with Lincoln watching the landing from a tug before he returned to Fort Monroe. Mayor Lamb of Norfolk met General Wool and his advancing troops on May 10, 1862, and surrendered the city, which had been evacuated by the Confederates. The Navy Yard was set afire by the departing Confederates. On May 11 the Confederates themselves blew up the *Virginia* to prevent her from falling into Union hands. With the original ironclad out of the way, Lincoln returned that night to Washington.

Without his presence at the fort, things did not go so well for the Union. McClellan advanced to within six miles of Richmond, but in the indecisive battle of Fair Oaks on May 31, 1862, he seemed to expend all his force. Though the Confederate commander, Major General Joseph E. Johnston, was seriously wounded, McClellan let weeks go by without a further strike against Richmond. Meanwhile, the new commander, General Robert E. Lee, was planning an overwhelming attack upon the Army of the Potomac, which was threatening Richmond from the north. Meanwhile, he struck time and again at McClellan, beginning June 26, 1862. McClellan retreated to the James River, where on July 1 he repulsed Lee at Malvern Hill. Then he withdrew down the James to Harrison's Landing. On August 3,

1862, the Army of the Potomac was ordered to return to northern Virginia, and McClellan's army moved back down the Peninsula and sailed from Fort Monroe and Newport News.

Fort Wool, on the south side of the channel, had previously been Fort Calhoun, but had been renamed after Fort Monroe's venerable commander, who was replaced on June 2, 1862, by another elderly officer, General John A. Dix. Fort Monroe now became the headquarters unit of an entire department including Camps Hamilton and Butler, Yorktown, Williamsburg, Gloucester Point, Seawell's Point, Norfolk, Portsmouth and Suffolk. General Dix relaxed trade restrictions against Norfolk, released many political prisoners at Fort Wool, and sent all available troops from Fort Monroe up the York River to threaten Richmond and divert Lee's strength from his attack on Pennsylvania in June, 1863.

One of the prisoners he took at that time was General William Henry Fitzhugh Lee, General Robert E. Lee's own son, who had been convalescing from a leg wound at "Hickory Hill" in Hanover County. The Union command at that time threatened to hang young Lee to insure good treatment of two Union officers in Libby Prison, Richmond, who were to be executed in retaliation for the execution of two Confederate officers in Kentucky. After the lives of the two Union officers were saved, "Rooney" Lee was given the freedom of the fort during the summer and fall of 1863—until General Butler arrived at Fort Monroe in November of that year and saw the Confederate officer watching a Union regimental parade! "Rooney" Lee was then sent to the military prison at Fort Lafayette in New York Harbor. He was finally exchanged in February, 1864.

In 1863 General Dix was sent to New York City to relieve General Wool at the time of the July Draft Riots there, being replaced at Fort Monroe by Major General John G. Foster. In November, General Butler succeeded him, introducing a miniature navy in the form of a flotilla of army gunboats. The actual accomplishment of his fleet was to scour the rivers and inlets of Virginia and North Carolina, and Butler's boats actually did fight numerous brisk engagements—notably, one at Smithfield, Virginia, on February 2, 1864, and another at Plymouth, North Carolina, April 17, 1864.

Prisoners of war were at no time held permanently at the fort, but usually were transferred to Point Lookout, Maryland. When Butler was appointed Commissioner of Exchange of Prisoners in December, 1863, the Confederates refused to deal with him because he had been "outlawed" by President Jefferson Davis. Butler countered this action by sending a boat with 500 prisoners to City Point (now Hopewell, Virginia) and offering to exchange them for a like number of Union prisoners. With the prisoners actually in view, the Confederates did not wish to send them back into

captivity, and as a result sent their Agent of Exchange, Judge Robert Ould, to Fort Monroe to confer with Butler late in March, 1864.

In mid-April, however, General Grant ordered Butler to stop all prisoner exchanges unless the Confederates would agree to release a number of Union officers and men equal to the number of Confederate officers and men captured and paroled at Vicksburg and Port Hudson, and in the exchanges to make no distinction between white and Negro soldiers. Actually Grant believed that stopping the exchange of prisoners would hasten the end of the war.

Grant himself spent two days at the fort on April 1 and 2, 1864, to outline his plans for his spring campaign. Placed in supreme command of Union armies, he had determined to attack on all fronts simultaneously and continuously. There would be three major operations. Grant would attack Lee's army in northern Virginia. Butler would advance along the south bank of the James to threaten Richmond and its lines of communication. General William T. Sherman, at Chattanooga, Tennessee, would invade Georgia and cut off the food supply. Despite terrific losses, Grant regularly moved to a new position on the left of his line at each defeat by Lee. Butler was less successful, though he achieved one of Grant's aims—the capture of City Point and Bermuda Hundred, the latter a peninsula between the James and the Appomattox River. General Beauregard shut off the approach to Richmond by bottling up the neck of the peninsula; but City Point proved to be important a month later, when Grant, unable to capture Richmond by direct assault, slipped across the James and laid siege to Petersburg. At Bermuda Hundred, Butler built a canal across Dutch Gap to facilitate passage of Union gunboats up the James, thus by-passing a long hairpin bend in the river which was dominated by a Confederate shore battery. Butler's canal lost its importance as a war move, but after peace returned it was enlarged and improved, and became the customary channel for passage of vessels.

If the Union was gaining headway, it was doing so at terrific human cost. Grant lost 7,000 men in a single hour in killed and wounded at the battle of Cold Harbor. His siege of Petersburg took nine months, there being no longer room for him to slip around Lee's flank as he had repeatedly done after the battle of the Wilderness. Finally, on June 14, 1864, he crossed the James River before Lee realized what he had done, and joined forces with Butler to attack Petersburg, but not being able to do so directly he began the long siege. On July 31 Grant and Lincoln conferred at Fort Monroe aboard the President's boat.

Talk of peace negotiations was now in the air, but neither Jefferson Davis nor Abraham Lincoln expected results from these. But both considered it politic to permit a conference to take place. So the Hampton Roads Peace

Conference occurred aboard the steamer *River Queen* under Fort Monroe's guns on February 3, 1865. The Confederates were represented by their Vice President, Alexander H. Stephens, and by Robert M. T. Hunter, presiding officer of their Senate, and John A. Campbell, Assistant Secretary of War; and the Union by President Lincoln himself and his Secretary of State, William H. Seward. Lincoln insisted that the Confederate States return to the Union, and the Confederates held out for independence, as they had been instructed to do. The conference lasted four hours, and thereafter was a subject for jest on both sides. The war lasted until April 9, 1865, when Lee surrendered to Grant at Appomattox. Fort Monroe had figured prominently in the conflict from beginning to end, being the main Union bulwark in Confederate territory. From the fort, six separate expeditions had been sent out—those under Butler to Hatteras Inlet, North Carolina, in August, 1861; under Sherman to Port Royal, South Carolina, in October of that year; under Burnside to Roanoke Island, North Carolina, January, 1862; under Butler to New Orleans, February, 1862; under Butler to Fort Fisher, North Carolina, in December, 1864; and under Major General Alfred H. Terry to Fort Fisher, North Carolina, in January, 1865, to capture Wilmington, North Carolina, the Confederacy's last gateway to the outside world.

Controlling the entrance to Hampton Roads, serving as a center for Union operations throughout the East for the entire duration of the war, Fort Monroe became obsolete as a result of the technical advances in military and naval science during that conflict. After 1890 detached batteries with powerful disappearing guns were erected on the beach. The old moated fort was left as a monument to the past. Today it is still an important part of national defense, but in a different way. It is the headquarters of the commanding general of the Continental Army Command.

With the separation of the coast and field artillery branches of the service in 1907, the old Artillery School of Practice, established in 1824, was reorganized as the Coast Artillery School. It continued to operate here until September, 1946, when it was transferred to Fort Winfield Scott at San Francisco to make room for Headquarters, Army Ground Forces, which was moved to Fort Monroe from Washington, D. C. Massive fortifications still overlook the harbor they once guarded, but the only guns heard here now are those used to fire salutes.

The responsibilities of the United States Continental Army Command Headquarters include command of all continental armies of the nation, as well as the Military District of Washington, D. C. The organization has grown out of the former General Headquarters of the Army, established in July, 1940, to control tactical troops in the United States. Development of field forces into a unified whole for effective World War II service required a Headquarters office capable of controlling fully a much broader range of

military operations. In March, 1942, the War Department was reorganized, with three new commands—the Army Ground Forces, the Army Air Forces and the Army Services Forces. The General Headquarters was discontinued as such at that time, and its functions were transferred to the new Army Ground Forces organization. The purpose was to relieve the General Staff and the Chief of Staff of time-consuming administrative duties.

Charged with the former General Headquarters' responsibilities and those of the chiefs of Infantry, Cavalry, Field Artillery and Coast Artillery, the Army Ground Forces organized and trained eighty-nine divisions during World War II—five air-borne, sixteen armored, one cavalry, one mountain and sixty-six infantry. To replace casualties, approximately 2,500,000 men were processed through twenty-one Replacement Training Centers throughout the United States between March, 1942, and August, 1945. In the first three months of 1944, 315,000 ground troops left this country for the June invasion of the continent of Europe, and from August to October of that year 400,000 more left for the actual invasion of Germany.

After World War II the Army was reorganized to meet post-war needs. Once more taking advantage of lessons of war itself, the newly-conceived Army eliminated the Army Service Forces and the nine service commands operating inside the United States and created six continental armies to serve the functions of service commands and tactical field armies. Command was given over to the Commanding General of the Army Ground Forces, who was made responsible for training and operations in the Army areas. Each army in turn was made responsible for operation, training and administrative functions in its area. The new organization was such that, in the event of hostilities, the tactical and administrative section could be separated, with administration falling into the hands of the old service commands and tactical work given more flexibility and mobility.

In March, 1948, the Army Ground Forces were relieved of much administrative duty with respect to the separate armies, and training was concentrated in this branch. Their headquarters was renamed the Office of the Chief of Army Field Forces, and actual command of the armies passed to the Department of the Army.

On February 1, 1955, the Office of Chief of Army Field Forces became Headquarters of the Continental Army Command, with General John E. Dahlquist as first commander of the new organization. He had been Chief of Army Field Forces from August, 1953, and continued in his new office until February, 1956. On March 1 of that year General W. G. Wyman took his place. Then, on January 1, 1957, the designation of the office was changed to Headquarters, United States Continental Army Command, generally referred to as CONARC.

The Commanding General of CONARC is broadly responsible for the

ground defenses of the entire continental United States. He is specifically charged with command of the six continental armies and the Military District of Washington. CONARC directs, superintends, co-ordinates and inspects matters having to do with tactics, techniques, organization, doctrines and materiel for Army use in the field and training and training inspection in the continental United States, including Reserve components.

* * *

In the ninetieth anniversary year of the start of the War between the States, in which the role of Fort Monroe was so prominent, the Fort Monroe Casemate Museum had its beginnings. In 1951 it began operation, having been established by Colonel Paul R. Goode, Deputy Post Commander, to tell the story of the fort. It was called the Casemate Museum because of its three historic casemates, or chambers—a casemate being a chamber in the wall of a fort used for a gun position. These three are the Jefferson Davis Casemate, the *Monitor* and *Merrimac* Casemate and the Old Fort Monroe Casemate. The Fort Monroe Casemate alone makes the museum outstanding in the country because of the fort's active part in the country's most devastating war and its contents of a Lincoln shrine and the so-called Civil War Historama.

* * *

The Langley Aeronautical Laboratory of the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics is the first and largest of the committee's research centers. These centers are now being operated in Virginia, Ohio and California.

Established in 1917 and known for many years simply as Langley Field, Langley Air Force Base has grown since that time to occupy an outstanding position as a military aviation center, as well as the seat of operation of the above-mentioned National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics. The base takes its name from the man whose inspiration was responsible for the field's founding—Samuel Pierpont Langley. Back in 1903 Langley made two unsuccessful efforts to start a full-scale "aerodrome" from a catapult mounted on a houseboat in the Potomac River. The catapult mechanism was faulty, but his plane was said to be capable of flying. Despite early failure, he laid the basis for the Army's experimental aeronautical program.

In 1916 it was agreed at meetings of the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics that Army, Navy and NACA should join hands in a joint experimental airfield and proving ground for aircraft. On June 28, 1917, the field was authorized as an experimental station, and construction began under supervision of the Air Service Section of the Signal Corps. In its first ten years that same Signal Corps section operated it, building it to a field strength of 475 officers and 4,700 troops in the later period of World War I. Units assigned to duty included several Aero Squadrons, a Photo School Detachment, an Aerial Observer School, a Balloon Detachment, a Camouflage



(Courtesy of the Committee for the Fort Monroe Museum and The Jefferson Davis Casemate)

OLD POINT COMFORT—FORT MONROE CASEMATE MUSEUM

Detachment, an Air Service Flying School and several engineer construction companies. After the war's end and the resultant discharge of most labor units, the field's strength remained at about 1,500 men until 1935.

In 1920 the base started the first Air Service Field Officers' School, which later became the Air Corps Tactical School. Its function has continued,



(Official USAF Photo—Courtesy of Va. Peninsula Ass'n of Commerce)

LANGLEY AIR FORCE BASE
AIR VIEW

through different reorganizations, as the training of student officers to direct units in the air, to emphasize close co-operation with other Army branches, and to provide technical instruction enabling students to teach technical staff officers.

With a sound tactical doctrine thus established, Langley formed a Provisional Air Brigade to conduct bombing experiments against ex-German warships. Maneuvers and training took place off Virginia's Eastern Shore, near Cape Charles, under supervision of Brigadier General William ("Billy") Mitchell, then stationed at Langley. The first target was the destroyer G-102, moored about sixty miles off Cape Charles, which was attacked by about

fifty planes, three blimps and seven additional planes of the Navy. Two direct hits sank the destroyer. Later other ships were sunk. The vulnerability of shipping to air attack was thus first proved.

Until 1922 the base's construction was mainly of a temporary nature, in keeping with its experimental function. Its position was now secure, and a more permanent type of construction began. By March 1, 1935 the field was ready to receive and house the General Headquarters Staff of the Army Air Corps, and on that date it became the center of tactical aviation for the Army. It thus took its place as General Headquarters of the Army Air Corps, home of the Second Wing, the Second Bombardment Group and the Eighth Pursuit Group, and the foremost focal point in the brightening aviation limelight.

World War II brought new developments. In 1941 the General Headquarters of the Army Air Corps was moved to Bolling Air Force Base, Washington, D. C., and Langley became an installation of the First Air Force. In that same year the field readied itself for entry of the United States into the war, which seemed more and more inevitable, carrying on routine training of bombardment groups and their attendant observation and reconnaissance squadrons. When war came to the United States on December 7, the Twenty-second Bombardment Group was off within twenty-four hours for March Field (Now March Air Force Base) in California with complete equipment and personnel. The Second Bombardment Group and the Third Observation Squadron, remaining at Langley, became major participants in the later battle for control of the coastal waters of eastern United States.

Within a month after activation of the First Sea Search Group, a training program was developed in radar for both operators and maintenance personnel. A course in the tactical use of radar equipment, though newly started, became the nucleus of a full training in use of radar. Overseas units were soon being activated and trained, particularly for the war with Japan. Among the first such units was the Third Sea Search Attack Squadron, activated in December, 1942. It left Langley in August, 1943, for the Southwest Pacific, where it used the new radar equipment to good advantage in destruction of enemy shipping and Navy vessels.

Langley's function became increasingly important as the stress of war turned to the Pacific, where use of radar in both bombing and navigation was important. With World War II behind it, the base still kept stride with new aviation developments. Its wind tunnels, experimental laboratories, shops, buildings and equipment represented an investment of more than \$100,000,000 by 1956—a figure that is mounting. The Langley Laboratory, established in 1916, now occupies a 710-acre tract inside the base's boundaries, and research here embraces aerodynamics in all three speed ranges—subsonic, transonic and supersonic. Langley also conducts a pilotless aircraft research

station at Wallops Island, on Virginia's Eastern Shore, where rocket-propelled missiles are fired into the sky over the Atlantic to gain scientific data at high speeds.

More than 5,000 military personnel are assigned to the base, which now houses the Headquarters of the Tactical Air Command, the 836th Air Division (including the 405th Fighter Bomber Wing and the 345th Bombardment



(Official USAF Photo—Courtesy of Va. Peninsula Ass'n of Commerce)

LANGLEY AIR FORCE BASE—A FEW F-84F THUNDERSTREAK JETS
ON LANGLEY'S FLIGHT LINE

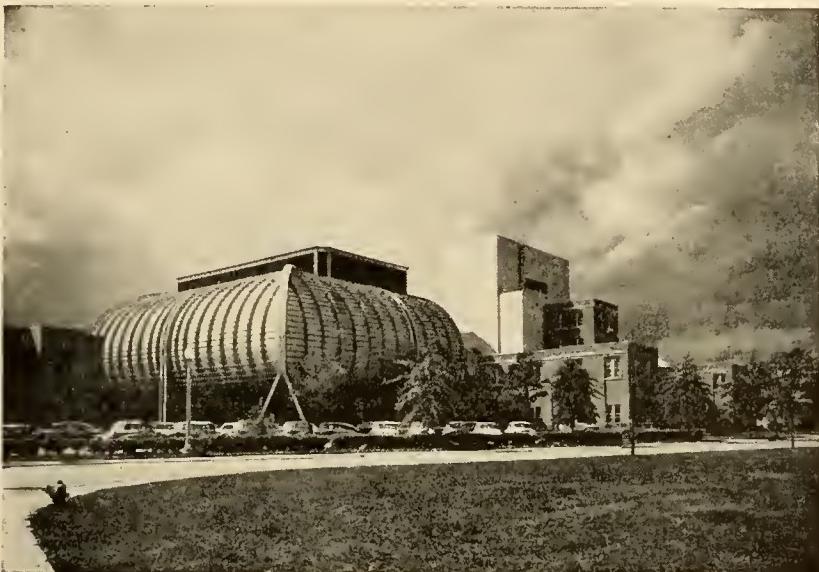
Wing), a fighter interceptor squadron of the Air Defense Command, a field printing squadron of the Continental Air Command, and other units. The Tactical Air Command was activated in March, 1946, and moved to Langley to provide proximity to the Continental Army Command, Fort Monroe and the Atlantic Fleet Headquarters in Norfolk.

Under the Tactical Air Command are three Air Forces—the Ninth, Twelfth and Nineteenth—consisting of fighter-bomber, day fighter, light and tactical bombardment, tactical reconnaissance, tactical missile, medium troop carrier, rotary and fixed wing assault units, and other specialized tactical forces which the command organizes, equips and trains for service in the United States or throughout the world.

The Department of the Air Force was established and made a part of the

Department of Defense by the National Security Act of 1947 and by the terms of that Act came into legal being on September 18, 1941. The organization of the Air Force is prescribed by the Air Force Organization Act of 1951 (Public Law 150, 82nd Congress 65, Stat. 326). Air Fields became Air Force Bases.

The base thus fulfills the original intentions and purposes of the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics, which was established by act of Congress in 1915 "to supervise and direct the scientific study of the



(Courtesy V.a. Peninsula Ass'n of Commerce)

LANGLEY AIR FORCE BASE—16 FOOT TRANSSONIC WIND TUNNEL, OPERATED BY THE
NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE FOR AERONAUTICS AT
LANGLEY AERONAUTICAL LABORATORY

problems of flight, with a view to their practical solution" . . . and . . . "to direct and conduct research and experiments in aeronautics." With headquarters in Washington, D. C., the committee operates two other major laboratories and one research station. Its Ames Aeronautical Laboratory was established at Moffett Field, California, in 1939, and its Lewis Flight Propulsion Laboratory at Cleveland, Ohio, in 1942. In 1946 it started a High-Speed Flight Station at Edwards, California, where piloted flights are conducted in high-speed research aircraft in co-operation with the Air Force, the Navy and the aircraft industry.

Langley is its oldest and largest research center. The function of the Virginia base is primarily to improve efficiency, safety and speed of aircraft, and as such is co-ordinated with the work of the other centers. NACA has

thirty wind tunnels, three seaplane testing basins, five major testing laboratories, and eleven shops and service facilities. It works, of course, in conjunction with the U. S. Air Force, although there is no formal connection between the two. It operates as a separate agency of the Federal Government.

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PART III
THE UPPER AND LOWER COUNTIES
OF
NEW NORFOLK

Chapter IX

The County of New Norfolk

1636

IT HAS BEEN frequently stated by both professional and amateur writers of local history that the area of Elizabeth City County, south of Hampton Roads, was in 1636 cut off and established as New Norfolk County; and further, that it was subdivided in 1637 into the Upper County of New Norfolk and the Lower County of New Norfolk. These statements are not entirely in accord with the recorded facts and should be examined in detail. But first, let us identify the areas of 1637 in modern terms: the first, otherwise called Upper Norfolk County, was re-named Nansemond less than ten years later; and the second, or Lower Norfolk County, was divided in 1691 to form the Counties of Norfolk and Princess Anne.

As has been true from its very beginning, the history of this area was inseparably bound to that of the province of Carolina. The first Carolina charter, that of 30 October 1629, was for a proprietary Colony and granted to Sir Robert Heath, Attorney General, an enormous area from 31° to 36° north latitude and from sea to sea; this would include the coast of Georgia, South Carolina, and North Carolina up to the south shore of Albemarle Sound. Within a year the rights to this territory had been assigned to others and Boswell held that portion between Albemarle Sound and the mouth of the Cape Fear River. In 1632 this coast was explored, though no settlement was made, and another important proprietor became associated in the enterprise: his name was Henry Frederick Howard, Baron Maltravers.¹

In order to understand clearly the Howard family's connection with the story of Norfolk, a few brief facts concerning its history should be cited. Thomas Howard, fourth Duke of Norfolk, conspired with Philip II of Spain in planning an invasion of England, for which act of treason he was executed in 1572. His son, Philip, was allowed to succeed in the titles of Earl of Surrey and Baron Maltravers, but because of his father's attainder was not permitted to succeed to the Dukedom of Norfolk. Philip also inherited the title of Earl of Arundel from his maternal grandfather. Thomas, son of Philip, became (at his father's death in 1595) Earl of Arundel and Surrey and Baron Maltravers, and in 1644 was created Earl of Norfolk, though the

dukedom of that ilk was not revived until later. Therefore, Henry Frederick, son of Thomas, on his succession in 1646 became Earl of Arundel, Surrey and Norfolk; his son, Thomas, became fifth Duke of Norfolk in 1660 by reversal of the attainer of 1572. Thus at the time of which we are here writing, the Dukedom of Norfolk was in abeyance and the Earldom had not yet been created; likewise, Henry Frederick was simple Lord Maltravers, not having yet succeeded to his triple earldom.²



(Isabella Stewart Gardner
Museum, Boston)

THOMAS HOWARD,
EARL OF ARUNDEL, PAINTING
BY PETER PAUL RUBENS

To return to the main thread of the story, on 5 July 1636, Charles I wrote a letter of instructions to Governor John Harvey in behalf of Henry Lord Maltravers, who wanted to take part in the colonization of Virginia. The Governor was ordered at that time "to assign and sett out to the said Lord Maltravers and his heirs such a competent tract of land in the southern part of that country [Virginia] as may beare the name of a county and be called the county of Norfolk." With knowledge of the Maltravers background, it is clear why this choice of name was made; it indicates a softened attitude toward the Howard family and foreshadows the creation of the earldom and eventual revival of the dukedom of Norfolk. For the Stuart Kings were well known for their inclination to reverse the decisions made by their Tudor predecessors, as witness the treatment of the great Raleigh at the hands of James I.

From a later communication it is learned that the royal letter of instructions did not arrive at destination. A second letter went out under date of 11 April 1637, the opening phrases of which are here quoted:

Trustie and welbeloved wee greet you well. Whereas our right trustie and welbeloved Henry Lord Maltravers hath a desire to undertake the planting of

some parte of that territory of Virginia for the advancement of our honor and service wherein wee are willing to give him advancement and encouragement, and concerning which wee formerly directed our letters unto you, but as we understand they came not to your hands being miscarried on the way to you . . .³

Following the above, the instructions to set up the County of Norfolk were couched in much the same terms as those contained in the letter of nine months earlier. The end result of these instructions was a land grant by Governor Harvey in the name of the Crown under date of 22 January 1637/8, reading in part as follows:

Know yee that ye said Sir John Harvey, Knight, Governor and Captain-General of Virginia with the consent of the said Counsel of State, by virtue of his majestie's said royal letters to me & ye said council directed, and in consideration of ye undertaking of ye said Henry Lord Maltravers to transport at his own costs and charges & to settle and plant divers inhabitants in ye colony for ye advancement and general good of ye plantation, have granted, allotted, assigned and confirmed to ye said Henry Lord Maltravers & his heirs for ever a certain territory & tract of land situate, lyng and being on the southern side of the James River in the branch of ye said river hereafter to be called Maltravers River, towards the head of ye said Nanzimum alias Maltravers* River being bounded from that part of Nanzimum alias Maltravers River where it divides itself into branches, one degree in longitude on either side and in latitude to ye height of 35 degrees northerly latitude by ye name and appellation of ye County of Norfolk.

The customary vagueness with which these bounds are specified makes it difficult to lay them out with exactitude, but a glance at a map will show that a north-south line one degree west from Nansemond River would almost reach the towns of Emporia, Virginia, and Roanoke Rapids, Weldon, Tarboro, and Kinston, North Carolina, and that the thirty-fifth parallel runs through the mouth of Neuse River and takes in New Bern, North Carolina. It is obvious that this vast grant, if validated, was intended to be a county not in the Virginia usage of the word—a unit of local government of an area roughly in the hundreds of square miles and administered by a Court and a Sheriff—but a county of the same kind as Albemarle County, "cradle of North Carolina," measured in the thousands of square miles, administered by a Governor, Council and Legislature, and divided into precincts (Chowan, Perquimans, Pasquotank and Currituck) which, themselves, later became counties in our sense of the word.

The lack of complete records of the proceedings of the Virginia Assembly at this time makes it difficult to determine exactly what happened. There is on

* This name was used in a few grants, but usage soon reverted to Nansemond which is still with us today.

record no Act setting up a New Norfolk County from territory formerly part of Elizabeth City County, or dividing it into its "Upper" and "Lower" components. If, as is indicated in the second royal letter of instruction, it had been determined in London that the first letter had gone astray, then by the same means some notion of the contents of that first letter must have also gotten through to Virginia, to the extent that steps were taken to set up a New Norfolk County some time before the second letter was received. The fact of the matter is that just two days after the date of that letter, on 13 April 1637, a patent⁴ was drawn up for land in "Upper New Norfolk County" (incorrectly so written, for the land was on the Western Branch of Elizabeth River); this, according to Marshall Butt, is the first occurrence of the name "Norfolk" in our records. Then, almost exactly a month later, on 15 May 1637, the Court for the "Lower County of New Norfolke" met for the first time. This was eight months prior to the Virginia Governor's grant to Maltravers, which not only encroached a whole degree of latitude (sixty nautical miles) on the Carolina grant of 1629, but covered a part of our area in which a few individual grants had been made as early as 1620-1624, and which in 1635 and 1636 became the center of great activity in the matter of land grants and settlements. Details concerning these early settlers will be given below.

We saw, in the earlier chapter on the Corporation of Elizabeth City, that there were seven early grantees of land south of Hampton Roads: Captain William Tucker at Seawell's Point in 1620, John Sipsey* and John Cheeseman** in 1624, and the others including Thomas Willoughby by 1626. It is not likely that Tucker had his principal residence here, being "Commander of Kecoughtan;" nor do we believe that Willoughby lived here this early, because of his previously pointed out associations with Elizabeth City proper, but he did remove to this area very soon as will appear below. It is not recorded directly or indirectly that Sipsey owned land anywhere else, and it is possible that he may have been the first individual who had his principal residence in the Seawell's Point area, with Henry Seawell (for whom no patents have been preserved) running him a close second, possibly after 1633. The fact that the latter's name soon became associated with the Point lends weight to his being an early and important settler here.

It is realized that the activities of 1635 and 1636 more properly belong to the history of Elizabeth City County, but this area south of Hampton Roads, remained for just a short span of three years a part of that county and so soon assumed an identity of its own that it has seemed more convenient to treat it separately. Apparently, for nine years after the list of patents was drawn up in 1626, there was no further interest in this area, and then in

* Sibsey.

** Chisman.

1635 the patent books show a decided change, and the great increase in the number of landowners here in that and the following year unquestionably had much to do with the organization of the new counties, whatever may have been contributing factors from the other side of the Ocean. It must be remembered that the date of a grant does not always indicate the time the land was seated upon; many of these grantees may have been here a short time previous. Here, as before, are listed details on the earliest land grants in what was to become Lower Norfolk County:⁵

Date	Name	Acres	Remarks
[on the Western Branch of Elizabeth River]			
21 April 1635	Francis Towers	200	1 mi. up the Branch
21 April 1635	John Hill	350	{4 mi. up the Branch between Clark's Creek and Brown's Bay
30 May 1635	John Slaughter	200	adj. Brown's Bay
	John Radford		{Slaughter patent renewed in his name
1 June 1635	John Sibsey	1500	{present area of West Norfolk
2 June 1635	Cornelius Lloyd	800	{south side of Branch E. on Merchant's Creek W. on Muddy Creek
14 June 1635	Capt. Wm. Tucker	200	north side of Branch
14 July 1635	Thomas Wright	150	near Tucker
[on the Elizabeth River proper]			
1 June 1635	Thomas Lambert	100	{E. side of "Bay" of Elizabeth River; still called Lambert's Point
1 July 1635	William Ramshaw	200	S. side River
2 July 1635	Cornelius Lloyd	800	
[on the Lynnhaven River]			
24 June 1635	Adam Thorowgood	5350	W. side
14 Sept. 1635*	Thomas Allen	550	E. side
20 Nov. 1635	Wm. Wilkinson, ** clerk		(E. side, W. on Keeling, E. on Downes
	Thomas Keeling		{known to be here from above patent
	Geo. Downes		{known to be here from above patent
18 Dec. 1635	Adam Thorowgood	600	E. side

* This date actually reads 1630, which is probably erroneous; there is no reason to believe this grant was not made with the others.

** Also written Wilkerson.

Date	Name	Acres	Remarks
18 Dec. 1635	Robert Camm [on the Southern Branch of Elizabeth River]	200	adj. Wilkinson
19 Nov. 1635	Thos. Willoughby [on the Chesapeake Bay]	300	{ W. on Southern Branch N. on Eastern Branch (?)
19 Nov. 1635	Thos. Willoughby	300	E. on his dwelling house
19 Nov. 1635	Thos. Willoughby Francis Mason	300	{ W. on a creek (now Mason's Creek) which separates this from Francis Mason { known to be here from above patent

On the basis of the above grants, it appears that settlement of this area in 1635 spread in the following manner: first, on the Western Branch before midyear; second, on the river itself at about midyear; third, at Lynnhaven during the latter half of the year; and fourth and last, on the Southern Branch and the Bay Shore near the end of the year. In 1636, many new grants were made, some to former settlers, some to new arrivals. It would be more tedious than profitable to detail all of them, but here are the principal ones: on the Western Branch, Edward Lloyd (brother of Cornelius) and Robert Page; on the river itself, John Yates, William Ramshaw, Thomas Burbage, John Gater, Cornelius Lloyd, and Thomas Willoughby; at Lynnhaven, Christopher Burroughs, William Layton, and Henry Southell; on the Southern Branch, John Yates again, and John Roberts; and on the Eastern Branch—the first there—William Julian, and John Gater again.⁶

The names of some of these landowners in the newly opened area have become familiar through previous allusion. We do not need to comment further at this point on John Sibsey or William Tucker. The Lloyds were to become quite prominent hereabouts, as will later appear. Thomas Allen and Thomas Keeling both lived in the Lynnhaven section; the former was on the land now called Broad Bay Manor, home of the late John B. Dey's family, Keeling was on the east side of the river and was the progenitor of that numerous and well-known clan.⁷ John Hill came in 1621, and will be noted again below in connection with Thorowgood. Thomas Lambert's land is clearly identified by the name of Lambert's Point, a locality still well-known in these parts. We shall mention the Reverend Mr. Wilkinson when we come to talk of the church and parish here. But three individuals require special mention: they are, Willoughby, Mason and Thorowgood.*

* Thorowgood.

Thomas Willoughby⁸ was an "ancient planter," and had reached the tender age of nine years when he arrived on these shores in 1610. He was a nephew of Sir Percival Willoughby of Wollaton (Nottingham), a shareholder in the Virginia Company and member of an ancient and honorable family. Young Thomas must have come under someone's sponsorship in view of his age and does not appear to have been an indentured servant as was Thorowgood, a thing which frequently happened to younger sons of good family; these things do not appear in the record. As previously noted, he had land in 1626 near the mouth of the York River and near Willoughby's Point which was named for him, though not until about 1635. He was Ensign of Colonial Militia when he acquired some of the Salford land east of Newport News, was Lieutenant when he became a Justice in 1629, and Captain when he represented that section in the House of Burgesses in 1630. It is not certain when he removed to the south shore of the Chesapeake Bay, but his dwelling house is mentioned in the 1635 patent, so he must have been there some time then. Since he was "absent" when the Assembly met in September of 1632, and not a Burgess in February, 1632/3, this may be some indication. His dwelling house—which has long since disappeared—was probably near the spot where the present Willoughby Spit joins the mainland and would have been just north of the present Ocean View School, for this was the location of Willoughby's Point, the Spit being a much more recent formation.

Francis Mason was also an "ancient planter," having arrived in the colony in 1613. His first known land, according to the list of 1626 was in Charles City, a little above Westover. Just when he settled in the Norfolk area is not known, but he was here by 1635 as was indicated in Willoughby's patent,⁹ on the west side of the creek which soon took his name, and is still known to present generations as Mason's Creek though much of it has been filled in from its former mouth at Breezy Point (U.S. Naval Air Station) toward the south. Mason became quite active in the life of the county and his progeny intermarried with many of the old county families which have living representatives here; all of this will unfold in later chapters.

Adam Thorowgood (as his name appears most commonly in the early records) arrived in Virginia in 1621 being then aged seventeen. A younger son of an influential family—Sir John Thorowgood of Kensington was his elder brother—he was the son of Rev. William Thorowgood, Puritan minister of Grimston, and Anne (Edwards) his wife of Norwich, both in County Norfolk. Like many of his station in life, he bound himself as an indentured servant in return for his passage, his sponsor being Captain Edward Waters whom we have met before. By 1624 he was free to return to London where he was married on 18 July of that year to Sarah Offley. This young lady came from a family of lowly mercantile beginnings which, through its financial successes, had risen to a position of title and influence; in her maternal line

were two Lord Mayors of London, one of which had also been High Sheriff. These facts are mentioned simply because they may serve to explain her later overbearing attitude toward some of her neighbors. Thorowgood did not return to Virginia until 1628, and it may be that he was engaged during the intervening years in persuading a large number of the sizeable group for which he was later responsible in the Colony. Upon his return to Elizabeth City he immediately assumed a position of influence, first as a Justice in March of 1628/9, and later in 1629 as a member of the House of Burgesses. Though not on the 1626 list, he soon acquired land on Southampton and Back Rivers, the latter undoubtedly being his residence as is confirmed by the fact that he was Burgess for the Lower Parish (or Part) of Elizabeth City. It is not known when he removed to Lynnhaven, but he also did not appear as Burgess from Elizabeth City after 1632, and like Willoughby, he may have left there about that time. His first recorded grant was that of 14 June 1635 listed above, whose five thousand three hundred and fifty acres covered most of the area from Lynnhaven River west towards Little Creek.¹⁰ It is traditional here that the river itself, first called Chesopean, was renamed by Thorowgood because of a fancied resemblance to the harbor at King's Lynn in his native Norfolk, where the River Ouse flows into The Wash, a small arm of the North Sea. In fact, some have credited to Thorowgood the connecting of the name Norfolk with this area of Virginia, discarding entirely any consideration of the Maltravers grant previously noted and matters concerning it. Thorowgood was elevated to the dignity of the Governor's Council in 1636.

Thus most of the land between Lynnhaven River and Seawell's Point on the south shore of Chesapeake Bay was in the hands of three men: Willoughby, Thorowgood and Mason. To this we should add the name of Henry Seawell, before noted; his only appearance as a Burgess for Elizabeth City was in September, 1632, the last Assembly in which Willoughby's and Thorowgood's names were listed. We know the record mentioned in Chapter IV stated that Seawell was here shortly after December, 1633, and he must have acquired considerable property for Seawell's Point to have assumed his name as early as it did.

The Thorowgood patent of 1635 covered the then enormous sum of five thousand three hundred and fifty acres and was granted (as therein stated) at the especial recommendation of the Privy Council, bearing witness to his backing. It listed the names of no less than one hundred and five persons in return for whose passage the land was granted, giving evidence of his energetic recruiting of settlers and colonists for which he was so amply compensated. Among this list of names there were a few that would bear special comment: there were Thomas Keeling and William Kempe, whom we have previously met, and Augustine Warner, who later settled in Gloucester County and whose granddaughter became the grandmother of George Washington.¹¹

Of great interest in the Thorowgood patent is the name of John Hill: by a record of some years later (January 1647/8) we learn that he arrived in Virginia in 1621 and that he "doth affirme himself formerly to have lived in the university of Oxford of the trade of booke binder, and that he is the Sonne of Stephen Hill of Oxford aforesaid ffletcher*..."¹²

It will be recalled from a previous chapter that the Nansemond River area—to become Upper New Norfolk upon the division—was in 1609 the site of the first (though only temporary) settlement in Virginia after Jamestown. It was composed of some sixty men under Captains John Martin and George Percy, and was soon abandoned because of the hostility of the natives.¹³ It is remarkable that, though continuous settlement began at Kecoughtan in 1610, and in other Lower Tidewater localities (even the Lower Norfolk area) within a dozen years of that date, we learn of no grants even indirectly on Nansemond River in the 1620's, none are included on the list of 1626, and no settlements were made here apparently until after 1630. As a matter of fact, land grants in this area appear first in 1635 as in the period of increased activity in Lower Norfolk, but here, also, may indicate earlier seating on the land than the actual dates of the grants. Here, as was done with Elizabeth River and Lynnhaven River, are given the names of some of the earliest settlers on Nansemond River which appear in the land grants that have been preserved:¹⁴

Date	Name	Acres	Remarks
29 May 1635	John Parrott	450	{ North on Nansemond } River
26 June 1635	Richard Bennett	2000	on Nansemond River
26 June 1635	Robert Bennett	700	{ 1½ mi. up a creek, } N. on Nansemond River
14 July 1635	Martha Tomlin, widow	250	{ S. E. side Nansemond } River
3 June 1635	Geo. White, minister	200	{ North on Nansemond } River
19 June 1635	Joseph Johnson	400	{ East on a creek 3 mi. } up Nansemond River
14 July 1635	Joseph Samon	150	{ South side Nansemond } River

Two of the above names require special comment. Richard Bennett was he who represented Warrosquyoake in the House of Burgesses, and was said to be the nephew of Edward Bennett, who had an extensive plantation there in 1622. Being a prominent Puritan dissenter, he was a logical choice for Governor

* Arrow-maker.

under the Commonwealth as will later appear. Reverend George White, along with the Reverend Mr. Wilkinson of Lynnhaven, will be mentioned later in this chapter in connection with a possible ecclesiastical organization in this locality before 1637. We now continue with additional land grants in the years 1636:¹⁴

Date	Name	Acres	Remarks
13 Feb. 1635/6	John Garye	300	{ S. Side Nansemond River near Samon (see above)
7 July 1636	Richard Bennett, Gent.	300	{ 1 mi. N. of Sandy Creek, the 1st Creek west of Craney Point betw. Nansemond and Elizabeth Rivers
17 Oct. 1636	John Gookin, Gent.	500	{ Mossy Point W. on Nansemond River S., adjoining the Glebe
22 Nov. 1636	Robert Newman	50	{ Nansemond River betw. his dwelling house and the land or house of Francis Hoofe
24 Nov. 1636	William Fookes	45	{ Nansemond River, ad- joining Daniel Gookin
25 Nov. 1636	Francis Maulden	400	{ N. side Nansemond River

As usual, it is difficult to locate these descriptions with certainty. The 1635 grant of Richard Bennett for two thousand acres was evidently on the second creek inside the mouth of Nansemond River on the south, still called Bennett's Creek today. His 1636 grant was almost certainly on present Hoffler's Creek—the first creek west of Craney Island—which was to be the boundary between Upper and Lower Norfolk Counties, and is still today the line between Nansemond and Norfolk Counties. John and Daniel Gookin (the latter mentioned only indirectly) were the sons of Daniel Gookin, Sr., who will be recalled as the owner of the large plantation at Newport News called Marie's Mount in 1621; John Gookin will be seen in the following chapter as a prominent citizen of Lower Norfolk. It will be noted that Robert Newman had a dwelling house which was near the house of Francis Hoofe; the latter name was undoubtedly the same as the one written Hough and Huff, in which case this land was where a town was later established (1680), and was much later known as Town Point. Only four years sooner Francis Hough was Burgess from Nutmeg Quarter, as noted earlier. All of these circum-

stances will be more fully discussed in what follows. It should be pointed out in passing that John Gookin's land adjoined a Glebe, which will be mentioned below.

It has been previously mentioned that whenever a new administrative subdivision of the Colony was set up—be it plantation, corporation or county—a parish or parishes were established coterminous with it. Thus, if there had been a New Norfolk County, there ought also to have been a New Norfolk Parish; but the parish is as elusive as the county and apparently no record of it has been preserved. This doesn't mean that there was no ecclesiastical administration at all south and east of Hampton Roads before 1637. On the contrary, there are definite—though meagre—indications that divine worship was being held and possibly the church's worldly affairs were being attended to there by 1635 and possibly sooner. The reader is reminded of the General Court minutes of 8 April 1629: "The Churchwardens of the P[ar]ishe of the lower P[ar]tes of Elizabeth City did present William Capps and John Sipse[y] for not frequenting of the Parish Church."¹⁵ The late George C. Mason suggested that this might indicate a division of Elizabeth City on the Seawell's Point side; it must be remembered, however, that Capps did not live over there, but right on Southampton River opposite the church. It is believed the matter of the Lower Part (or Parish) of Elizabeth City has been sufficiently explained by the fact that Adam Thorowgood of Back River and John Arundel of Buckroe were its representatives in September, 1632, and in February, 1632/3, respectively. We do not think, therefore, that there was ever a parish south of Hampton Roads before that area was cut off. There was certainly no necessity for a minister there before 1630, but the increase in settlement after that time, and particularly in 1635 as evidenced by the number of patents, did cause such a need to arise. In 1635 and 1636 occurred the first recorded notice of two ministers in these areas, one each in the parts which were to become Upper Norfolk County and Lower Norfolk County. By assignment of 3 October 1635 (confirmed by patent on 20 November) the Reverend William Wilkinson and his wife, Naomi, received a total of seven hundred acres on Lynnhaven River opposite the plantation of Captain Adam Thorowgood. Mr. Wilkinson was son of a minister in Buckinghamshire, was educated at Oxford where he matriculated in 1626 at the age of fourteen, and graduated B.A. (1629/30) and M.A. (1632).¹⁶ It is not known whether he was here as a simple settler or in his clerical capacity, but we are inclined to think the latter, for there would be no other reason for a minister to be in the Colony. Nor is it known how long he remained in Lynnhaven, probably not later than 1637 when the first minister was regularly assigned in Lower Norfolk. Mr. Wilkinson seems to have gone first to Elizabeth City and later to Maryland, but that part of his story does not concern the present narrative. The other minister here at this time was

the Reverend George White¹⁷ of Gloucestershire, also an Oxonian, who matriculated at Broadgates Hall in 1618 at the age of seventeen. He seems to have been living on Nansemond River in 1636, as previously mentioned in connection with the land grants, and was apparently paid for officiating in the Elizabeth River area in 1637. As in the case of Wilkinson, it is not known how long he remained, but it seems he obtained land in Warwick (Denbigh Parish) about the same time or a little later. Thus between 1635 and 1637 or later, there was a minister in each of these areas which were later to become counties. Most remarkable of all is the fact, mentioned above, that there was a glebe on Nansemond River in 1636 in addition to the Reverend Mr. White's personal holding of 1635. The definition and significance of the term "glebe" was discussed previously,¹⁸ the existence of a glebe on Nansemond River in 1636 implies two things: an established parish and a regularly assigned minister or incumbent of such parish. It will be recalled that the Reverend George White, in addition to living on Nansemond River, was paid for officiating on Elizabeth River. Could he have been the minister of our hypothetical New Norfolk Parish? That being the case, it is difficult to explain the presence of the Reverend William Wilkinson, evidently a resident of Lynnhaven from 1635 to 1637; we have seen no mention of a glebe so early in that area, so we could not go so far as to suggest a parish subdivision.

In summary, let it be said that the sharp rise in population south of Hampton Roads (in 1635 and possibly earlier) made it evident that this area could not be administered efficiently from Elizabeth City proper. It is a matter of record that the idea of a "New Norfolk County" was born before the middle of 1636, but there is no evidence in the statutes that it ever existed in fact, and there is no record of any local government of such a county. As early as April, 1637, land grant records bear witnesses that there were then two separate units here, the Upper and Lower Counties of New Norfolk, and one month later the administration of the Lower County was firmly established. We may safely assume that the Upper County's government was operating at the same time, though the tragic loss of its records has removed documentary proof thereof. Since judicial and ecclesiastical subdivisions went hand in hand in the Colony, the presence of two ministers here in 1635 and the existence of a glebe in 1636 lend some weight to the hypothetical existence of New Norfolk County in the latter year, but if it did exist, its organization was not perfected before its division into the two counties which are known with certainty. All we can be sure of, in the present state of our knowledge, is that the area south and east of Hampton Roads first appears in legal records as two counties and parishes in May, 1637, named respectively the Upper County of New Norfolk and the Lower County of New Norfolk.

NOTES ON CHAPTER IX

N.B. See remark at beginning of Chapter I notes.

1. Lefler, *North Carolina*, I, 31-2; Butt, *Norfolk County*.
2. Butt, *op. cit.*; *Enc. Brit.*, II, 706 *et seq.*; XIX, 744; Lefler, *op. cit.*, p. 38.
3. Butt, *op. cit.*, what follows is from this source unless specified to the contrary.
4. Nugent, *Cavaliers and Pioneers*, p. 55.
5. *Ibid., passim*.
6. *Loc. cit.*; the 1636 grant to Willoughby—actually dated in February, 1636/7—was the first for the land which later (1680) became the site of Norfolk Town.
7. Kellam, *Princess Anne*, pp. 210, 57.
8. Nugent, *op. cit.*, p. xxxi; IV447-450; Sams, *The Third Attempt*, p. 812.
9. Nugent, *op. cit.*, p. xxxii; Sams, *op. cit.*, p. 807; Butt, *op. cit.*
10. *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*, 26 Nov. 1950; 18 Mar. 1956; Kellam, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-40.
11. Lowther, *Mount Vernon*, p. 110.
12. Kellam, *op. cit.*, p. 38.
13. See Chapter III, notes 34, 40.
14. Nugent, *op. cit., passim*.
15. See Chapter IV, note 41.
16. Goodwin, *op. cit.*, p. 316.
17. *Loc. cit.*
18. See Chapter III, note 36.

Chapter X

The Lower County of New Norfolk

1637-1691

THE AREA WHICH was set off from Elizabeth City County in 1637, and which eventually came to be called Lower Norfolk County, has a long and interesting history. Situated as it is at the entrance to Chesapeake Bay with Cape Henry as the apex of an angle between the Atlantic coast and the Bay shore, this land was always the first part of New Virginia to be sighted by explorers arriving from the south, and was of necessity the closest strand approached by ships entering the Bay, because of the proximity of its entrance channel to the Cape. We can picture the ship of Verrazzano sailing past these shores between its stops at Cape Fear and Chincoteague in 1524; we can also picture the Spanish vessels of 1570, 1571 and 1572 entering the Bay by the Cape Henry Channel to bring the Spanish missionaries and later returning to seek out their murderers and destroy them.¹

In a previous chapter it was related how Captain Barlowe of Raleigh's first expedition of 1584 heard with intense interest of the land to the north of Roanoke; how Ralph Lane, though he did not reach our Bay in 1586, told of having visited the land of the Chesapeakes, its fertility and mild climate, and how he planned to abandon the poor harbor of Roanoke and move his colony northward; and how finally the expedition led by John White in 1587 was intended to settle on Chesapeake Bay but prevented therefrom contrary to Sir Walter Raleigh's instructions.²

It has likewise been told how the settlers of 1607 made their first landing at Cape Henry on 26 April 1607, the third Sunday after Easter, and described the tall trees, fresh waters, roasted oysters, sand dunes and hostile natives. Here on Wednesday "the nine and twentieth day [of April] we sett up a crosse at Chesepiooc Bay, and named that place Cape Henry." Thus exactly two weeks before the landing and settlement was made at Jamestown (13 May), the first English name was formally bestowed in New Virginia. In the summer of 1608, the ubiquitous Captain John Smith explored our Elizabeth River (then called Chesapeake*), and told of tall pines and cedars on its

* It is an interesting coincidence that the two most important rivers in Lower Norfolk—which gave their names to its two parishes—originally had names which were almost identical. It will be recalled (see Chapter IX) that the Lynnhaven was originally called "Chesopean," certainly a distortion caused by substitution of an Anglicized suffix: Che-sepi-an for Che-sepi-ack.

shores. As noted in a previous chapter, some recent investigators have believed to find evidence of a settlement on the Bay shore near the present Ocean Park in about 1610, but while the physical remains in that place are very convincing, the lack of contemporary accounts makes more confirmation necessary.³ Apparently, no further interest was evinced in this area southeast of Hampton Roads until after it became a part of the Borough of Kecoughtan (Corporation of Elizabeth City) in 1619.

It will be recalled that a shipbuilder named John Wood was interested in settling on Elizabeth River in 1620, that land grants were made at Seawell's Point to Captain William Tucker in 1620, to Captain John Sibsey and Lieutenant John Cheesman in 1624, and a little later to Captain Thomas Willoughby at Willoughby's Point. We told in the preceding chapter about the land grants here beginning in 1635, the first since 1624, and continuing in 1636 and 1637. It was pointed out that the first occurrence of the name "Norfolk" in Colonial land grant records was in April of 1637.⁴

There is not in the Virginia statutes a law separating an area of Elizabeth City County and setting it up as the "Lower County of New Norfolk." There was an Act of Assembly of 1639/40 establishing the bounds of Isle of Wight, Upper Norfolk and Lower Norfolk, and very near that time the County was divided into at least two separate parishes, which will be discussed in detail later in this chapter. In March, 1642/3, the boundary between the parishes was made official, and at the same time the 1639/40 Act was reiterated and the boundary between the Upper and Lower Counties of New Norfolk were defined. The latter fact is of special interest here, as it was stated that their common boundary was "the first creek west of Crayne Point [Craye Island now] in no way trenching upon the Western Branch of Elizabeth River nor the creeks thereof which belong to the County of Lower Norfolk."⁵ A glance at a modern map will show this same creek (now called Hoffler's) from which the county line goes very carefully over dry land between the creeks of the Western Branch and Nansemond River, and avoids "trenching" upon either.

Outside of the land office records (patent books), and in the absence of early parish records, practically the only source of information of the early days lies in the county record books. These consist solely of court records: its orders and minutes of proceedings, deeds for land which it permitted to be recorded, wills which it admitted to probate, estate inventories and audits which it ordered. In this way we learn of an individual's behavior, his purchases of land and possibly where he lived and when he died, how much real and personal property he left and who were his widow and other heirs. Lower Norfolk County is especially blessed in its surviving records. It was pointed out in an earlier chapter that of all the inferior courts established before the counties, only that at Accawmack (Northampton) has records dating back to 1632; let it be added here that, of the first eight counties established in 1634, only

Accawmack (Northampton)—continuing the court records above—and York, have their records intact; and of the two counties established in 1637—the first subdivision of the original eight—only Lower Norfolk has its records practically intact. There are a few gaps in them here and there: a couple of years between 1643 and 1645 being the only seventeenth century fault, and a few more scattered blanks between 1700 and the Revolution. Thus, the Lower Norfolk County records are the only ones in our area of interest—among the first ten counties in existence in 1637—which have their beginning back to that time.⁶

Since we are so dependent upon the records of the Court for a picture of the early life of the county, we should say something about its functions, its members and where it met. It has been pointed out elsewhere that the County Courts exercised both administrative and judicial functions, and were for many years the only units of local government. They were composed of a variable number of Justices (called Commissioners, since their appointment was in the form of a commission from the Governor), one of whom was designated as "presiding justice" and was usually Commander of the County. The arrangement of the names in the minutes of the various Courts usually is a clue to the identity of the Presiding Justice (or his deputy in case of his absence) even if he was not specifically so named. Other officers of the Court were the Sheriff and one or more Constables who were charged with enforcing the laws and court orders, the Clerk of the Court who had charge of its very important records, and the County Lieutenant (counterpart of the Lord Lieutenant of Shire in England) usually with the rank of Colonel, commander of the County Militia, whose chief function in the Colony was waging intermittent warfare against the Indians.⁷ A writer of 1697 stated that the County Courts were composed of eight or ten country gentlemen with little or no education in the law. He reflected regretfully on what had been the state of affairs

... in former times while the first Stock of Virginia Gentlemen lasted, who having had their Education in England, were a great deal better accomplish'd in the Law, and Knowledge of the World, than their Children and Grand-children, who have been born in Virginia, and have had generally no opportunity of Improvement by good Education further than that they learned to read, write, and cast Accompts [*sic*], and that but very indifferently.⁸

While the name "Norfolk" occurred in land grants first in April, 1637—giving a clue to the actual time of the county's establishment—the first positive knowledge which we have that Lower Norfolk County was operating independently, is contained in Book A of its priceless records,⁹ the first entry of which reads as follows:

At a Court houlden in the Lower County of New Norfolke the 15th May
1637

[Present:] Capt. Adam Thorowgood Esq.^r

Capt. John Sibsey Mr. Francis Mason

Mr. Edward Windham Mr. Robert Camm*

Mr. William Julian

The above arrangement of names indicates that Captain Thorowgood was Commander and Presiding Justice. It is also clear that, even though the division of the County into two Parishes was not made official until several years later, from the very beginning there was recognition of the fact that there were two natural divisions and each was represented. Thus it is known from other data that Thorowgood, Windham and Camm lived in the east section of the County near Lynnhaven, while Sibsey, Julian and Mason lived in the western section near Seawell's Point and Elizabeth River. It might be mentioned in passing that, in addition to the name used at the first court, the county was known variously as "Lower New Norfolk County," the "County of Lower Norfolk," and was finally almost universally called "Lower Norfolk County."

It is not possible in this limited space to list all the prominent citizens who served as members of the Court of Lower Norfolk during the half-century of its existence. We shall, however, name a few in order to give a cross-section of its personnel. On 6 February 1638/9, Thorowgood was absent, but Sibsey (apparently acting president), Windham, Julian and Mason were on hand, and Henry Seawell replaced Camm. A month later Thorowgood was back (he was a member of the Council of State at this time), and with him were Sibsey, Julian, Mason and Seawell. On 6 July 1640, Captain Thomas Willoughby Esq.^r. was Presiding Justice and Commander, and the other Justices were Sibsey, Seawell, Mason, Windham and Julian. Captain Adam Thorowgood [I] had died earlier this year.* In 1649 appeared for the first time the soon-to-become-prominent name of William Moseley, who continued as a Justice until his death in 1655. In October, 1662, the Justices were Colonel Lemuel Mason (son of Francis Mason who died in 1648), Captains Adam Thorowgood [II], William Moseley [II] and Thomas Fulcher; the first named was now Presiding Justice, Thomas Willoughby [I] having died in 1658. In April, 1671, the same four were Justices, plus two others, Francis Sayer** and George Fowler, with Mason still presiding. In August, 1683, with the same president appeared an entirely new set of Justices: William Dame, George Newton, Henry Spratt and Thomas Hodges; in October of the same year, the Justices were Captain William Robinson, George Newton, Malachi Thruston

* Camm.

* As noted in another place, Capt. John Gookin was Commander of the Lynnhaven plantation in 1642/3.

** Written variously Sawyer, Sawer, and more modernly, Syer.

and Henry Spratt.¹⁰ This will serve to acquaint the reader with some of the prominent names of the County, until—by its division in April, 1691—it ceased to exist. It must be noted that no attempt has been made to determine the first and last meeting of the Court attended by any one of these individuals; the sessions mentioned were simply chosen at random in order to give a continuous representative cross-section from 1637 to 1691.

As to the other officers of the Court, the first we know of were mentioned on 15 July 1640, when "Mr. Sawer" * was sworn in as Sheriff and Henry Hawkins, as Constable. In March, 1646, Lieutenant Francis Mason qualified as Sheriff, and in August, 1660, Richard Conquest held the office. Colonel Lemuel Mason was Sheriff from 1664 to 1668, and likewise Ensign Thomas Lambert of Lambert's Point at an undetermined time.¹¹ In the earliest records, the name of the Clerk was not always indicated; one of the first names in that office that this writer has seen was on a document of 1 February 1657/8¹² which was signed:

Test: Tho. Bridge
Cl Cur Norfl Infer

This illustrates the customary abbreviations of the legal Latin terms: *teste* [signature] *clericus curiae Norfolk Inferioris*, "witness [signature] clerk of the court of Lower Norfolk." In fact, these early clerks of court were very fond of displaying thus their legal education. An agreement of later date¹³ was headed:

Recordat[um] 15° die Augusti 1665
(recorded on the 15th day of August, 1665)
and ended thus:
Recordat[um] die & A.° suprdcis [supradictis?]
p. me Willm. Jermy Clericus
Cur[iae]
(recorded on the day and in the year above-said
by me William Jermy Clerk of the Court).

The best known of our seventeenth century clerks of the court was William Porten, who first entered upon the duties of the office on 18 February 1668/9¹⁴ and continued to serve until his death nearly twenty-five years later. His handwriting has become so familiar to researchers in the County Clerk's Office (now in Portsmouth) that we give a sample of it here, including his signature:

* Probably Thomas Sawyer (Sayer), who lived at what is now Lovett's Point.

Willm Porten County Clerk
 Lower Norfolk County
 April 1673
 I will be ready to serve on the 1st day of May
 at the County Courthouse
 April 1673
 Willm Porten
 Clerk

LOWER NORFOLK COUNTY
AUTOGRAPH OF WILLIAM PORTEN, COUNTY CLERK (1673)

In speaking of the legal activities of this early period, it is appropriate to mention an Act of Assembly of 1665, which required the several County Courts to provide themselves with the following Law reference books:

The Statutes at Large
Dalton, Justice of the Peace and Office of a Sheriff
Swinburn, Book of Wills and Testaments

There was some delay in Lower Norfolk in meeting this requirement, but on 18 April 1671, there was recorded a letter from the Justices addressed to one of their number on the occasion of his going to England, requesting that he obtain the above three books. This request was at least partially complied with: in the first complete inventory of the Books of Record and other paper in the Clerk's office, taken on 17 March 1692/3 on the occasion of the death of William Porten, the first two volumes mentioned appear, but Swinburn's was not then in the Clerk's Office, it seems.¹⁵

In what has gone before, many individuals have been given military rank or title preceding their names. These titles were not lightly or indiscriminately assumed as such titles are frequently nowadays, but proceeded from appointments and commissions in His Majesty's* Colonial Militia for Virginia. A word should be said about it at this point. It was mentioned previously that the Militia in each county was headed by a County Lieutenant, counterpart of the Lord Lieutenant of Shire in England. It was composed of all able-bodied white, male citizens between the ages of sixteen and sixty, for whom this service was compulsory. The Governor was titular head of the Colonial Militia with the rank of Lieutenant General (in very early seventeenth

* Or Her Majesty's or Their Majesties', as the case may be.

century frequently called Captain General), and he appointed the County Lieutenants (with the rank of Colonel), their deputies (with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel), and, in the case of counties with distant inaccessible areas, sub-deputies (with the rank of Major). In each County there were one or more Companies of Foot, Lighthorse and Dragoons with the usual officers over them (Captains, Lieutenants and Ensigns), commissioned by the Governor on the recommendation of the County Lieutenant. A general muster was held in each County once a year, and in the individual companies and troops, three or four times annually;¹⁶ a Clerk of the Militia was appointed to keep record of the musters, who, in at least one case we know of in Lower Norfolk, happened to be the County Surveyor, John Ferebee (1680).¹⁷ The above rank structure was theoretical only and not always strictly adhered to; for instance, Adam Thorowgood, Presiding Justice and Commander of Lower Norfolk County, qualified as Captain of Militia at its first meeting on 15 May 1637. It is possible he was County Lieutenant too, though this is not certain. On the same date, John Sibsey also qualified as Captain. Some other early militia officers here were Francis Mason, qualifying as Lieutenant on 20 March 1639/40, Thomas Willoughby as Captain on 16 December 1643, and Edward Windham, also as Captain on 16 January 1645/6.¹⁸ It is to be assumed the formality of qualifying consisted of producing the commission and taking the oath of office "in open court." In many instances there is no record preserved of an individual's qualifying, and we know his rank only from its use along with his name: such is the case with the Justices in 1662, Colonel Lemuel Mason, Captain William Moseley [II], Captain Adam Thorowgood [II] and Captain Thomas Fulcher.¹⁹ Colonel Mason apparently was County Lieutenant until Lower Norfolk County was divided (1691), and during at least part of that time his second in command was Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Willoughby [II] who died in 1672. It should be noted here also that Adam Thorowgood [II], who died in 1686, was, likewise known as Colonel: this may mean that there were two commanders of the militia here, one for each of the parishes into which the County was early divided.²⁰ It is interesting to note that a prominent Isle of Wight citizen, Colonel Joseph Bridger, was in 1680 given the rank of Major General and made Commander of Militia for all the southern counties: Isle of Wight, Surry, Lower Norfolk and Nansemond.

Having told something of the County Court and of the Justices which composed it, we shall proceed to tell where its sessions were held. During the first quarter century of its existence, the Lower Norfolk County Court had no permanent seat: there is no hint in the early records of a Court House having been built before 1661. In these early years, the Court sessions—like church services before a church was built, as will later appear—were held in private houses. It is surmised, in the absence of definite knowledge, that

the first court of 15 May 1637 was held at Captain Adam Thorowgood's house on Lynnhaven River, though some say it was held just across the Western Branch on what is now Little Neck Point, then the Glebe Land. Thereafter its meeting place was sometimes specified and sometimes not; in the records it is noted that the Court met successively at William Shipp's Thomas Lambert's or Thomas Mears' (all on Elizabeth River), and at Savill Gaskin's at Lynnhaven, or simply "att Linhaven," which probably meant Thorowgood's or the Glebe Land.²¹ This alternation almost follows a pattern, as if Court were being held in one parish one month and in the other parish the next; but it cannot be said that this rule was strictly followed. As early as 6 July 1640, court was held at William Shipp's and thereafter with increasing frequency his place appears as the seat of the Court. For reasons which will more amply appear later, William Shipp is believed to have lived on Elizabeth River; he was keeper of an "ordinary" or tavern, a convenient place for the accommodation of Justices and others who had business with the Court. In fact in May, 1646, it was ordered by the Justices that sessions be held at Shipp's exclusively;²² this probably was intended so to restrict only the alternate meetings on Elizabeth River, for sessions were still held occasionally at Lynnhaven as well, before the Court House was built.

The Assembly of March, 1654/5,²³ passed a law entitled "An Act for Regulating Trade and Establishing Ports and Places for Markets." This law was the first step toward establishing towns in the Colony, but it is interesting at this point chiefly because of its provisions concerning the County Court. It stipulated that ports and market places should be established *in each parish on a river*, and that within these sites should be located the County Court, the clerk's office, the Sheriff's office and the prison; the Justices were further enjoined to "endeavor to have meeting places or churches and ordinaries for entertainment and lodging within the same." Very soon after the Acts of this Assembly were published, the Lower Norfolk County Court complied with the provisions above-mentioned by a Court Order of 16 July 1655, reading in part as follows:

Upon the land of Mr. William Shipp on Elizabeth River to be the place for both Church and Market for Elizabeth River Parish, two myles in length Northward and Southward and noe further . . . Upon the land or plantation of William Johnson, being Mistress Yardley's land scituate on Linhaven River to be the place for both Church and Market for Linhaven Parish, two myles in length Northward & Southward and no further . . .²⁴

Thus a place was provided for a Court House in each parish, and there is no doubt that they would have been built—together with shelters for the activities subsidiary to the Court—had not this Act for Ports and Markets been

repealed in 1656. The locations of these two proposed sites can be approximately defined: William Shipp's, being "on Elizabeth River" (not on its Eastern, Western or Southern Branch) had to be between its wide mouth—Craney Island to Tanner's Creek or Lambert's Point—and where it divided into its Eastern and Southern Branches; that would probably be on the north side between Lambert's Point and what later became Town Point (the west end of Main Street, Norfolk). Mistress Yeardley was widow of both Adam Thorowgood and John Gookin, and this was probably part of the land of her first husband on the west side of Lynnhaven River, possibly near the first parish church; William Johnson, judging by the wording of the Court Order, may have been her tenant.

It is to be supposed that the Court continued to rotate between Lynnhaven and Elizabeth River for the next few years, and then on 16 January, 1660/1, it was ordered that a Court House—the first in Lower Norfolk County—be erected at Thomas Harding's plantation on Broad Creek. This was the most central location that could have been chosen, exactly on the dividing line between the two parishes. This site, containing two hundred acres, was deeded to the County by Harding on 15 November 1661, but its bounds were so vaguely given that it cannot be located with exactitude. It is not to be doubted that the Court House was built about this time.²⁵

The Court House on Broad Creek was probably not of permanent construction; it may have been a frame structure on cobble or brick foundation like so many buildings, public and private, in the early days of the Colony. There must have been some idea of replacing as early as 1687; the County Levy of 19 November that year has an item of 10,000 pounds of tobacco "for the building a Court house and prison,"²⁶ but nothing more seems to have come of the matter at that time. Then we learn of the real state of affairs when, on 7 September 1689,²⁷ the Court handed down an order containing in substance the following information: that the Court House was "very Ruinous and past Repayres;" that a proposal had been made to erect a new one; and that, in order to expedite legal business in Elizabeth River, and for the convenience of those in Lynnhaven, it was ordered *two* Court Houses be erected, one in the Town of Lower Norfolk County* on Elizabeth River and the other on Edward Cooper's land near the first Eastern Shore Chapel in Lynnhaven. This court order also gave detailed specifications for the two buildings: the one on Elizabeth River was to be 35' x 20' and 10' high at the eaves, with two rooms (the larger 20' x 20'), two chimneys and fireplaces, an upper room under the eaves, and a cellar; there was also to be a separate brick prison 15' square; the one at Lynnhaven was to be of frame construction 25' x 20' but not further described. It is obvious from the above

* Founded in 1680, one of twenty then provided for; this is a separate story, which will be related in detail later.

that the Court House in town was the principal one, while the one at Lynnhaven was secondary or subsidiary to it, a logical development since there was to be only one town in the County. The statement, in this order, that the subsidiary Court House was to be on Edward Cooper's land "nighe the Chapell of Ease in the Eastern Shore of Linhaven" locates it definitely on Wolf Snare, a creek flowing into Lynnhaven River just north of London Bridge. As to the principal Court House which was to be built in town, there is no evidence that it was even begun while Lower Norfolk County was still in existence. The County Levy of 18 November 1690 shows that James Joseling was then paid "for clearing the Court House field,"²⁸ evidently referring to the town lot set aside for this purpose; however, there is no record of a building there until after the County was divided in 1691, and that will be related in a later chapter. Mason states that the other Court House was erected in 1689, as is witnessed by the fact that, three years later, it was taken down and its timbers hauled by boat and cart to be rebuilt on a site adjacent to the second Lynnhaven Parish Church on the Western Branch of the River. We can only surmise that the Court House at Harding's on Broad Creek, dilapidated as it was, continued to serve as principal Court House for the County until its division.

The established Church in Lower Norfolk County followed the same pattern as that noted in the County's predecessor, the Corporation and County of Elizabeth City; a parish was established contemporary and co-terminal with the County and was later subdivided for convenience. Whether or not we accept the theory of the existence of New Norfolk County and Parish—the latter served from 1635 to 1637 by two ministers—there is no room for doubt that a parish was established coterminous with Lower Norfolk County in 1637, which was within two or three years subdivided into two independent parishes.

It will be recalled from the preceding chapter that Reverend William Wilkinson was living at Lynnhaven from 1635 to 1637, and that Reverend George White of Nansemond River was paid for officiating in Elizabeth River in 1637. It is evident that neither of these ministers carried over into the beginnings of Lower Norfolk, for in its very first court minutes of 15 May 1637, we learn that Reverend John Wilson* of Elizabeth River was minister, possibly for the whole county. Thus it is seen that a minister had been provided for Lower Norfolk by the Governor early in 1637 before its Court first met, and there is evidence, also, the Council of State had ordered a church to be built there "in the upper p[recin]ct** of this County" at the same time. Before the church was built, services were held at Thorowgood's house on Lynnhaven River and at Sibsey's on Seawell's Point, and in May,

* Probably an Oxonian; Goodwin says there were several by this name.

** The one farthest from the coast.

1638, there is mention of the "Parish Church of the Lower Norfolk [Parish?]," which, by November of that year, was still unfinished. John Sibsey and Henry Seawell were appointed to see to its completion, a clear indication of its location. About a year later, on 18 October 1639, the records mention "the Parish Church at Linnhaven;" this, we believe, marks the approximate time of the division of the parish, otherwise this would not have been called a parish church but a "chapel of ease," a term which will be explained below.²⁹ Be that as it may, by late 1640 the appointment of governing bodies was recorded, from which it is clearly indicated that the original Lower Norfolk Parish had been divided, and its lower precinct named Lynnhaven Parish, its upper one Elizabeth River Parish. From this point on their stories will be told separately.

The Reverend Mr. Wilson evidently did not long survive (if at all) the separate establishment of Elizabeth River Parish. A court order of 25 May 1640³⁰ records the appointment of the Reverend Thomas Harrison, and the arrangements for his annual stipend of £100 give some fairly accurate details as to sites of individual land holdings at that time. Here is how the salary was to be paid:

<i>Amount:</i>	<i>For the Inhabitants:</i>	<i>To be paid by:</i>
£32-10-0	From Capt. Willoughby's plantation to Daniel Tanner's Creek [Lafayette River]	Capt. John Sibsey Lieut. Francis Mason Mr. Henry Seawell
£33-0-0	Of the Western Branch and Craney Point	Mr. Cornelius Lloyd Mr. Henry Gatlin Mr. John Hill
£36-0-0	Of the Eastern and Southern Branches	Mr. William Julian Mr. John Gotear Ens. Thomas Lambert Mr. Thomas Sawyer Mr. Thomas Meare Mr. John Watkins
£101-10-0		

Many names which are well known today can be recognized in this list: Willoughby Spit, Mason's Creek, Tanner's Creek, Seawell's Point, Lambert's Point, Craney Island. Others are not quite so obvious: Julian's Creek, flowing into the Southern Branch from the west, is now corrupted to St. Julien's Creek; Sawyer's Point is now better known as Lovett's Point, on the west side of the mouth of the Western Branch; "Watkins' Land" was, in 1644, the name of the tract, part of which became the site of Norfolk Town in 1680. It is amusing that the county fathers had difficulty in dividing £100 accurately into three parts!

In this same court order of 25 May 1640, there is another circumstance

of great historical importance. Now, for the first time there is a direct reference to the location of the parish church "at Mr. Seawell's Pointe," thus confirming its clearly implied location in the records of May, 1638. It was further noted that there was a disagreement among the inhabitants of the Parish, in that those living from Tanner's Creek up the three branches of Elizabeth River, did not think it right that they should pay two-thirds of the minister's salary, unless he should teach and instruct them as often as he preached at the Parish Church at Seawell's Point, which was not of easy access to them. The difficulty was solved by an agreement among the parishioners:

That the sd minister shall teach evie [sic] other Sunday amongst the inhabitants of Elizabeth River at the house of Robert Glascocke until a convenient church be built and erected there . . . at the charge of the inhabitants of Elizabeth River before the first of May ensuing.³¹

Just where this secondary church was will be discussed below.

Meanwhile, little progress was being made toward completing the Seawell's Point church, and various arguments and recriminations concerning it found their way into the court proceedings in the form of witnesses' depositions. On 6 July 1640,³² Thomas Bullock, the master builder, said that Edward Lillie had been at his house talking about Edward Hayes concerning the church. Lillie said Hayes had berated Bullock and Mr. Burroughs and William Davis, all of whom were builders (including Lillie), except Hayes, who—it seems—contracted to furnish the building materials. Hayes said they were all "a company of Jackanapesses & had nothing but a littell Chimnie Corner Law amongst them," and Hayes persuaded them to loaf on the job. On the same date, Jacob Bradshaw (probably another laborer) said that, in a conversation at Hayes's house, the latter asked Lillie why he did not get on with the church building, and Lillie blamed the delay on the lack of nails and other ironwork. Hayes supplied the nails and told him to hire "Christopher* the Joyner" for a month and offered to help himself.

On 15 July 1640,³³ Francis Mason and Thomas Meare were appointed the first churchwardens of Elizabeth River Parish, but there is no indication that there were any additional appointees to form a vestry, as was the case in Lynnhaven. On 15 March 1640/1,³⁴ a court order furnishes the information that the church building had been completed. It was probably of brick construction, judging by the slowness of its completion and from the fact that the bricks had to be transported by boat from Kecoughton. Edward Hayes, the supplier, had been unable to obtain "a thousand of brick" because of the death of the brickmaker, Nicholas Wright. On account of the construction

* This name in the record was written "X pofer," which has been frequently misread; the first two letters are *chi* and *rho*, Greek letters used to abbreviate the first syllable "Christ—."

activities of the United States Navy and the Virginian Railway in the Seawell's Point area, it is impossible to determine exactly where this first parish church was. It will be recalled that Captain William Tucker's tract of six hundred and fifty acres, patented in 1620 on Seawell's Point, passed to John Sibsey before 1633, the latter having patented another tract of two hundred and fifty acres adjoining to the south. Likewise a part (150 acres) of the Tucker tract on the Point itself was sold by Sibsey to Henry Seawell at an undetermined time, probably before 1637. The fact that Sibsey and Seawell were to oversee the building of the church in 1638, and that the building was specifically stated to be "at Mr. Seawell's Pointe" in 1640, make it clear that it was precisely on the point, somewhere inside the present United States Naval Base, not far from its main gate (Gate 2).

The secondary church on Elizabeth River was evidently completed in accordance with instructions by 1 May 1641; on 2 May, it was referred to as being in existence and was then called a "chapel of ease."³⁵ At that time it was ordered by the Court that a vestry should be held only for the church at Seawell's Point and not for the chapel "which was a chapel of ease and no parish church." The function of the "chapel of ease" is best described in the words of Beverley written in 1705:

If a parish be of greater extent than ordinary, it hath generally a chappel of ease; and some of the parishes have two such chappells, besides the Church, for the greater convenience of the parishioners. In these chappells the minister preaches alternately, always leaving a Reader, to read Prayers and a Homily, when he can't attend himself.³⁶

As to the location of the Elizabeth River Chapel, it has not been determined beyond a reasonable doubt. From the wording of the court order of 25 May 1640, it was certainly at or near Robert Glascocke's house; this must have been on a tract of land for which no patent has survived, for the only two patents of Glascocke's on record are his 1635 grant for two hundred acres adjoining Cheesman,* and his 1639 grant for fifty acres on the Western Branch.³⁷ Neither of these could have been described as being on Elizabeth River.

A deposition of 28 December 1654 is here quoted in full as a possible clue to the mystery:

John Marshall aged 42 yeares or thereabouts sworne and examined saith that he this deponent was at the house of William Shipp which was formerly the house of Robert Glascocke at the time when the said Glascocke went out upon a march whoe did not return agayne, and the said Glascocke did at the time bring the said Shipp the pattent of the land where the said Shipp did then

* It will be recalled that Cheesman adjoined Sibsey, who adjoined Tucker at Seawell's Point, so Glascocke here could not have been south of Tanner's Creek.

live and the said Shipp did say that the patten would doe him noe good without an assignment, the said Glascocke did say that if there were any there that could wright [*sic*] he would assign it presently otherwise he would assign it when he came home agayne and further this deponent saithe Glascocke did acknowledge that he had received full satisfaction from the said land and further saith not.³⁸

The events related here must have happened several years earlier, and the sale of the land in question, even earlier still; Shipp was thus attempting to establish a clear title to the land he had previously bought when it was evident that Glascocke had met with some mishap and had disappeared, never to return. The reader is reminded of the Act of March, 1654/5, and the details of its provisions. In July, 1655, as previously noted, the Lower Norfolk County Court, in designating William Shipp's land "on Elizabeth River" as the place for church and market in this parish, was simply choosing a site where there was already a chapel, the former land of Robert Glascocke, which Shipp bought from him at an undetermined time. We have already given our reasons for believing that the Court House site chosen at this time was between Lambert's Point and Town Point: the same is true of the Elizabeth River Chapel which must have been at the same place. There are those who argue that the Chapel was on the site later to become Norfolk Town, on a lot now occupied by St. Paul's P. E. Church. That site never had any remote connection with Glascocke or Shipp; its owners are well-known from 1636 on, as will be given in more detail later.

By Act of Assembly of March, 1642/3,³⁹ the division of Lower Norfolk County into parishes (a fact since 1639 or 1640) was made official and firm. This act ostensibly recited the bounds of Lynnhaven Parish, but is mentioned here, since by the same token it gave the bounds of Elizabeth River Parish. As was usual in that day, the line was not clearly laid down in modern surveying terms, but as best as can be determined from its obscure wording and from our later knowledge, it ran as follows: beginning at the mouth of Little Creek in Chesapeake Bay (the present railway and vehicular ferry terminal for Cape Charles), running up the main branch of Little Creek past the Municipal Airport to Lake Wright (which was then the head of Broad Creek), thence to the head of the Western Branch of Lynnhaven River (the part now called Thalia Creek), thence to the head of the Eastern Branch of Elizabeth River (present Kempsville), thence on both sides of that branch to Broad Creek and Indian Creek (now Indian River). This act of 1642/3 ends with a curious proviso:

Provided it be not prejudicall to the parishes of Elizabeth River and Southern Shoare by takeing away any part of the said parishes . . .

It is here implied that there was a third division of the County, Southern Shore Parish, though there is no mention of it elsewhere. This is partially confirmed by the Court minutes of 6 July 1640: here we learn for the first time that the Reverend John Wilson was dead,* and details are also given of the difficulties he had in his lifetime in collecting the tithes due him, and consequently in satisfying his own creditors.⁴⁰ In order to accomplish the latter, the Court ordered Savell Gaskin to "collect ye said Corne of all such p[er]Sonns as owe any tithes to ye Parrsonne Willson excepting Mr. Mears and Mr. Sawer who have pd there tithes to Mr. Powes, Clark, for the last yeare." Since Mears and Sawyer were among those agreeing to pay Parson Harrison's salary two months earlier for the inhabitants on the Eastern and Southern Branches, it is safe to assume that the Reverend Robert Powis (so known from other records) was minister of Southern Shore Parish, which was (as its name implies) on the south bank of the Eastern Branch of Elizabeth River, and he had evidently been there since mid-1639, another confirmation of the division of the county at that time. We even have evidence of an early church building in the locality: a grant of 1649 to Richard Whitehurst mentions a Church Creek, the first stream flowing into Eastern Branch, east of Indian River.⁴¹ The fact that this site fell into Lynnhaven Parish in 1642/3, explains the early disappearance of Southern Shore Parish and its probable division at Indian River between Elizabeth River and Lynnhaven Parishes.

A court order of 20 February 1644/5 required Matthew Phillips, administrator for Mrs. Seawell, deceased, to pay one thousand pounds of tobacco to the Reverend Thomas Harrison for the burial and preaching the funeral sermon of Mr. and Mrs. Henry Seawell, deceased, and for breaking ground in the Chancel for their graves.⁴² This order not only gives the approximate death date of the Seawells, but also adds an interesting sidelight on the minister's duties in this pioneer community. Only two months later when the Court met in April, 1645, Matthew Phillips, in his official capacity as one of the churchwardens (the other being Thomas Ivey), found it his duty to present [accuse] Mr. Harrison for failure to read the Book of Common Prayer, to administer the Sacrament of Baptism according to the canons, and to catechize on Sunday afternoons "according to the Act of Assembly."⁴³ This, we believe, was the time of Harrison's turning Puritan, not in 1648 as stated by Goodwin. A brief digression on church history might not be out of place here.

At the time of the Virginia settlement (1607), the separation of the Church of England from the Roman Church was less than a century old (1534). In the latter part of the sixteenth century, there had grown up a

* It was implied, of course, two months earlier when the Rev. Mr. Harrison was engaged.

feeling in England—reflected, of course, in the Colony later—that there had not been sufficient divergence from the Roman Church; this Puritan movement (as it was called) ultimately led to the rise of a number of dissenting denominations (Presbyterians, Baptists, and—much later—Methodists). This was part and parcel of the events leading up to the beginning of the Civil War in England (1642), and the eventual Puritan triumph and temporary overthrow of the monarchy (1649). In fact, in the midst of the Roundhead Rebellion, Presbyterianism became the legal form of ecclesiastical government in the Church of England (1646).⁴⁴ This means that the individual church was governed by a *presbyter* (priest or minister), as opposed to the Episcopal form of government, in which a diocese was under jurisdiction of an *episcopus* or bishop. Thus in Virginia at this period, when a minister was disciplined or dismissed for being a Presbyterian or a Puritan, this indicated a reluctance on the part of our forebears to bow to the new order, and their loyalty to the tottering monarchy and the former system of church government.

The Reverend Thomas Harrison was from Yorkshire, matriculated at Cambridge in 1634 at the age of sixteen, and was graduated B.A. in 1637/8; one source says he was also later a Doctor of Divinity, but this has not been confirmed. After his dismissal from Elizabeth River Parish, which apparently took place in 1645, he went to Boston where he was more welcome as a Puritan, and then to England and is said to have died in Dublin in 1682.⁴⁵

It seems Harrison was succeeded in Elizabeth River Parish by Reverend Robert Powis,⁴⁶ previously mentioned, who had been in Lynnhaven since its absorption of Southern Shore Parish after 1642/3, and probably since the death of Parson Wilson in 1640. Powis continued to serve both parishes until 1648, when a separate minister was again assigned to Elizabeth River in the person of the Reverend William Durand. The latter matriculated at Exeter College, Oxford, in 1640, at the age of sixteen; he remained only a short time in Elizabeth River and he also was dismissed as a Puritan.⁴⁷ He was followed by the Reverend Sampson Calvert of St. Edmund's Hall, Oxford, B.A. (1624/25); Mr. Calvert's stay was short also, and he was dismissed for personal misconduct and immorality.⁴⁸ Again Elizabeth River Parish was without a separate parson, and was probably again served with Lynnhaven by Mr. Powis from 1649 until his death in 1651. At this time both parishes fell vacant for a few years.

About this time, the spreading of settlement in Elizabeth River Parish necessitated additional "chapels of ease" for the convenience of those distant from the parish church. The first such chapel is evidenced by a grant of 1653 to Richard Pinner for land on the Western Branch "between the two branches of Church Creek," as we have seen, a favorite name for such a

watercourse. This Western Branch Chapel was on the north side of the Branch near an early ferry, and where the present Atlantic Coast Line Railway bridge crosses it; in fact, the bricks of its foundation are said to have been dug up during the bridge's construction.⁴⁹

The second chapel built at this time was known as Tanner's Creek Chapel. It was erected between 1659 and 1661, at the head of a branch of Mason's Creek, later called Thelaball's Creek, and was at the angle of the Virginian Railway's line to Seawell's Point and its branch line to the present United States Army Sub-Port of Embarkation. Not too long ago (within the last fifty or sixty years), its brick foundation could be seen, but has now completely disappeared.⁵⁰ Since this site was only three miles from the original Parish Church at Seawell's Point, the question arises as to why a chapel of ease was required. The answer lies in the court order of 1655 designating William Shipp's plantation on Elizabeth River as a place for Court, Market and Church for the parish. Even though the law on which this was based was repealed in 1656, it was evidently recognized that the Elizabeth River site was more logical and convenient, and a new parish church was built there between 1655 and 1659. Then when the Tanner's Creek Chapel was completed in 1661, the first parish church, probably in very dilapidated condition, must have been abandoned.

The third Elizabeth River Parish chapel was the Southern Branch Chapel. It is said to have been built in 1662, and was referred to indirectly in a grant of 1664 to William Carver for land said to be on the Southern Branch near another Church Creek.⁵¹ This was on the east side of the Branch and probably between two tidal streams now called Jones Creek and Scuffletown Creek; it is impossible to determine at this distance which one of these—if either—was Church Creek.

We have no certain knowledge of ministers in Elizabeth River Parish at this time, but the Reverend Philip Mallory was serving Lynnhaven Parish in 1657. Mallory was of a distinguished ecclesiastical family, being son of a Dean of Chester Cathedral and grandson (on the distaff side) of a Bishop of Chester. He matriculated at Saint Mary's Hall in 1634 at the age of seventeen, and was graduated B.A. (1637) and M.A. (1639/40) from Corpus Christi College, Oxford. He was chaplain of the House of Burgesses in 1658 and 1659. He returned to England in 1661, in which year he died.⁵² Parson Mallory probably officiated in Elizabeth River also in 1657. The Reverend George Alford may similarly have officiated here in 1658, in which year he also was in Lynnhaven. He was B.A. (1632) of Exeter College, Oxford.⁵³ The Reverend Edward Anthony is said to have been minister in Elizabeth River Parish in 1666, but his name is not listed by Goodwin.⁵⁴

Following a gap of a dozen or so years, we are on more certain ground with the next incumbent. A document headed "[Ju]ne the 30th 1680, A

List of the Parishes in Virginia," the first such record extant, shows that the minister of Elizabeth River Parish, Lower Norfolk County, was Mr. William Kern.⁵⁵ Just how long he was here before, or how long he remained after that date, has not been determined.

The next parish minister in Elizabeth River was the Reverend Josias Mackie,* who has had considerable notice from former writers on the subject, but only as pastor of a dissenting and non-conformist congregation. A careful reading of later records will show beyond all shadow of doubt that Mr. Mackie was the regularly engaged and officially appointed parish minister. We refer to Princess Anne County Court record of 4 October 1699⁵⁶ concerning the registering of non-conformist congregations in the County, in which record the following information is clearly stated: that Mr. Mackie, "a presbyterian minister non conforming *in part* (vizt.) as to Rites and Ceremonies," had been formerly "Entertained [paid or supported] and officiated as minister of the Gospell in Elizabeth River Parish" by permission of the former Governor, Francis Lord Howard of Effingham, until he was discharged by Governor Francis Nicholson prior to August of 1692. Effingham's term as Governor was from 1684 to 1688, and Nicholson's first term was 1690 to 1692; Parson Mackie, a partial non-conformist, was therefore minister of Elizabeth River Parish from as early as 1684 to possibly 1691 or 1692. After the Restoration in 1660, the Act of Uniformity of 1662 required all non-conforming ministers to conform or be ejected, and some two thousand of them were so separated from the church at that time (some sources say they "seceded"). Mr. Mackie's non-conformist views could not have been considered very radical, for him to have been regularly engaged and officially appointed parish minister so long after the Act of Uniformity.

The history of Elizabeth River Parish after April, 1691, is part of the history of the then-established Norfolk County and will be continued in the chapter under that heading. We shall now pass on to the story of the other principal division of Lower Norfolk, Lynnhaven Parish, from 1637 to 1691.

As previously pointed out, there was a minister—Reverend William Wilkinson—at Lynnhaven between 1635 and 1637, and church services were being held at Adam Thorowgood's house as early as May, 1637. However, it does not seem likely that Lower Norfolk Parish (coterminous with Lower Norfolk County) was divided into separate parishes until 1639; in October of that year there was mention of a parish church at Lynnhaven, which, coupled with record of a parish church at Seawell's Point in May, 1638, makes it clear that the division had been accomplished.⁵⁷ For under ecclesiastical law, a parish could not have more than one parish church, any others in existence being called "chapels of ease." It is not clear who the

* Was this pronounced as if spelled "McKee"? Possibly, but not probably. He was from St. Johnston, County Donegal.

first minister of Lynnhaven Parish was, but in the absence of information to the contrary, it may be assumed that Reverend John Wilson of Elizabeth River, only known minister in Lower Norfolk in 1637, may have served both Elizabeth River and Lynnhaven from their separate establishment in 1639 until his death in 1640. The fact that Savill Gaskin of Lynnhaven was concerned in collecting Parson Wilson's tithes lends some weight to this theory. We have seen that Reverend Robert Powis was minister of Southern Shore Parish in 1639, and we believe he became minister also of Lynnhaven when Parson Wilson died in 1640, since his Southern Shore church was in the area absorbed by Lynnhaven after 1642/3. Mr. Powis thus continued to officiate in Lynnhaven, occasionally serving Elizabeth River when that parish was vacant, until his death in December, 1651; his will showed he left a widow, Mary, and a son, Robert.^{57a}

The first governing body for Lynnhaven Parish was appointed nearly three weeks after the churchwardens were named for Elizabeth River. In the court minutes for 3 August 1640⁵⁸ appears the following:

Churchwardens for the p[ar]ishe of Linhaven
 Mr. Thomas Todd
 Mr. John Stratton

The names of the vestry of aforesd p[ar]ishe

Mr. Edward Windham	Mr. Thomas Bullock*
Mr. Henry Woodhouse	Mr. Thomas Causonne
Mr. Bartholomew Hosskine	Ens. Thomas Keeling
Mr. Thomas Todd	Mr. Robert Hayes
Mr. Christopher Burroughs*	Mr. John Lanckfield

The first Lynnhaven Parish Church was built on Adam Thorowgood's land on a point on the west side of Lynnhaven River—ever since known as Church Point—just to the north of the still-standing Thorowgood House; the latter was not, as will later appear, Thorowgood's principal residence. Like Elizabeth River, Lynnhaven Parish was of such extent that several "chapels of ease" were required for the convenience of those living in inaccessible localities. Undoubtedly, the first of these must have been the former Southern Shore Parish Church, which may well have become the first Eastern Branch Chapel of Lynnhaven Parish when it fell within its boundary in 1642/3.⁵⁹ It was probably replaced by a new chapel first mentioned in the records of 15 October 1660⁶⁰ in law suit by Adam Thorowgood [II], probably as churchwarden, against Henry Snail, a builder (and one of Thomas Lambert's sons-in-law), for his delay in completing a frame chapel which he had agreed to erect. It is known from later evidence that

* It will be recalled that Bullock and Burroughs were concerned with the building of Elizabeth River Parish Church.

this was the "chapel for the Eastern Branch precinct" [of Lynnhaven Parish], and its location was due north of the former Eastern Branch Chapel, across the Eastern Branch where the village of New Town was later to be placed. As to the first Eastern Shore Chapel, the reader is referred back to the minutes of 7 September, 1689,⁶¹ in which a secondary court house was ordered to be built "nighe the Chapell of Ease in the Eastern Shore of Linhaven." This was in the Eastern Shore Precinct of Lynnhaven Parish, so called because it was on the east side of the Lynnhaven River and its Eastern Branch. The Eastern Branch Chapel (and its predecessor, the old Southern Shore Church) and the Eastern Shore Chapel were the only two Chapels of ease in Lynnhaven Parish prior to the division of the county in 1691.

There is a curious story about the fate of the first Lynnhaven Parish Church which should be related here for what it is worth. This story has been over the years so thoroughly cloaked in legend, tradition and confusion, that it is difficult for a conscientious historian to decide between truth and fiction.⁶² Shorn of all its fancy, the story is simply this: the Lynnhaven River did not at first flow into the Bay via the present inlet, but followed a long, narrow estuary, parallel to the shore and flowing into the Bay at what was then—and is still now—called Little Creek. The inhabitants on the river, in order to avoid traveling five miles to the Little Creek inlet and five miles back outside to the fishing grounds off their plantations, decided to cut a trench across the half-mile wide sand bar, which separated the river from the Bay. This they did, and the resulting entrance of the water, with the ebbing and flowing of the tide, formed the inlet three-eighths of a mile wide as we know it today, and eventually eroded the point on which the church stood. First the graveyard was engulfed, then the foundation of the church itself was covered by the river. The digging of the trench took place before the well-known Augustine Herman map of 1673 was made, for the latter shows Lynnhaven Inlet about as it is now. The church foundation did not go under for some time after that, for the church remained in use until a new one was completed in 1692. These are the facts accepted by the late George C. Mason,⁶³ and we agree with him here. We discard Bishop Meade's fanciful story of the waters rushing in and engulfing the churchyard and flooding the countryside as far as London Bridge, six miles from the shore. We are skeptical of his account of Commodore Stephen Decatur, who, while bathing in these waters with a friend, is supposed to have deciphered the names on some tombstones with his toes.⁶⁴ Forrest, the Norfolk journalist, even added the deciphered name to this story, giving it as that of the well-known Pallet family of the neighborhood.⁶⁵ We are glad, however, that the old graveyard did not entirely disappear before a thoughtful soul in 1819 copied the following inscription from an armorial tombstone there:

Here lieth ye body of Capt. John Gooking & also ye body of Mrs. Sarah Yardley who was wife to Captain Adam Thorowgood first, Capt. John Gooking & Collonel Francis Yardley, who deceased August 1657.^{65a}

This refers to the much-married Sarah Offley, as will later more fully appear. What a pity that those who saw this stone did not think of having it preserved for later generations in the new Lynnhaven Parish churchyard.

After the death of Parson Powis in 1651, the ministers here were Reverend Philip Mallory in 1657 and Reverend George Alford in 1658, both of whom have been mentioned above. The next known minister was the Reverend James Porter: he was married here in 1678 to Miss Mary Ivey, was on the 1680 list of ministers, and died here in 1683.⁶⁶ From this time until the division of the County, there is no known record of a minister in Lynnhaven. It seems likely the dissenting Parson Mackie officiated here to the same extent he did in Elizabeth River, for after his discharge in 1692, and until his death, he served two non-conformist congregations, one in Elizabeth River, and one at Wolf Snare in Lynnhaven. So, we may assume that Reverend Josias Mackie divided his time between the two parishes from 1684 to 1691.⁶⁷ Based on what has gone before, we offer the following partially complete list of the clergy for the area of Lower Norfolk County:

New Norfolk County and Parish (hypothetical)

Upper Precinct:	1637	George White
Lower Precinct:	1635-7	William Wilkinson, M.A.

Lower Norfolk County

Lower Norfolk Parish:	1637-9	John Wilson
(1639, divided into three separate parishes, as below)		
Elizabeth River Parish:	1639-40	John Wilson
	1640-45	Thomas Harrison, B.A., D.D.
	1645-48	Robert Powis
	1648	William Durand
	1649	Sampson Calvert, B.A.
	1649-51	Robert Powis (?) *
	1657	Philip Mallory, B.A., M.A. (?)
	1658	George Alford, B.A. (?)
	1666	Edward Anthony
	1680	William Kern
	1684-91	Josias Mackie
Lynnhaven Parish:	1639-40	John Wilson
	1640-51	Robert Powis
	1657	Philip Mallory, B.A., M.A.
	1658	George Alford, B.A.

* The query mark (?) after a name means that the individual's presence is uncertain, but since he was in the other parish at the time, he may have served the whole county.

	1666	Edward Anthony (?)
	1678-83	James Porter
	1684-91	Josias Mackie (?)
Southern Shore Parish:	1639-43	Robert Powis
	(c. 1643, absorbed by Lynnhaven)	

Local government in Virginia, as we have seen, developed along entirely different lines from the system which was very early fixed in the colonies to the north, such as Massachusetts Bay and New Amsterdam. There the township system prevailed, in which the inhabitants grouped themselves in compact settlements surrounded by garden plots or larger farming areas, owned and cultivated by the village dwellers; there were practically no large isolated tracts or manors. Here, exactly, the opposite was true: while there were some small yeoman farmers, they were in the minority—at least in the seventeenth century—and the colony was made up of widely separated, almost feudal manors which were practically self-sufficient, each a miniature town in itself. Beginning as plantations, hundreds and corporations, these settlements were, after 1634, grouped into larger administrative units called counties, and this system of local government was to remain predominant throughout our colonial period. However, coming from a land where municipal government had long been firmly established, the first Virginia planters showed a remarkable preoccupation with that system of local administration, even though it did not fit in with their essentially agricultural economy. As a result, we note that they called their first divisions "corporations" or "boroughs," and gave the name of "City" to the first four such units; they called their representatives to the General Assembly "Burgesses" and the lower house was the "House of Burgesses" until the time of the Revolution; and even when the Counties were established in 1634, they clung to the old nomenclature which resulted in such contradictory terms as James City County, Charles City County and Elizabeth City County—even Henrico County was short for Henricopolis or Henry City County. It is not surprising that there soon was started a movement—strongly opposed in some quarters—to establish some kind of municipal (town or borough) government in addition to the county government.

Of course, the first settlement at Jamestown was, as the name indicates, a town. Likewise, when Kecoughtan was taken over by the English in 1610, there must have been some sort of a town lay-out at this trading post: it soon had its fort and church, dwellings and warehouses. Further, there were great plans made when the City of Henricus and the City of New Bermudas were laid out in 1611; there were at these places churches, rows of houses, streets, and fortifications, but they soon reverted to the status of simple plantation or hundred like the other settlements in the colony. In fact, none of the places mentioned—Jamestown included—had any legal status as

a town; there was still only the Colonial Government (with the County Courts later), a fact which was to remain true for some time to come. In what follows, the reader should constantly bear in mind that, when we speak of a legally established municipality, we do not mean a chartered or incorporated town, but simply one set up or provided for by an Act of Assembly. There were *only three chartered** corporations in Virginia before the Revolution: the College of William and Mary (1693), the City of Williamsburgh** (1722) and the Borough of Norfolk (1736); the dates are those of their respective charters, and only the College's was a royal charter, the other two being issued by the Governor in Virginia. It must also be borne in mind that the purpose of establishing towns was not so much the concentration of administrative activities (both church and lay) in one place for each county or parish, as it was the establishment of ports and market areas where trade (both export and import) could be controlled. For example, the large tobacco growers, all influential planters, had their own private wharves and it was next to impossible to enforce customs regulations at these private shipping points; on the other hand, by forcing the planters to carry on their overseas trade through legally establishing ports of entry and exit, the royal revenue would be protected.

We refer again to the Act of March, 1654/5, the "Act for Regulating Trade and Establishing Places for Ports and Markets," and to the Lower Norfolk County Court order designating sites for such ports in each of its parishes. If these provisions had been carried out, at each of these places—at Shipp's on Elizabeth River and Johnson's on Lynnhaven River—there would have been a port of entry and exit, a trading post, a court house, clerk's office, sheriff's office and prison, a church,* and one or more taverns or ordinaries; certainly such a settlement would have soon been a town by any standard. However, the opposition to such a regulatory measure was too great and it was repealed in 1656, with the curious proviso "that if any county or particular person shall settle any such place whither the merchants shall willingly come for sale or bringing of goods, such men shall be looke upon as benefactors to the publique."⁶⁸ There is no indication that such benefactors arose to the occasion, and thus came to nought what "may be considered the first attempt in Virginia to bring about by legislation an institution which was opposed by nature and the habits of many inhabitants."⁶⁹

Another inducement toward the establishment of towns came with the passage of an act in March, 1661/2,⁷⁰ by which each county was limited to two representatives in the House of Burgesses; this privilege was also

* Sym's Free School (1753) and Eaton's Charity School (1759) were both corporations established by Acts of Assembly, but not chartered (see Chapter VI).

** Originally so spelled, and pronounced like Edinburgh.

* There was actually a church in existence at both of these sites.

extended to Jamestown, and to any other place whose owner would lay out a hundred acres "and people it with one hundred tithable persons." This plan was equally fruitless, and the following December, there was passed the "Act for Building a Town at James City . . ."⁷¹ This was an attempt to make more continuous in character the Capital which was intermittently practically deserted when the Assembly was not in session. The plans for building thirty-two brick houses there were only partially carried out, and when Jamestown was destroyed by Bacon in 1676, there were not more than eighteen houses and nearly half of them unfinished and unoccupied.⁷²

About this time the attention of the people of Lower Norfolk County was very forcibly directed to the struggle for colonial supremacy which was going on between England and the Netherlands. The principal scene of these events was farther north, for the English had taken possession of New Amsterdam in 1664 and had renamed it New York; as a matter of fact, it was not until after the Dutch had retaken New York and held it for a few months in 1673, that the English became firmly entrenched and secured their hold on the former Dutch colony. Echoes and repercussions of these events were evinced by hostile acts against the shipping activities in Chesapeake Bay.

For example, a tobacco fleet of twenty vessels, fully loaded and ready to sail, lay at anchor at the mouth of the James River in May, 1667. The only defense of seaborne commerce of Maryland and Virginia was the 46-gun frigate *Elizabeth*, which was leaky and sorely in need of overhaul. On 4 June 1667, five Holland men-of-war came into our capes, disabled the *Elizabeth*, and captured all of twenty ships; after burning five or six, they made off with the others under sail.⁷³ Similarly another convoy was attacked in Lynnhaven Bay, in July, 1673, by nine Dutch warships against only two British frigates; out of an unspecified number of Virginia and Maryland vessels, nine were lost to the Dutch and two ran aground and were burned. The majority, however, escaped by retiring up the Nansemond and James Rivers. In the report on this latter engagement, the Governor and Council pointed out "our particular disadvantage and disabilities to Entertain a Warr at the time of this Invasion . . . for in these times of Warr, the Merchants give our Inhabitants soe very little for their laboure as will not Cloath them and their Famelies, which soe disaffects them as they will rather rejoice at their losse . . ."⁷⁴ It is significant that, after each of these costly disasters, in which hundreds of hogsheads of valuable tobacco were lost, the Virginia Assembly bestirred itself to pass a law providing more physical protection in the form of forts against invasion and depredations of hostile men-of-war. Thus an Act of September, 1667,⁷⁵ authorized construction of five forts, one on each of the "main rivers": James, Nansemond,

York, Rappahannock and Potomac. Likewise, the account of the July, 1673, invasion carried this remark: ". . . the time of Loading being five or six monthes in every River, wee thought it best to build Forts in the Most Convenient places for their defence;" so another act was passed in October, 1673,⁷⁶ authorizing two more forts, one in Isle of Wight County, and one in Lower Norfolk County. The latter was ordered placed on Elizabeth River, and its site (as will more fully appear in a later chapter) was precisely at the confluence of the Eastern and Southern Branches of that river on a point then called Four Farthing Point, and later Town Point because here Norfolk Town was established just seven years later.

It was the General Assembly convened at Jamestown in June, 1680, which passed "An Act for Co-habitation and the Encouragement of Trade and Manufacture."⁷⁷ Under this law—the first which provided for the general establishment of towns throughout the Colony—a town was to be established in each of the twenty then-existing counties. This was to be effected in the following manner: the several County Courts would appoint two feoffees in trust* for their respective counties, who would purchase fifty acres of land to be surveyed and laid out as a town. These feoffees were empowered to dispose of the town lands in lots of one-half acre each to individuals who would obligate themselves to build a dwelling house and a warehouse and settle on each lot so granted within three months. The grantees had to pay a hundred pounds of tobacco for a lot, and the land would be considered forfeited if the building and seating requirements were not complied with. Settlement was encouraged by exempting mechanics (carpenters, sawyers, brickmakers, bricklayers), tradesmen and laborers from arrest and seizure for a period of five years. To protect the customs revenue, it was required that tobacco and other exports be warehoused and shipped only from the towns after 1 January 1680/1, and that imported products be landed and sold only in the towns after 29 September 1681; in order to enhance the price of tobacco, no shipments of "the weed" were to be made until 20 March 1681/2.

The towns to be established under this law were not given proper names, but were simply called after their counties (there being only one to each county): the town of Lower Norfolk County, the town of Elizabeth City County, the town of Nansemond County, etc. The act carried a definite statement as to the site and location of each town, and since we are here concerned with only the town of Lower Norfolk County, we shall quote the clause referring to it:

. . . in Lower Norfolk County on Nicholas Wise his land on the Eastern Branch of the Elizabeth River at the entrance of the Branch . . .

* A feoffee in trust is defined in English common law as a trustee holding land for public use. (Webster.)

This was a narrow strip of land in the present City of Norfolk extending the length of the present Main Street and on both sides of it. It was chosen as being a well protected site, having at its westernmost extremity a fort as provided by the Act of 1673 and certainly built shortly thereafter. The town site was surveyed by the County Surveyor, John Ferebee, in 1680 and 1681,⁷⁸ and possibly even that early settlement in it began, but with complete certainty before the end of 1683. The remarkable state of preservation of the Lower Norfolk County records makes it possible for us to cite details concerning this town which we do not know about the others in our area, and its story will be told in detail in a later chapter.

The occurrences of 1676 and 1677, which are known as Bacon's Rebellion, did not directly touch the people of Lower Norfolk as much as they did other parts of the Colony. Most of the hostilities took place on the James and York Rivers, and Governor Berkeley and his followers took refuge in Northampton on the east side of Chesapeake Bay when they were forced to evacuate Jamestown. However, the events leading up to the Rebellion—the series of disasters to which Dr. Wertenbaker⁷⁹ ascribes most of the unrest which resulted in the revolt—very definitely affected the economic life of this area. We have already told of the large losses sustained in 1667 and 1673 as a result of acts of war committed in these waters by Dutch naval forces. Much more serious were the effects of a series of upheavals of Nature (which modern underwriters prefer to blame on the Deity). It began with a typical spring hailstorm—the like of which are still experienced in these parts—in April, 1667. "Typical" is not a good word: "prodigious" (according to Wertenbaker) would better describe the hailstones big as turkey eggs, which wrought havoc among both vegetable and animal life, destroying the newly planted crops and killing livestock in large numbers. Hardly had the people recovered from this, when the second blow struck. In June of the same year, it began to rain and continued for forty days, and grain planted after the big hailstorm rotted in the ground. Two months went by and the third disaster struck. On 27 August 1667, the elements burst upon this coast and bay with winds of gale force accompanied by a torrential rain which lasted for twenty-four hours. From the time of year and from its duration and intensity, we have no difficulty in recognizing a Caribbean hurricane—the earliest one this writer has seen recorded—similar to those which still scourge the Atlantic seaboard every August and September. On 28 August a scene of utter desolation met the eye on all sides: houses and barns were ruined, chimneys wrecked, fences flattened, tobacco in the fields cut to pieces. By the action of the gale and resulting high tide, the waters of Chesapeake Bay were driven into the rivers and creeks, so that rowboats and sailboats were left high and dry, and during the height of the storm, the rising tide overflowed banks and forced people to take refuge on rooftops

"who lived not in sight of the water." We cannot help but wonder, having ourselves experienced several of these hurricanes, whether this may have been the beginning of the erosion of the Lynnhaven River's bank, especially at Church Point. It will be recalled that the artificial opening of Lynnhaven Inlet took place some years before 1673, and it is not impossible that the inrushing water, during the 1667 storm, may have taken a big bite of the churchyard and even flooded the river six miles inland. So, the traditional story, as previously related, may not be so improbable as first appears.

The old saying that "bad luck comes in threes" did not hold good in the present circumstance: soon the fourth catastrophe struck. The winter of 1672-1673 was especially disastrous, and a disease of epidemic proportions struck down thousands of head of livestock here. Not only that, the winter was particularly severe and the cold increased the mortality rate to the point that it is estimated half the cattle in the Colony perished before spring came. And so, with hail, wind, rain, disease and cold to harry the land, as well as foreign invaders, it is small wonder tempers flared up in 1676. Not that Bacon and his followers did not have a certain amount of cause and provocation; but men are always inclined to blame their misfortunes on others or on circumstances.

One of the few direct links between Lower Norfolk County and Bacon's Rebellion, was in the person of Captain William Carver, mariner, shipowner, and member of the House of Burgesses. As early as 1659, Carver became interested in land on the west side of the mouth of Elizabeth River's Southern Branch, and under date of 16 September 1664, a grant of eight hundred and ninety acres for that site was issued to him. He apparently did nothing to develop his grant, and twelve years later became involved in the rebellion. He was hanged because of his efforts in behalf of Bacon's cause, and his land was therefore forfeited and reverted to the Crown. This land is of particular interest to our story, since it became the site of the town of Portsmouth nearly a century later, as will appear in a later chapter.⁸⁰

A word should be said here about means of communication and travel in the early days of Lower Norfolk. There were at that time, of course, only two elements which furnished connecting links between the various sections of the colony, and they were water and land. Water is mentioned first as being the more important, for it was first the means by which they arrived in the New World, and second, the avenue by which they communicated among themselves after their arrival. A glance at a map of the Lower Norfolk area will show that it is literally honeycombed with tidal rivers and their branches, which flow into small bays, and with smaller creeks and "gutts" flowing into the rivers. This system of natural waterways reaches deep into the land, and there were not many places that were not near or of easy access to water. Thus the first land grants were on watercourses and the

people built their homes facing the streams on which they settled. Nearly every settler had his skiff or shallop in which he could row or sail to church, to court, to market, and in going about his other business and social activities. As the population increased, however, and as people began to travel short distances over land that had been freed of the Indian menace, it began to be clear that some way would have to be found to cross those streams which could not be circumvented without too much extended travel. This means was found in the establishment of ferries (bridges did not come until later), and the first ferry in Lower Norfolk was begun as a private enterprise in 1636 by Captain Adam Thoroughgood. Its location was where the Eastern and Southern Branches come together, joining the two points later to be occupied by the towns of Norfolk (1680) and Portsmouth (1752). This first ferry was a simple skiff or rowboat handled by slaves. Within a few months, it was taken over by the County and supported by public levy like other county activities. It is a remarkable circumstance that a ferry continued to be operated by the county on this spot until 1952, when it became unnecessary on account of the opening of the Elizabeth River Bridge-Tunnel system.⁸¹

The next thing we know about ferries, comes with the Court order of 15 September 1642 for two more ferries in Lower Norfolk, one on Daniel Tanner's Creek, and the other, on Lynnhaven River. It is not certain exactly where the former was; however, we can trace through the Lambert's Point and Larchmont sections of Norfolk an old (nineteenth century) road called Bowden's Ferry Road, which must have led to a ferry, judging by its name. It ended on Tanner's Creek (Lafayette River) at the foot of present Wythe Place, and if a ferry was here, it must have crossed over to the point now called Algonquin Park. Of the Lynnhaven River Ferry, however, we can be certain, for the place is still known as Ferry Farm, formerly called the "ferry plantation" or the "Quarter." This was on the Western Branch of Lynnhaven River, the property where the first Princess Anne Court House was later to be, and just adjoining and to the south of the later site of the second Lynnhaven Parish Church.*

The Court order above referred to anticipated by a few months the recognition by the House of Burgesses of the fact that ferries were a public responsibility and should be so supported. In January 1642/3, the Assembly passed a law requiring ferries to be established and supported in exactly the fashion that has been above described. And one month later—on 16 February 1642/3, to be exact—Savill Gaskin (whom we have met before) appeared before three Justices, Captain John Gookin, Commander, Edward Windham, and Henry Woodhouse, and agreed to keep the ferry over Lynnhaven River

* "Old" Donation Church, a name which was applied to it much later, is the third parish church building, second on this same site.

to its Eastern Shore (Robert Camm's Point) and to Trading Point. These localities are not easily identified now. This ferry did not have any regular schedule as we think of such today, but was to run on notice of a "hollow or a ffeir [fire]," that is, on an audible or visual signal from a person wishing to cross.⁸²

These three first ferries—over Elizabeth River, Lynnhaven River and Tanner's Creek—lead to an assumption of some kind of overland links between these points. In this way, there would be lines of communication between the important Lynnhaven area and the Elizabeth River, and the section between its Southern and Western Branches, also between the Elizabeth and the relatively populous territory of Seawell's Point, Mason's Creek and Willoughby's Point. These first roads were nothing more than woodland paths, probably old Indian trails which gradually became widened by passage of carts drawn by oxen or steers, such as we know were widely used by the early planters. It does not appear that they had any official recognition as public "highways" until the Assembly of March 1661/2 passed a law requiring that a road be built and maintained to link Jamestown with every Court House and Parish Church. Shortly thereafter, there appears on record evidence of the maintenance of these public roads by individuals living on them; as, for example, when it recorded on 17 August 1668 that James Wichard [*sic*] was designated as one of those to repair roads in Elizabeth River Parish on the Eastern Branch.⁸³

It is difficult to say which was the oldest public road in Lower Norfolk County, but judging from the location of the two important ferry crossings on Elizabeth River and Lynnhaven River, each near a parish church, it probably connected those two points. Thus it started from the ferry near what was later to be Norfolk Town and eventually followed the course of the present East Princess Anne Road to the head of Broad Creek, where the creek divided into two branches (now dammed to make Lake Wright and Lake Taylor) which the road crossed by two bridges called Moore's Bridges. This was probably where the Cason Moore family, below mentioned, resided; it must also be borne in mind that the County Court House was somewhere on Broad Creek. The main Norfolk City Waterworks plant at that point is still called Moore's Bridges Pumping Station. The road's main course from that point toward the Lynnhaven Ferry and Church has been lost, but it branched south toward Moseley's at Rolleston, Hancock's at New Town, and Kempe's and Walke's, at the head of the Eastern Branch, a route which is easily followed today. Probably the first road branching off this early road to Lynnhaven was the one which departed in a northerly direction at what is now Fox Hall and, carefully avoiding all the branches of Tanner's Creek and Mason's Creek, finally arrived by a circuitous route at Seawell's Point. This is the road still known to us "die-hards" as Seawell's

Point Road, though much of its northern end has disappeared and an important part of its east-west section is now unfortunately disguised under the name of Little Creek Road. It should be remembered that, following the principle of connecting Court Houses and Parish Churches by these early roads, Seawell's Point Road passed not far from the Tanner's Creek Chapel of 1661. An early important branch of the latter road was the one which led to the important manor and plantation of the Willoughby family. This can now be followed in most of its course under its later name of Old Ocean View Road and Maple Avenue, but from First View Street it is lost and probably followed an almost straight line to the dunes north of the Ocean View Elementary School, probable site of the Willoughby Manor.⁸⁴

We should now like to tell something more about the people who settled here in these early years, their families, their land and their homes. Many details on some of the more prominent names have already been given, and here will be added further facts, as well as accounts of some of the not-so-well-known early settlers. Here, as elsewhere in this chapter, we shall confine our remarks in the main to the period prior to April, 1691, when Lower Norfolk County ceased to exist upon its division into two new counties.

One of our most prominent county names in the early years was that of Adam Thorowgood.* His place of origin has previously been told, as well as his early activities, land grants, marriage and membership in the House of Burgesses and Governor's Council. A brief account of the first two generations of his descendants may throw some light on the date of the interesting seventeenth century house which bears his name. He died in the year 1640, at the age of thirty-five, probably in March or April, his will (dated 17 February 1639/40) having been admitted to probate on 27 April 1640. A curious fact about this probate is that it was made in the Quarter Court at James City instead of in the inferior Lower Norfolk County Court as was customary. This raises a question as to whether he may not have died in Jamestown while attending the Council sessions; this being true and in view of his importance as a Council member, probate in the Quarter Court (which was the Council) was perfectly natural. Mistress Sarah Thorowgood was named executrix in her deceased husband's will and inherited (among other things) the "Manor House Plantation" for life. Adam (II) inherited the rest of his father's houses and lands in Virginia; widow, son and three daughters (Sarah, Ann, Elizabeth) shared in the personal estate, and the Manor House Plantation was to go to son Adam on the death of the widow. Captain Thorowgood also bequeathed a thousand pounds of tobacco to the Lynnhaven Parish Church to buy "some necessary and decent ornament," and by his will directed his burial in the churchyard at Church Point beside

* The customary spelling in those days, though modernly it is more usually written "Thoroughgood."

certain unnamed children of his already interred there. The testator designated Captain Thomas Willoughby and Mr. Henry Seawell as "overseers" (supervisors) of the execution of his will in Virginia, and his uncle, Sir John Thorowgood of Kensington and his wife's uncle, Mr. Alexander Harris of Tower Hill (both of London, of course) to look after his affairs in England. It should be borne in mind that the widow had the Manor Plantation "for life" and not "during her widowhood," a more customary provision in such cases, which will be an important consideration in what follows. It is also to be noted all Thorowgood's children were minor at his death, he having been married in 1624.⁸⁵

If Adam (II) was the eldest, he must have reached majority about 1646 or a little later, and was married—probably about that time—to Frances, the daughter of Argoll Yardley* and granddaughter of the former Governor. His mother had already remarried prior to 15 April 1641, when an order of the Quarter Court allowing her certain articles of bedroom furniture from her first husband's estate, referred to her thus: ". . . the said Mrs. Gookin being the widow and relict of Captain Adam Thorowgood deceased." Adam Thorowgood (II) must have lived after his marriage in one of the other houses he inherited, since his mother and her new husband (and probably Adam's three sisters, of whom we hear little more) were living in the Manor House. The widow's new husband will be recognized as John Gookin, son of Daniel Gookin of the plantation at Marie's Mount, above Newport News; this fact, as well as that of his previous residence in Nansemond, have already been noted. Probably as a result of having married the influential widow, Gookin also fell heir to her late husband's position in the community, and soon** became Commander and Presiding Justice of Lower Norfolk County. Gookin died in 1643, and on 22 November of that year, his widow was appointed administratrix of his estate. As Mrs. Kellam says, "the widow was not long inconsolable, if ever;" but this time she *did* wait four years. In 1647 she was married for the third time, to Colonel Francis Yeardley, another son of the former Governor. Colonel Yeardley, like his brother, Argoll, owned broad acres on the Eastern Shore, but—like the late Captain Gookin—came to reside in the Thorowgood Manor House with his new wife. Adam Thorowgood (II) now found himself in the midst of a complicated family relationship; his wife's uncle was married to his mother and was, therefore, his (Adam's) own stepfather (number two!). Colonel Yeardley died in 1655, and two years later (August, 1657) the thrice-widowed Sarah, followed him to the grave.

* As a point of interest regarding this name, it must be remembered that Sir George Yeardley was closely associated with Captain (later Sir) Samuel Argall, both having served as Governor of the Colony for contiguous terms. This is mentioned since the name also found its way into the Thorowgood family, though here spelled "Argoll." Likewise, Yeardley was here spelled "Yardley."

** Certainly by 16 February 1642/3. (See Note 82, above.)

Meantime, Adam Thorowgood (II), who soon came to be known as "Colonel," had raised quite a family of his own, five sons and a daughter: Argoll, John (first of a line of three), Adam (III), Francis, Robert and Rose.* Upon his mother's death in 1657, he finally came into his complete inheritance and no doubt moved his large family into the Manor House which had been his father's principal residence. The other house, in which he had lived since his marriage, may very well have been the Thorowgood House still standing today. When Colonel Thorowgood made his will in 1679, he made provision for his wife (in the manner of his father) by leaving her the Manor House and six hundred acres for life, which on her death were to go to his eldest son, Argoll. The remainder of his land and houses were to be divided into five equal parts, one for each of the sons according to their choice in order of seniority. Thus it is clear that the Manor House (which is no longer standing) descended to the eldest son, Argoll, and by tracing back the title to the still-standing Thorowgood House, it has been determined to have been the residence of John Thorowgood and his descendants. Colonel Adam Thorowgood (II) died in 1685/6, as is indicated by the probate of his will.⁸⁶

The sequence of events, as related above, seems to indicate that the Manor House, built by Adam Thorowgood (I)—therefore by 1639—and inherited by his only son Adam (II) and by the latter's eldest son, Argoll, was not the still-existing Thorowgood House. The latter house was probably built by Adam (II) at the time of his marriage (c.1646) or later, since he was not able to take possession of the manor until 1657. Similarly Argoll Thorowgood did not come into possession until *his* mother died, and then the present house—which must therefore be assumed to be the second in degree of desirability—was chosen by his brother, John.

Just when the existing Thorowgood House was built is difficult to say. Former writers on the subject have assigned the date 1636-40 on the assumption that it was the Manor House, which is clearly not true. The construction of the east or (former) front wall and both gables in English bond,* while the west wall is in Flemish bond,** points to a date possibly around 1660 or earlier, with a remodeling or reconstruction of the west wall at a later date.

* Undoubtedly some of these children were born after 1657.

* Laying bricks in alternate courses of all stretchers (sides exposed) and all headers (ends exposed). Generally supposed to have been popular in Virginia during the first two-thirds of the seventeenth century.

** Laying bricks with alternate stretchers and headers in each course, and vertically with stretcher over header, which—with glazed blue headers—forms a pattern. Generally supposed to have been so-called because used by the numerous Flemish masons who were imported into London to rebuild after the Fire of 1666. It is, of course, ridiculous to suppose that date marks the dividing line between the two styles of bonding, but it is true that construction in English bond is presumptive evidence—all other things being equal—of an earlier date than construction in Flemish bond with glazed blue headers.

A brick in the west wall bears the inscription "Ad.T.," which would indicate remodeling by Adam Thorowgood (II): only thus can we explain the use of the above initials instead of simply "A.T.," in order to distinguish between Adam (II) and Argoll Thorowgood. Very recently the house has been acquired by "The Adam Thoroughgood House Foundation," headed by Mr. Henry Clay Hofheimer II, and has been restored under the direction of



(Courtesy Adam Thoroughgood House Foundation)

LOWER NORFOLK COUNTY—ADAM THOROWGOOD HOUSE, BUILT BEFORE 1660

Mr. Finlay F. Ferguson, Jr., an architect who combines a feeling for colonial architecture with a broad experience in that direction, having been formerly associated with Colonial Williamsburg, Incorporated. One of the most interesting features of the restoration is the medieval type of leaded diamond-paned casement windows, which had been at one time replaced by Georgian frames. Another medieval feature of the house was the lack of a central hall, with entrance directly into the larger of two downstairs rooms; this was later altered by addition of a partition corresponding to the original inner wall, resulting in two downstairs rooms of equal size, with a central hall between.⁸⁷

It is, of course, anachronistic to insert a Revolutionary War map at this point, but we believe the one given in part (p. 274), probably done in early 1781⁸⁸ (less than one hundred years after Adam (II) died), will throw

considerable light on some of the topographical questions we have mentioned. This shows the area between Lynnhaven Inlet and Little Creek and is drawn, according to older usage, with the North direction at the bottom. Of course, the Thorowgood names on this map have no significance in terms of the individuals in our account above, but it is certain that "J.* Torogood" on Lynnhaven River, designates the presently existing house. There is another unnamed house near what appears to be a pond, and as a matter of fact, a pond is mentioned in several descriptions of the Manor House Plantation. We would not hazard a guess about the legend "Maj. Torogood" near the "Pleasure House," but we know this to be exactly at the present Chesapeake Beach; the small lagoon there is still called Pleasure House Lake. Then there is, farther to the west, "Col. J. Thorogood" near a house which seems to have been L-shaped, and may have been intended to indicate a more important house or "manor," but this is pure surmise.

There are many stories told and recorded about the redoubtable Mistress Sarah; however, we must be brief and mention only two. At the Lower Norfolk Court held at William Shipp's on 3 August 1640, it appeared in testimony that a certain lady, wife of a vestryman, made insinuations as to sharp business practices on the part of the late Captain Thorogood, whereupon the widow exclaimed, "Why, Goody* Layton, could you never get yours?" [referring to a cancelled note which had been paid.] The lady addressed flounced around and cried, "Pish!" To which Mistress Sarah replied, "You must not think to put it off with a 'pish!' for if you have wronged him you must answer for it, for though he is dead I am here in his behalf to right him." The "goody" was required by court order to ask Mistress Sarah's forgiveness on her knees, both in Court and the following Sunday in the Parish Church at Lynnhaven. Four years later, two excessively exuberant young men were tried in Quarter Court at James City on 8 October 1644 for making insulting remarks concerning the late Captain's daughter, Sarah. One of them was sentenced to receive fifty lashes on his bare back, and to ask forgiveness of the widow Gookin (as she then was) in the Lynnhaven Parish Church, as well as to pay her court costs.⁸⁹

Of especial interest to the history of both Lower Norfolk and the Province of Carolina is the letter Colonel Yeardley wrote to John Farrar, Esq., of Little Gidding Manor, Huntingdonshire, under the date-line "Virginia, Linnehaven, 8th May 1654." In it he told of a fur-trader who stopped at the Manor House to ask for provisions and a small boat in order to go to Roanoke Island and catch up with a sloop which had left him. Entering

* In a recent newspaper article (see Note 85, below), these J's were misread as F's, but comparison with other names on the map proves their correctness.

* "Goody" = goodwife, a form of address which would be used to a person considered of lower social rank than one addressed as "Mistress." (Webster.)

at "Caratoke"** about thirty miles south of Cape Henry, he met the chief of the Roanoke Indians, who showed him the ruins of "Sir Walter Rawleigh his fort." He persuaded the chief to return with him to Yeardley's home. The chief was much impressed at seeing the children there reading and writing, and asked Colonel Yeardley to take his only son and educate him so that he could "speake out of the Booke, and to make a writing," as well as have religious instruction. These things the Colonel agreed to do, and after some delay it was done: the chief returned with his wife and child, and the latter was baptized by the minister* in the parish church on Tuesday, 3 May 1654, and was left with Yeardley to receive his education. A little before this, as a gesture of good-will, Colonel Yeardley had sent workmen to Roanoke at the chief's request to build for him an English-style house which the Colonel agreed to furnish with English furniture and utensils.⁹⁰

Of no less prominence than Thorowgood in Lynnhaven was Thomas Willoughby in Elizabeth River Parish. It may be a slight exaggeration to say that their lands were separated only by Little Creek, then boundary between the two parishes, but that was *almost* literally true. We have already told of Willoughby's early arrival (1610), of his being Justice, Burgess and important landowner in Elizabeth City; we have also seen how, before 1626, he owned land at what was later to be called Willoughby's Point,** and within the next decade acquired additional acreage at the Point and on Elizabeth River where Norfolk Town was later to be. He added further to his estate by patents of 1643 for fifteen hundred acres and 1654 for fourteen hundred acres, the latter extending from the Willoughby's Point Manor inland to the head of Mason's Creek, which almost reached Old Seawell's Point (now Little Creek) Road at one point, and Old Ocean View Road where Fisherman's Road branched from it, at another. This 1654 patent is interesting also, because of the names of twenty-eight headrights listed in it, some of whom were: Alice, Thomas and Elizabeth Willoughby, James Wichard and Matthew Hancock. Of the three Willoughby's here named, we assume Alice and Elizabeth were respectively wife and daughter of the Captain; Thomas was certainly his son. The death of the first Thomas Willoughby was noted in Lower Norfolk records thus:

At a Court houlden the 16th Day of August 1658, upon petition of Mr. Tho. Willoughby a Commission of Admcon [Administration] is granted him upon his father's estate, Capt. Tho. Willoughby who deceased in England . . .

* Currituck: the inlet is no longer in existence but was on the coast just south of the present Virginia-North Carolina boundary.

** We may well wonder who performed this rite, if Powis died in 1651 and Mallory did not arrive on the scene until 1657. There must have been an intervening incumbent whose name is not preserved.

** The names "Willoughby Spit" and "Willoughby Beach" are still used in this locality, though referring to a newer formation appended by Nature to the former Point.

The son was born in Virginia on Christmas Day, 1632, and was educated at the Merchant Tailors School* in London, where he was recorded as "only son of Thos. Willoughby of Virginia, gentleman." About 1660 he married Sarah, daughter of Richard Thompson of Northumberland County, Virginia, formerly of Maryland. He died in 1672, and though his will has been lost, there is a record of inventory and appraisal of his estate dated 15 May 1672, in which he was called "Lieut. Col. Thomas Willoughby deceased." The widow, Sarah Willoughby died, according to her will probate, in February, 1673/4; her executors were her son and daughter, Thomas and Elizabeth, and two of the four "overseers" for the will were Lemuel Mason and George Newton. The son, Thomas (III), is said to have married Margaret, daughter of the first John Herbert; here we must leave this account of the Willoughby's and continue it, after 1691, in a later chapter.⁹¹

A third prominent early resident of these parts was Francis Mason, some details concerning whom have already been given. According to his own statement in two depositions, he was born in 1595; he arrived in Virginia in 1613 with wife and daughter, Mary and Anne, a son Francis, being born in Virginia. Mary Mason died before 1624, and nothing further is known about her two children. Mason's muster of 1624 shows his second wife's name, Alice Mason; their two children Lemuel and Elizabeth were probably born shortly thereafter. As we have seen, Francis Mason was churchwarden, Justice, Sheriff and Lieutenant of Militia; his home was on the west of the creek, which bears his name, and, though partially filled in, Mason's Creek is still a well-known spot today. He died intestate in 1648 at the age of fifty-three, and Court records of November in that year, show that Alice Mason, his widow, and Lemuel, his son, were appointed administrators of his estate. As previously noted, Colonel Lemuel Mason was successively Justice, Burgess, Sheriff and probably Churchwarden or Vestryman of Elizabeth River Parish. His will belongs chronologically to Norfolk County after 1691 (being dated 17 June 1695 and proved seven years later), but must be quoted here to show some interesting connections: his wife, Anne, was daughter to Henry Seawell of Seawell's Point, he had three sons (Thomas, Lemuel and George), and two of his four daughters had been married—Frances to George Newton and Alice to William Porten, County Clerk—though, as will later appear, both these sons-in-law had died before the will was written;* the will gives a further connection in the mention of Mason's sister and deceased brother-in-law, Elizabeth and James Thelaball.⁹²

* The Guild or Company of Merchant Tailors was one of the subscribers to shares in the Virginia Company.

* Each daughter later got another prominent husband: Frances married Charles Sayer and Alice married Samuel Boush (see Chapter XII).

James Thelaball** was a Huguenot refugee from France, having arrived in Lower Norfolk in 1648; he was naturalized in 1683. The south branch of Mason's Creek, at the head of which was Tanner's Creek Chapel as previously noted, was still traditionally called Thelaball's Creek and so shown on maps of a generation or so ago; it has now disappeared as a result of filling in for the principal landing field in the United States Naval Air Station. Somewhere on that creek, we feel sure, was the land and residence of James Thelaball; there he lived with his family and died in 1693, two years after the division of the County. His family consisted of three sons, two of whom (Francis and James) lived to raise sizeable families, and three daughters: Mary, who married William Chichester, and Margaret and Elizabeth, who married the brothers Langley as will appear below.⁹³

William Langley, the elder, progenitor of a numerous clan living in both parishes, was in Elizabeth River Parish with his wife, Joyce, as early as 1656. The exact site of his residence is not known, but several later generations of his descendants lived on Mason's Creek at the north end of what is now Forest Lawn Cemetery; there is still to be seen in that locality a family burial ground containing some late eighteenth and early nineteenth century gravestones. It seems likely that the family was seated there much earlier. Two sons of William and Joyce Langley became quite prominent in the life of the county: they were William [II] and Thomas, who respectively married Margaret and Elizabeth, daughters of their near neighbor, James Thelaball. Both had large families and their descendants were legion; in fact, in the next three or four generations, we can count no less than sixty-six descendants of the name of Langley alone, not to mention those of other names. Elizabeth, only daughter of William and Joyce Langley, was married to James Wishard about 1661, as will appear below. William Langley, the elder, died in Lower Norfolk County in 1676.⁹⁴

James Wishard, above referred to, was unquestionably identical with James Wichard* listed in Willoughby's patent of 1654. Nothing certain is known of his origin, but he was undoubtedly of the family of Wischard (Wishart) of Pittarrow, Kincardineshire (Scotland), which was a branch of the ancient family of Wychard of Osbaston, Leicestershire (England). It seems likely that he became an indentured servant, binding himself so to serve Captain Thomas Willoughby, his sponsor, in return for his passage to the Colony. After the 1654 patent, his name did not appear again until 1662, first as witness to a deed, then taking his turn keeping up the roads in the Eastern Branch precinct of Elizabeth River Parish (1668). It seems

** Also written Thelabell, Thenabell, and with many other variants; possibly a corruption of the French "Thébault."

* Twice written "Wichard" (including the 1654 patent), it soon came to be spelled "Wishard"; later members gave preference to "Wishart," but one branch reverted to "Wichard" and eventually "Whichard."

probable he married Elizabeth Langley after 1661, and they probably first lived at Seawell's Point; Wishard's first purchase of land was on 25 August 1665, a tract of one hundred and fifty acres at Seawell's Point, sold to him by Henry Seawell, the younger. He was named an appraiser of the estate of Thomas Willoughby (d. 1672), and between 1672 and 1678 acquired by purchase and patent, a total of six hundred acres in the Little Creek vicinity. This is where he lived until his death in February, 1679/80, as is shown by his will proved on 1 March of that year. Besides the widow, his heirs were then listed as four sons and two daughters: James, Joyce, John, William, Thomas and Frances. James Wishard, Jr., married Mary, daughter to Jacob Johnson, and had two sons; John Wishard had an only son; but only Thomas Wishard (married to Mary, daughter to James Kempe) left descendants beyond the generation of his own children.⁹⁵ A word should be said about the inheritance of son William. One of the holdings of James Wishard, the elder, on Little Creek, was a two hundred-acre tract purchased in 1673 from William Richerson, shipwright, of London. William Wishard, a bachelor, inherited this land as his share of the estate, and it then had a house on it which is still standing. It is difficult to say when the house was built, but we are inclined toward the decade 1660-70, though an architectural authority recently conjectured 1680 as more nearly correct.⁹⁶ This house, though considerably altered, still shows its age in its English bond construction throughout, its two double set-off chimneys (both outside, as compared with Thorowgood's, of which one is inside), and its medieval great-hall-and-parlor arrangement with entrance into the great hall. As can be seen from the accompanying photograph, the roof was originally sharp-angled, and an older picture showed three dormer windows piercing it across the front. On the 1781 map mentioned earlier,⁹⁷ this house is probably the one labeled "Roush's," a mistake for "Boush's," since members of that family are known to have owned it later. It is easily identifiable on the map by its proximity to the Parish Church (now called Old Donation). Wishard's principal residence at Little Creek is identified by the legend "Col. Wishart," the name of his great grandson, who was County Lieutenant; this was where U.S. Route 60 crosses U.S. Navy property just east of the viaduct over the tracks of the Pennsylvania Railroad ferry terminal.

James Wishard (II) married the daughter of Jacob Johnson (probably originally Jansen), a Hollander, who settled here first in 1673 and was naturalized in 1679. His wife was Mary, daughter to George Ashall (d. 1673).⁹⁸ Thomas Wishard, youngest son of the elder James, was married to Mary, daughter to James Kempe and granddaughter to George Kempe; the latter was early in the County, died before 1677, but it is impossible to say just what was his connection with Richard Kempe of Jamestown, Secretary of State in 1639, or with William Kempe, Justice and Burgess for

Elizabeth City in 1629 and 1630. James Kempe, above-mentioned, married the widow of Lancaster Lovett, churchwarden in Lynnhaven in 1650 and first of four generations bearing the same name; Lovett died in 1673. The Kempes were seated at the head of the Eastern Branch of Elizabeth River, a place which soon came to be called Kempe's Landing, and is now the quaint and interesting village of Kempsville.⁹⁹ We give herewith another



(Rogers Dey Whichard)

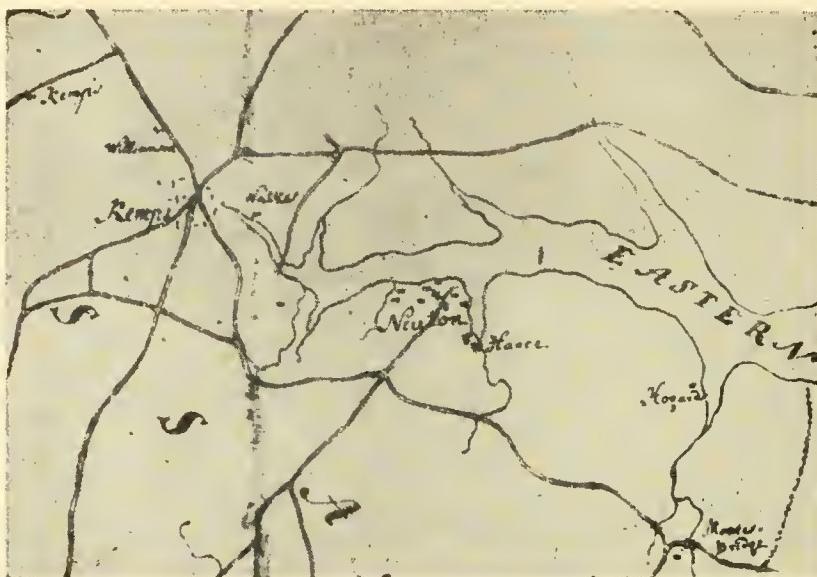
LOWER NORFOLK COUNTY—WISHARD HOUSE, c. 1660
NOW PROPERTY OF W. W. OLIVER

section of the 1781 map, sufficient to show "Kemps" at the head of the Eastern Branch (north at bottom of map). Here, also, will be seen "Neuton" for New Town, and "Moores Bridge," more properly Moore's Bridges. The house marked "Hogards" is Poplar Hall, long the seat of the Hoggard family.

Very little more can be told of the Seawells than has already been mentioned. Mr. and Mrs. Seawell were both dead by 1645. Their daughter, Anne, married Colonel Lemuel Mason, and their son, Henry Seawell (II) still owned land at Seawell's Point in 1665, which he sold to James Wishard, as above noted.¹⁰⁰ Henry Seawell the younger had gone to school in England at Yarmouth, county Norfolk.

The story of Samuel Boush, son of Maximilian, of George Newton, Justice in 1683, and of William Porten, County Clerk from 1669, belongs more to the history of Norfolk Town, and will be told in that chapter.¹⁰¹

A name which has left its mark, even to the present day, is that of Daniel Tanner. Early grants to him have not been preserved; a grant of 21 November 1637 to William Croutch was described thus: "In the great creek on the lefthand going into the mouth of Elizabeth River about two miles on the north side from Daniel Tanner . . ." Another grant of 1639 also mentions land adjoining Daniel Tanner, and this "great creek" very



(Courtesy William L. Clements Library)

PART OF PRINCESS ANNE COUNTY—KEMPSVILLE TO MOORE'S BRIDGES
FROM CLINTON MS. 267 (c. 1781)

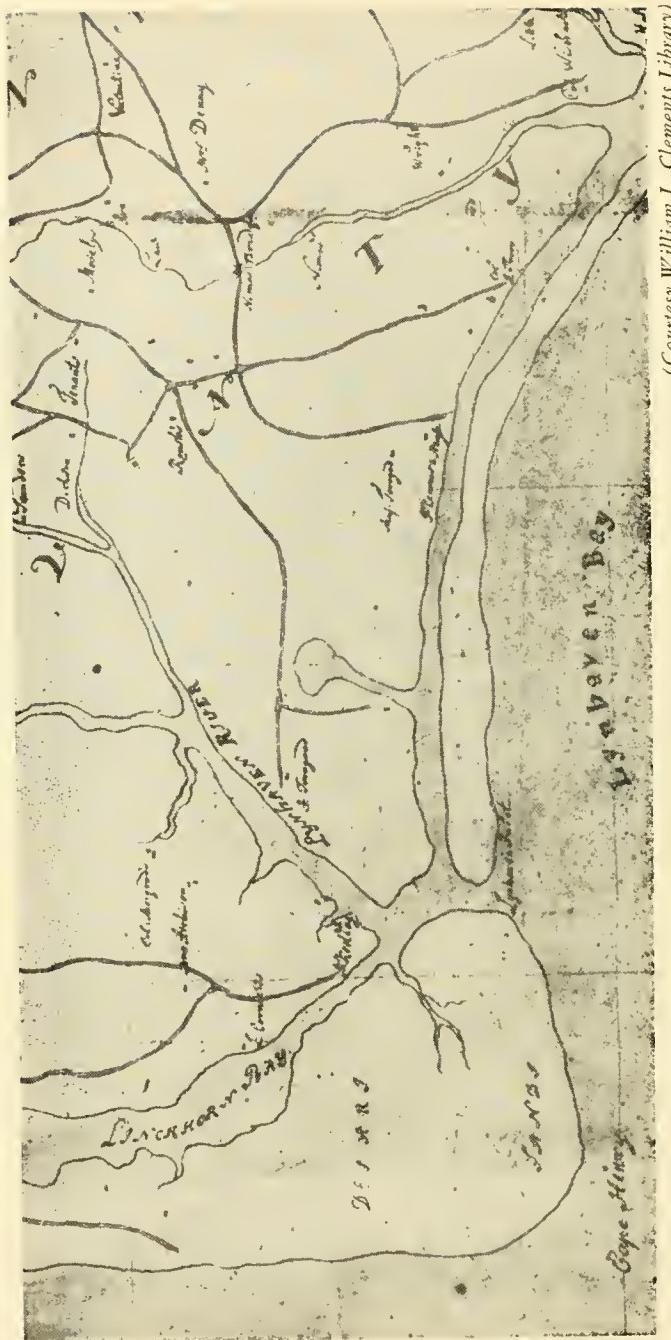
early came to be called Tanner's Creek. Its official name was changed, unfortunately, in the nineteenth century to "Lafayette River," but it will always be Tanner's Creek to those who hate to see old names perish. There is on record an interesting document dated at Canterbury 10 August 1654, and admitted to record in Lower Norfolk 1 January 1654/5, in which William Stanley, Mayor of the City of Canterbury, certified that the parish register there showed the marriage of Charity and Daniel Tanner on 26 November 1614, and the birth of their son, John Tanner, on 14 October, 1627. Daniel Tanner died in December, 1653, and the absence in his will of any heirs of his name probably indicates they died before he did.¹⁰²

About five miles up the Southern Branch of Elizabeth River, on the west, there is a stream once called Julian's Creek, a name now corrupted to St. Julian's or St. Julien's; it was named for William Julian, yeoman and ancient planter, landowner in this vicinity, as previously noted. Here was the residence of Thomas Nash, first

of another numerous clan, long seated and widely spread over this area. It appears from an agreement dated 4 November 1664 that Thomas Nash and Richard Taylor owned five hundred acres in partnership, and a patent was issued to them just one year later (6 Nov. 1665) for four hundred and forty-six acres "neere the head of Julian's Creek in the southward branch of Elizabeth River beginning at a poynt on the south side of the creek . . ." It is not clear whether these records refer to the same tract of land. Nash came traditionally from the vicinity of Tenby (Pembrokeshire), Wales, of an ancient family of English origin. His death was noted in two documents recorded in Lower Norfolk in February 1672/3, both of which give the name of his widow, Elinor Nash: the first of these was a deed of apprenticeship for his son dated 10 February, 1672/3, the second was the inventory of his estate dated 17 February 1672/3. The deed above-mentioned apprenticed Thomas Nash (II) to one John Nichols to learn "the art of a shoemaker or cordwinder," but the most interesting thing about it was that it stated young Thomas was going to be six years old the following 18th of March; thus, his exact birth date is known—18 March 1666/7—a most unusual circumstance. Since the apprenticeship was to last until Thomas became twenty-one, he probably did not marry until 1688 or later; his wife, Ann, was daughter to William Etheridge, and they had three sons and four daughters: Thomas (III), William, Solomon, Elizabeth, Elinor, Dorcas and Mary. The story of this family belongs to the following chapter on Norfolk County. The Etheridge family was also living on the Southern Branch. Its founder was Thomas Etheridge (d. December, 1671), whose wife was Christian (d. November, 1671), and their children were: William (above), Edward, Marmaduke, Ann and Susannah. William had a son Thomas [II] whose daughter, Dinah, married Thomas Nash [III], her first cousin.¹⁰³

During the time of the Puritan rebellion in England, many Loyalists—"Cavaliers" as they were called—took refuge in Holland, just as some years previous the unwelcome Puritans had done before coming to Massachusetts Bay. Quite a few of these Loyalists came eventually to Virginia, the "Old Dominion" being more sympathetic toward them than some of the other American colonies. One of the most prominent of these was William Moseley who, with his wife, Susannah, and sons William and Arthur, was in Lower Norfolk probably as early as 1649. In 1650, he received a certificate for five hundred and fifty acres due for transportation of eleven persons to Virginia, and in 1652 a patent was granted him for this land in Lynnhaven Parish. A court record of the latter year noted that he was "late of Rotterdam in Holland . . . a merchant and now resident in the Eastern Branch of Elizabeth River . . ." This was his Manor of Rolleston* on the west side of

* Said to be named for a family manor in Staffordshire, but there is also a Rolleston Hall in Leicestershire, which, strangely enough, had a later Moseley connection. (See Firth, p. 233.)



(Courtesy William L. Clements Library)

PART OF PRINCESS ANNE COUNTY—CAPE HENRY TO LITTLE CREEK
FROM CLINTON MS. 267 (c. 1781)

the first creek, east of Broad Creek, and on the north side of Eastern Branch. To the east of this creek was Greenwich, also a Moseley plantation of later date, and both the Rolleston and Greenwich names are preserved in modern developments at these sites. It has been suggested that William Moseley's manor house at Rolleston was built in the Dutch style (he having just come from the Netherlands), and may have influenced later builders of the so-called gambrel-roofed houses, many of which still survive from two centuries ago in this vicinity. Moseley at once assumed a place of prominence in the County and was Justice of its Court for the short time he was here; he died in 1655 (his will was proved in August). A deed he made to Colonel Francis Yeardley in 1652, together with an earlier (1650) letter of his wife's addressed to the Colonel, both recorded in November, 1652, tell of the circumstances of the Moseleys upon their arrival, that their lack of ready cash made it necessary literally for them to barter the family jewels for livestock. By this deed there were given to Colonel Yeardley, for his wife, one hat band of gold (probably embroidered or hinged), one gold and enamel buckle set with diamonds, one enameled "jewel" (brooch or pin?) set with diamonds, and one enameled gold ring set with one diamond, one ruby, one "sapphyr" and one emerald; in return for these pieces Colonel Yeardley gave (of his wife's own livestock, we feel sure!) nine head of neat cattle (two draught oxen, two steers, and five cows). It is of interest to note in passing that Mistress Yeardley had other jewelry, and after her death her "best" diamond necklace was sold in England to pay for six diamond rings (probably mourning rings) and two black tombstones, as was indicated in a receipt for and agreement to sell the necklace, executed by Nicholas Trott, merchant, on 1 February 1657/8. One of these tombstones may well have been the one whose inscription was copied as above mentioned; they were carved from a kind of black stone, very popular in those days since its color was appropriate to mourning.¹⁰⁴

To get back to the Moseleys, Captain William Moseley (II)—a Justice in 1662 as previously noted—married Mary, the daughter of John Gookin, and the former widow Thorowgood; his brother, Arthur Moseley, married the daughter of Simon Hancock, and became in 1689, one of the earliest lot owners in Norfolk Town, as will be related in Chapter XII. William Moseley (II) had a son, Edward, later Colonel and Knight of the Golden Horseshoe; but this, too, is a story for later.

Speaking of Hancocks, there was a Mathew Hancock listed as a head-right in Willoughby's patent of 1654, but it is not known whether the later ones had any connection with him. The first certain member of this family was Simon Hancock,* who was here with his wife, Sarah, and son,

* Also written Handcocke.

William, by 1650. He was dead by 1654, when his widow received a grant for the land where they lived adjoining the Moseleys. William Hancock, the son, made a will in 1687 (proved 17 May) which mentions his mother, Sarah Piggott (she had remarried), sons, Simon, William, Samuel, John, Edward and George, and daughters, Mary and Frances.** From descriptions of bequests of land in this will, it is clear his land was near the Eastern Branch Chapel of 1666, previously mentioned. The will of Sarah Piggott was proved two years later (15 May 1689) and mentioned grandchildren named both Hancock and Moseley, the latter issue of her daughter's marriage to Arthur Moseley.¹⁰⁵

In the early days of the seventeenth century, there was living in England one Sir Henry Woodhouse of Waxham, whose wife was Anne, daughter to Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. Their son, Captain Henry Woodhouse, claimed to have been promised the Governorship of Virginia, and when he failed in his efforts to obtain it, he went to Bermuda, where he is said to have held that same high office. The third Henry Woodhouse in this line was apparently the first one who was in Virginia by 1637 and was a vestryman in Lynnhaven in 1640. His will was proved in November, 1655, and distributed to his heirs both Virginia and Bermuda possessions; he had a large family, and we shall mention here only those pertinent to our story: Henry (the second in Virginia), Horatio, Elizabeth (wife of Joel Cornick), Sarah (wife of Maximilian Boush I), and Mary (wife of Eward Attwood). Henry Woodhouse (II) died in 1687 leaving three heirs: Henry (III), and two daughters, Sarah and Mary, who married respectively Cason Moore (I) and William Moore. Sarah and Maximilian Boush were the parents of Samuel Boush (whose story belongs to Norfolk Town) and of Maximilian Boush (II). The Woodhouses lived in the general area between London Bridge and Pungo, called the Upper Eastern Shore Precinct of Lynnhaven Parish.¹⁰⁶

Mention was made above of a member of the Cornick family, and this is another name which has continued prominent through the years in this section. Its progenitor was Simon Cornick* who was here by 1653, when he received a certificate for six hundred and fifty acres for transportation of thirteen persons hither, four of whom were his wife, Jane, and children, Martha, William and Thomas; another headright in this patent was Plummer Bray, whom we shall meet later. In 1657, William Cornick got a patent for the acreage due his father (had he died meanwhile?) just to the south of the present village of Oceana, which tract was then called—and is still so known today—Salisbury Plain.* This name, reminiscent of the site of

** Married respectively, James Kempe (II) and John Wishard, son of Thomas, as later appears.

* Simond Cornix.

* Incorrectly called Salisbury Plains hereabouts.

Stonehenge, may suggest the place of origin of the Cornicks as the city of Salisbury in Wiltshire. William Cornick's wife, Elizabeth, was daughter to John Martin, and we shall mention here only three of their children: Joel Cornick, who inherited Salisbury Plain and as above noted married Elizabeth,



(Rogers Dey Whichard)

LOWER NORFOLK COUNTY—
"DUDLIES," KEELING HOUSE, C. 1690, RESIDENCE OF REAR ADMIRAL
AND MRS. LEON J. MANEES

daughter to Henry Woodhouse; Elizabeth Cornick, who died in 1684, the wife of Thomas Cannon; and Barbara Cornick, who was married to Captain Francis Morse.¹⁰⁷

It was pointed out in an earlier chapter that Thomas Keeling was one of the one hundred and five headrights in Thorowgood's 1635 patent, and that in that same year Keeling was seated on the east side of Lynnhaven River; as Ensign Thomas Keeling, he was listed as a vestryman in 1640. He left six children, but only the eldest of these is pertinent to this account: his name was Adam Keeling—so called because he was godson to Captain

Thorowgood—and his wife, Anne, was sister of William Cornick's wife, Elizabeth, both daughters to John Martin. The Keeling lands, like Woodhouses' and Cornicks', were to the south of London Bridge and Oceana, with one exception: that was the tract which Adam Keeling bequeathed at his death in 1683 to his son, Thomas, whose wife was a daughter of the second Lancaster Lovett. He also had a son named Adam (II). This tract was, for some now obscure reason, called "Dudlies"; it was on the east side of Lynnhaven River near its mouth, and may possibly have been part of the first Thomas Keeling's land of 1635. The beautiful little house on "Dudlies" was probably built by the second Thomas around 1690, or earlier. The herringbone pattern of its Flemish bond gables can be clearly seen in the accompanying photograph, as well as an old hand-made wrought iron lightning rod. The location of this house is shown on the 1781 map at the legend "A. Keeling."¹⁰⁸

Thomas Walke, first of a prominent county family, arrived here from the Barbadoes in 1662; it is remarkable that he lived here for nearly thirty years before marrying. In 1689, he took unto himself a wife who was Mary, daughter to Anthony Lawson, and they had three children: Anthony Walke (I),* Thomas Walke (II), and a daughter, Mary. Thomas Walke (I) died in 1694, making provision in land for his two sons. It is anachronistic to speak of these provisions here, but it must be mentioned that his executors purchased in 1697 the land which was to become Anthony Walke's manor of "Fairfield."¹⁰⁹ Its site is shown at the legend "Walkes" on the same section of the 1781 map that shows "Kemps," and it is identified as Fairfield Farms, Incorporated, on modern maps just south of Kempsville.

In 1668, from Londonderry, came a young man who was to leave his name indelibly marked in the annals of this area. His grandfather, Captain Thomas Lawson of Northumberland, and grandmother (née Margaret Bray) were on the ill-fated *Sea Venture* in 1609 when it was shipwrecked on Bermuda, as mentioned in a previous chapter. They arrived at Jamestown in 1610, and their son Anthony was born shortly thereafter. The latter was father of George Lawson and Anthony Lawson (II, 1634-1701), head of the line in Lower Norfolk. Anthony Lawson went to school in England and, after a sojourn there and in Northern Ireland, returned to settle in Lower Norfolk County in 1668, as noted above. This was Anthony Lawson, who settled first on the Eastern Branch adjoining the homes of Moseleys and Hancocks. He took as his wife Mary, the daughter of John Gookin and widow of the second William Moseley, and their children were: Thomas Lawson (I), who died in 1703; Mary, who married Thomas Walke (I), above mentioned; and Margaret, who married Colonel John Thorowgood

* Named for his grandfather Lawson.

(son of Adam (II). Lieutenant Colonel Anthony Lawson was one of the feoffees in trust for Norfolk Town Lands under provisions of the Act of 1680; the other feoffee was Captain William Robinson, also a resident of Lynnhaven Parish, who became owner of a town lot in 1689. Lawson is more familiarly connected with Lawson Hall, near present Diamond Springs, the original house there having burned down. The nearby Lawson Lake is of modern origin, a dammed-off branch of Little Creek. Lawson did not make his residence here until 1695.¹¹⁰ The site is shown on the 1781 map at the legend "Lawson," which is separated in two parts, probably because of a repair in the paper. The same is true of "Thorowgood," just below it.

Ensign Thomas Lambert (as he was known in 1640) left his name here on no other memorial than the Point on Elizabeth River which bears his name, patented by him in 1635. In 1648 (he was then known as Captain) he received a grant for a tract in Lynnhaven Parish called Puggett's Neck on Little Creek. In 1652, then a Major, Lambert was Burgess for Lower Norfolk; in 1671, Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Lambert died, leaving as heirs four daughters, and in the same year his four sons-in-law* recorded a deed of partition for the Puggett's Neck property. One of the four, John Weblin, received as his wife's share a tract which then had a house on it; it was not far from the Thorowgood and Wishard houses, with which it shares the honor of being the oldest in the County still standing. The Weblin house was described in detail in the Kellam volume; it has one gable, chimney and rear of English bond, the front of Flemish bond, and the other gable much more modern. All of which, with evidence of charred rafters under the roof, points to partial burning and a later rebuilding.¹¹¹

Mention was made earlier of William Jermy, Clerk of Lower Norfolk County Court in 1665. He was probably identical with William Jeremie, who was listed as a headright in a land grant of 1664. If this be true, he had been in the County for some time then, for John Sibsey bequeathed to Jermy his "black hilted Rapier" in his will which was proved in August, 1652. Jermy's own will tells us he lived in Lynnhaven Parish, died before 15 January 1666/7, and that William Langley (II) was his godson. Going back to Sibsey—"John Sibsey of Elizabeth River, gentleman," as he called himself in his will—he also bequeathed a "pistle" to his brother-in-law, Thomas Lambert, and apparently his principal heir was his daughter, Mary, who was married to Richard Conquest, Sheriff, as previously noted. It is a long road from "John Sibsey, yeoman," in 1624 to "John Sibsey, gentleman," with his dress sword in 1652, but here are seen the beginnings of a democratic society in which a man could improve his lot and move on to

* George Fowler, Henry Snaile, John Weblin and Richard Drout.

a higher social rank, a thing which was well nigh impossible in the Old Country.¹¹²

John Watkins, mentioned earlier as one time owner of the site later to become Norfolk Town, died before 31 October 1648 (date of will probate), leaving his possessions to his widow, Frances, and son, John. Edward Lloyd was one of the "overseers" of the execution of the will, and soon the widow became Mistress Lloyd and the couple removed to Maryland.¹¹³ There are other names which should be mentioned here briefly, not because they are unimportant, but because only a few facts are known about them. There were Thomas Brinson (d. 1675) and his two sons, Matthew and John, who lived near what is now Dam Neck, then called Brinson's Inlet; the inlet has disappeared but the lagoon to which it gave access remains in the form of two bodies of water now called Salt Pond and Fresh Pond.¹¹⁴ There was the Huggins family: Nicholas Huggins was a headright in James Wishard's patent of 1673; his cousin, Philip Huggins, was here also before 1690. They left an interesting little house built about that time near present Lynnhaven Village, with an outside and an inside chimney like Thorowgood's, gabled ends in Flemish bond and weatherboard siding.¹¹⁵ There was Peter Hoggard, in the Colony (but not here) in 1654, probable father of the first Nathaniel Hoggard, who married a Miss Thurmer.¹¹⁶ There were the Attwoods, Edward who married a daughter of the first Henry Woodhouse, and William his son, who owned land near the Brinsons at Salt and Fresh Ponds.¹¹⁷ There were the Sayers, Francis the Justice in 1671, and Charles of a later generation.¹¹⁸ There was Edward Old, here before 1680; and the Lands, Francis, the churchwarden in Lynnhaven Parish in 1647, and Renatus Land, his brother, who died in 1680.¹¹⁹ There were David Murray, Michael McCoy and William Whitehurst, who patented land about 1650 south of the Eastern Branch, part of which became "Level Green," later well-known seat of the Herbert family.¹²⁰ And finally—with Biblical contradiction!—we mention John Gooch, whose name is only a goose-quill scrawl on a rapidly fading page, just as his person is a ghost vaguely seen through the mists of three centuries. His is the earliest will that this writer has seen in Lower Norfolk County records, written on 1 February 1639/40 and admitted to probate at the March Court in 1640/41.¹²¹ "It shows him to have been a resident of Lynnhaven Parish; his principal legatee was Dr. Thomas Bullock—"Thomas Bullock, sirgin," as he was called—whose name appears elsewhere in this chapter as vestryman. These and many other names, for which we have not the time and space, went into the making of Lower Norfolk County history.

In closing this chapter, we wish to give a list of the Lower Norfolk representatives in the House of Burgesses from 1637 to 1691, insofar as they

are known.¹²² This list has been gleaned from several sources and is far from complete, but here are the Lower Norfolk Burgesses:

January,	1637/8	Capt. John Sibsey, Robert Hayes
October,	1639	Henry Seawell, John Hill
January,	1639/40	Capt. John Sibsey, John Hill
	1640	Henry Seawell, John Hill
January,	1641/2	Capt. John Sibsey, John Hill
	1642	John Hill, Edward Windham
March,	1642/3	Cornelius Lloyd, Edward Windham
October,	1644	Cornelius Lloyd, John Sidney
February,	1644/5	Edward Lloyd, Thomas Meares, Christopher Burroughs
November,	1645	Cornelius Lloyd, Christopher Burroughs
October,	1646	Edward Lloyd, Thomas Meares, Robert Eyres
November,	1647	John Sidney, Henry Woodhouse, Cornelius Lloyd, Thomas Meares
October,	1648	Robert Eyres, Thomas Lambert
October,	1649	Bartholomew Hoskin, Thomas Lambert, John Chandler
March,	1650/51	Thomas Lambert, John Martin, Bartholomew Hoskin
April,	1652	Thomas Lambert, Henry Woodhouse, Christopher Burroughs
November,	1652	Lieut. Col. Cornelius Lloyd, Major Thomas Lambert, Christopher Burroughs
July,	1653	Colonel Francis Yeardley, Colonel Cornelius Lloyd
November,	1654	Bartholomew Hoskin, Lemuel Mason
	1655/6	Colonel John Sidney, Lemuel Mason, Bartholomew Hoskin, Thomas Lambert, Capt. Richard Foster
March,	1657/8	
March,	1658/9	Colonel John Sidney, Major Lemuel Mason
March,	1659/60	

It will be noted from what has gone before that the number of Burgesses representing the County varied between two and five. This was changed by the Act of Assembly passed in March, 1661/2,¹²³ limiting to two the number of Burgesses each County could elect. There was no general election from 1661 to 1676,¹²⁴ and the records of Burgesses' names, especially around the time of Bacon's uprising, are very incomplete:

September,	1663	Lemuel Mason
October,	1665	Adam Thorowgood [II], William Carver
October,	1666	
June,	1676	Arthur Moseley, Richard Church
	1682	Colonel Lemuel Mason
November,	1685	Colonel Lemuel Mason, Captain William Robinson
April,	1688	Anthony Lawson, William Crawford

In April, 1691, the General Assembly passed a law dividing Lower Norfolk County into two separate units to be thenceforth known as Norfolk County and Princess Anne County. The division was approximately on the line between the two parishes, and within a very few years an adjustment made it exactly on that line. In this way, Norfolk County and Elizabeth River Parish were identical in area, and Princess Anne County and Lynnhaven Parish were similarly coterminous. From this point on, their stories will be told separately.

NOTES ON CHAPTER X

N.B. See remark at beginning of Chapter I notes.

1. See Chapter III.
2. *Loc. cit.*
3. See Chapter IV.
4. See Chapter IX.
5. *Virginia State Library Bulletin*, IX, 198; 1H247.
6. Butt, "Norfolk County Records."
7. 1H224.
8. Hartwell-Blair-Chilton, *Virginia and the College*, pp. 44-45.
9. *Lower Norfolk County Records*, Book A (1637-1646), fol. 1.
10. *Ibid.*, Book A (1637-1646), Book B (1646-1652), Book C (1652-1656), Book D (1656-1666), Book E (1666-1675), Order Book (1675-1686, *passim*).
11. *Ibid.*, Book A, Book D.
12. *Ibid.*, Book D.
13. *Loc. cit.*
14. *Ibid.*, Book E, p. 40.
15. 2H241; *Lower Norfolk County Records*, Book E, p. 94; *ibid.*, Book 5 (1686-1695).
16. Beverley, *History of Virginia*, p. 268; Hartwell-Blair-Chilton, *op. cit.*, p. 63.
17. See Note 78, below.
18. Stewart, *History of Norfolk County*, p. 34.
19. *Lower Norfolk County Records*, Book D, p. 430.
20. 1V447-450; Kellam, *Princess Anne*, p. 164; see also Jester, *Domestic Life in Virginia*, p. 35.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 182.
22. *Lower Norfolk County Records*, Book A, pp. 41, 344.
23. 1H413.
24. 3N33.
25. Mason, "Court Houses of Princess Anne and Norfolk Counties," p. 407.
26. *Lower Norfolk County Records*, Book 5 (pt. I), p. 69.
27. Mason, *op. cit.*, pp. 407-8.
28. *Lower Norfolk County Records*, Book 5 (pt. I), p. 206.
29. Mason, "Norfolk County Churches," pp. 142-3; Mason, "Lynnhaven Parish Churches," p. 271.
30. *Lower Norfolk County Records*, Book A, p. 10.
31. *Loc. cit.*, and quoted by Mason.
32. Mason, "Norfolk County Churches," pp. 144-5.
33. *Lower Norfolk County Records*, Book A, p. 39.
34. Mason, *op. cit.*, p. 146.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 147.
36. Beverley, *op. cit.*, p. 261.
37. Mason, *op. cit.*, pp. 146-7.
38. *Lower Norfolk County Records*, Book C.
39. 1H250.

40. *Lower Norfolk County Records*, Book A, p. 41.
41. Mason, *op. cit.*, pp. 140-1.
42. *Lower Norfolk County Records*, Book A, pp. 235-6.
43. *Ibid.*
44. *Enc. Brit.*, XXII, 665, 289; IX, 450.
45. E. L. Goodwin, *Colonial Church*, p. 277.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 300.
47. *Ibid.*, p. 266.
48. *Ibid.*, p. 257.
49. Mason, *op. cit.*, p. 154.
50. *Ibid.*, pp. 152-3.
51. *Ibid.*, p. 154.
52. E. L. Goodwin, *op. cit.*, p. 291.
53. *Ibid.*, p. 245.
54. *Borough Church*, 1739, p. 21.
55. Chamberlayne, "List of Ministers in Virginia, 1680," p. 467; this name has been previously misread as Wern and Nern.
56. James, "Extracts from the Records," pp. 179-180.
57. See Note 29, above.
- 57a. McIntosh, *Lower Norfolk County Wills*, p. 7.
58. *Lower Norfolk County Records*, Book A, p. 42.
59. See Note 41, above.
60. Mason, "Lynnhaven Parish Churches," p. 279.
61. See Note 27, above.
62. This tradition has been perpetuated in the writings of Bishop Meade and of W. S. Forrest, neither one a careful or trained researcher, and of the Rev. C. B. Bryan, who did not hesitate to repeat Bishop Meade's misconceptions. (See Bibliography for these names.)
63. Mason, *op. cit.*, pp. 272-3.
64. Meade, *Old Churches . . . in Virginia*, I, 247.
65. Forrest, *History of Norfolk*, p. 459.
- 65a. 5V435.
66. E. L. Goodwin, *op. cit.*, p. 299; see also note 55, above.
67. See note 56, above.
68. 1H397.
69. Ingle, "Virginia Institutions," pp. 101-2.
70. 2H106.
71. *Ibid.*, p. 172.
72. Yonge, *James Towne*, pp. 40-41.
73. Wertemberger, *Torchbearer*, p. 30.
74. *Executive Journals, Council of Virginia*, I, 532-6.
75. 2H255-9.
76. *Ibid.*, p. 307.
77. *Ibid.*, pp. 471-8.
78. *Lower Norfolk County Records, Order Book (1675-1686)*, 19 October 1680, 19 October, 1681.
79. Wertemberger, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-30.
80. Nugent, *op. cit.*, p. ; see also Chapter XVII.
81. Evans, *Ships and Shipbuilding in Virginia*, pp. 37-8.
82. Kellam, *Princess Anne*, pp. 189-90.
83. 2H103; *Lower Norfolk County Records*, Book E (part 2), 26.
84. Rogers Dey Whichard, "Early Streets and Byways"; see also note 50, above.
85. *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*, 26 November 1950, 18 March 1956; Kellam, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-5.
86. *Ibid.*
87. Forman, *Virginia Architecture*, p. 40; *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*, 30 April 1957; *Norfolk Ledger-Star*, 27 April 1957.
88. William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Mich., "Clinton MS No. 267."
89. See Tucker's article referred to in Note 85, above.
90. Lefler, *Contemporaries*, pp. 13-4.
91. 1V447-50; *Lower Norfolk County Records*, Book E, p. 126; McIntosh, *Lower Norfolk County Wills*, p. 41.
92. 2V385-6; 4V83-5; *Lower Norfolk County Records*, Book 6, p. 258.

93. 3N138-46.
94. 19W(2) 195.
95. Lower Norfolk County Records, Book E (pt. I), p. 40; Book E (pt. II), p. 26; Book D, p. 428; Book E, pp. 126, 122, 150; *Virginia State Land Office Records*, Book 5, p. 466; Book 6, p. 648; *Lower Norfolk County Records*, Book 4, pp. 71, 95, 136.
96. Kellam, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-53; Forman, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-40.
97. See Note 88, above.
98. 15V229.
99. *Princess Anne County Records*, Book 1, p. 189; Kellam, *op. cit.*, pp. 205-6; McIntosh, *op. cit.*, p. 38.
100. All of these details have been related earlier in this chapter; see also Ames, *Reading, Writing and Arithmetic*, p. 21.
101. See Chapter XII.
102. Nugent, *op. cit.*, pp. 75, 111; *Lower Norfolk County Records*, Book C, p. 158; McIntosh, *op. cit.*, p. 11.
103. *Lower Norfolk County Records*, Book D, p. 430; Nugent, *op. cit.*, p. 565; *Lower Norfolk County Records*, Book E, p. 135; McIntosh, *op. cit.*, p. 36.
104. Kyle, "Cavalier William Moseley," Kellam, *op. cit.*, pp. 130-1; McIntosh, *op. cit.*, p. 16; see note 55a, above.
105. Kellam, *op. cit.*, pp. 132-4; *Lower Norfolk County Records*, Book 5, pp. 23, 99.
106. Kellam, *op. cit.*, pp. 67, 87-8; McIntosh, *op. cit.*, p. 17.
107. Kellam, *op. cit.*, pp. 105-7
108. *Ibid.*, pp. 57-62.
109. *Ibid.*, pp. 173-6.
110. *Ibid.*, pp. 219-23
111. *Ibid.*, pp. 36-7, 53-5.
112. Nugent, *op. cit.*, p. 434; McIntosh, *op. cit.*, pp. 9, 22.
113. *Ibid.*, p. 5; Squires "Bygone Days," CCCXXX.
114. Kellam, *op. cit.*, pp. 142-3.
115. *Ibid.*, pp. 76-7.
116. Kyle, "Poplar Hall."
117. Kellam, *op. cit.*, p. 215.
118. *Ibid.*, p. 224; see above, Note 10.
119. Kellam, *op. cit.*, pp. 222, 96.
120. *Ibid.*, p. 83.
121. McIntosh, *op. cit.*, p. 3.
122. Stanard, *Colonial Virginia Register*, pp. 60-89; see also Squires, "Bygone Days," CCCXXX.
123. 2H106; see also Note 70, above.
124. Stanard, *loc. cit.*

Chapter XI

The County of Norfolk

1691-1957

AS INDICATED AT the end of the preceding chapter, Lower Norfolk County was, by Act of April, 1691, divided into two separate units to be named Norfolk County and Princess Anne County. The present chapter has to do with the separate existence of the first-named of these two divisions, and the story of Princess Anne County will be told in a later chapter.¹

The statement is generally made and accepted that the common boundary of Norfolk and Princess Anne Counties, as established in 1691, was identical with that set up between Elizabeth River and Lynnhaven Parishes in March, 1642/3, nearly four years after the separate establishment of these two parishes, which probably took place in the latter part of 1639. This statement is only approximately true and should be qualified somewhat for more complete accuracy. It will be recalled that the Act of March, 1642/3,² gave the beginning point of the boundary as the mouth of Little Creek, more specifically "the first creek shooting out of Chesopeiack bay called the Little Creek," and continued with the customary vagueness to include "all the branches of the said creek," thence to the head of Lynnhaven River, including "all the branches of the said River," thence to the head of the Eastern Branch of Elizabeth River and to Broad Creek on its north side and to Indian Creek (now River) on its south side. This has been interpreted to mean, as previously indicated,³ running from the Little Creek Terminal up its main branch to the Norfolk City Waterworks, down Broad Creek and crossing the Eastern Branch to Indian River. The boundary was not further specified because, it will be recalled, the Southern Shore Parish (soon to disappear) existed on the then sparsely inhabited south bank of the Eastern Branch.

The "Act For deviding Lower Norfolk County" (April, 1691),⁴ gave a somewhat more specific but no less confusing boundary. It began at "the new inlet of Little Creeke and so up the said creeke to the dams between Jacob Johnson and Richard Drout"—this was possibly where the Municipal Airport now is—"up a branch at the head of which is the dwelling house

of William Moseley Sen'. and the new dwelling house of Edward Webb"—this was possibly the branch of Little Creek extending toward present Camden Heights—"and so to run from the head of the said branch in a direct line to the dams at the head of the eastern branch of Elizabeth River between James Kemp and Thos. Ivy"—this was certainly the present village of Kempsville. From there, the line is easy to follow on a modern map: down the Eastern Branch, not to Indian River, but to a small "gut" east of it where James Porter lived, thence overland to the "great swamp east of Jno. Showlands"—this was a point on the Kempsville-Great Bridge road a mile southwest of Bethel Church—"along the great swamp* to the North River** of Coratucke and down the said North River to the mouth of Simpson's Creek"—the first creek south of the Albemarle and Chesapeake Canal—"up the said creek to the head thereof, from thence by a south line to the bounds of Carolina . . .".

Within a very short time the inconsistency of this boundary was noted, and steps were taken to rectify it. In April, 1695, the Assembly passed "An Act to Extend the bounds of Princess Anne County." In this act it was noted that complaints had been received from "the inhabitants of Princess Anne County and that part of Norfolk County which belongs to Lynnhaven Parish," and it was enacted "that the limits of Princess Anne County be enlarged and extended to coincide with the bounds of Lynnhaven Parish."⁵ This refers to the triangle bounded by Broad Creek, Eastern Branch and a line from Norfolk City Waterworks to Kempsville, which area was, by this 1695 law, thrown into Princess Anne where it belonged. Another confusion as to the line was not resolved until fairly recent years. This arose from the fact that, in 1691, the boundary was said to begin at "the new inlet of Little Creek." It is impossible to determine what this means, in the light of the known opening and closing of inlets and alterations in water courses as a result of shifting sands on the shore and coast. It was evidently interpreted to mean a point about two miles west of the present Little Creek entrance—at what is now First Street, East Ocean View—which is the present Princess Anne County line. As late as 1907, two United States Coast and Geodetic Survey maps* respectively show the line beginning at the two places. Thus even fifty years ago, the area bounded by the present Military Highway and the two westernmost branches of Little Creek was shown on two official maps as being in each county.

The first Court for Norfolk County, held after the Dividing Act of April, 1691, was composed of the following gentlemen as Justices:

* Now the Norfolk County Reservoir and Gum Swamp.

** Now North Landing River.

* Copies of which are in my possession.—Ed. note.

Colonel Lemuel Mason
Captain William Robinson
Captain John Hatton
Lieutenant Colonel Anthony Lawson
Captain William Craford
Major John Nichols
Mr. James Wilson⁶

Most of these names are familiar from other associations. One curious fact should be noted: Robinson and Lawson, it will be recalled, were feoffees for the Norfolk Town land and were both residents of Lynnhaven Parish; they lived on the Eastern Branch of Elizabeth River in that section which did not become part of Princess Anne County until 1695, as noted above. The curious thing is that they both continued as feoffees for the town after they were no longer residents of Norfolk County; Robinson until his death in 1696 and Lawson until his death in 1701.

Much of the early history of Norfolk County will be found treated in more detail in the chapters on the two largest municipalities—Norfolk and Portsmouth—which were once included within the county's boundaries, though now (in accordance with Virginia law) independent of it. Such details will be cross-referenced with footnotes as we proceed. It will be recalled that the second attempt to establish towns by law in the Colony—the first in 1680 having failed—was made in 1691 by the same Assembly which passed the law dividing Lower Norfolk County. Immediately provisions were made to build a new Court House on the lot in Norfolk Town which had been reserved for that purpose when the town was surveyed in 1680; earlier plans to build there in 1687 and 1689 had not materialized. Colonial builders usually took up to three years to complete a building which, with modern tools and methods, could be finished in less than a year; the new Norfolk County Court House was no exception, and there is evidence it was not put in use until 1694. Thus the Lower Norfolk County Court House,* which had been built over thirty years earlier (1661), and had served as Norfolk County's first court house for a few years (1691-1694), was abandoned and Norfolk Town became the County Seat and so remained until after the Revolution.⁷ This, of course, heralded an enormous increase in activity and growth of the town, as will be noted in the following chapter.

Norfolk County profited by the general plans to improve communications in the Colony at this time. Another ferry was established on Elizabeth River in 1702 from Norfolk Town to present Lovett's Point (West Norfolk), and it is to be assumed that the earlier ferry (1636) between the sites of Norfolk and Portsmouth was still in operation. In 1705, a ferry was estab-

* Near Moore's Bridges, if we may hazard a guess.

lished from Seawell's Point to Hampton, and a law was passed providing for roads to be built connecting Williamsburg, the new capital, with each parish church, county court house, public mill and ferry.⁸

Also in 1705, a third unsuccessful attempt was made to establish towns by law, this one being much more ambitious than the others in that a real municipal government was planned. At this time, the towns (or boroughs), ports and markets were given proper names instead of being simply called "the town of such-and-such a county," and Norfolk's county seat was officially christened "Norfolk Town." This essay, like the previous ones, was brought to nought by being suspended, since the law was never approved by the Crown.⁹

A county jail or prison had been built on the court house lot, probably at the same time as the Court House; in any case it is known to have been there shortly after 1700. The Court House itself, after having served for nearly four decades, was replaced by a new and more pretentious edifice on the same site in 1726. This was to continue in use until the destruction of Norfolk in 1776. The first school in Norfolk County was established in Norfolk Town and trustees appointed in 1728. It was to be located on the lot provided for that purpose in Norfolk Town when it was surveyed in 1680, though no building was erected until 1762. After the Borough of Norfolk was chartered in 1736, the school was placed under the joint control of the Justices of the Norfolk County Court and the Mayor, Recorder and Aldermen of the Borough.¹⁰

On 15 September 1736, the Corporation of the Borough of Norfolk was chartered by Act of Assembly. Its Mayor and Aldermen were set up as a Hustings Court for the Borough, but this Court was not a court of record for deeds and wills, and was given jurisdiction only in minor civil suits; hence the Borough was still largely under the jurisdiction of the Justices of the County Court.¹¹ The Borough used the County Court House and Prison until it got one of its own well after 1752; the first Borough Town Hall and Court House seems to have been built about 1755, and was probably placed on the Court House lot between the County Court House and Prison. After the Borough was almost completely destroyed in January, 1776, apparently the Borough Court House was repaired and put back into service, but the County Court House was not; from 1777 until 1785 the County Court sat and held its sessions in the Town Hall, and at the same time rented various private rooms or buildings for lesser tribunals and as a repository for records. Among the private premises so used were the house of Mrs. Eunice Smith in August, 1776, the house of Edmund Allmand from 1777 to 1779; and before 1785, rooms at Pat McCauley's, William Smith's and Abram Wormington's, and at "Westwood," the home of Samuel Boush [III] near Great Bridge.¹²

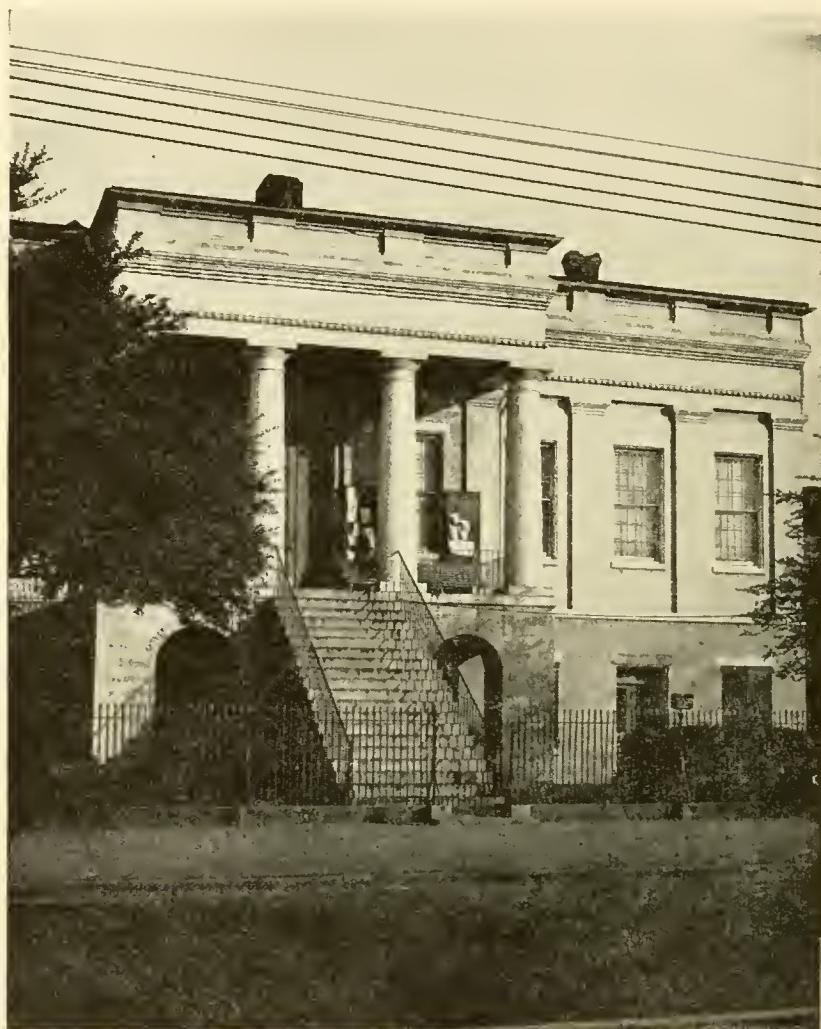
Meanwhile the Borough Court had petitioned the General Assembly in 1782 that it be made a court of record and be given criminal jurisdiction. This petition was acted on favorably and its provisions were granted and put into effect in 1784. It was thus not logical that the County Court should hold its sessions in an area independent from it and over which it had no jurisdiction. Therefore, a movement was begun in 1785 to shift the County Court outside Norfolk, which culminated in November, 1789, when the Assembly passed "An Act to remove the Court of the County of Norfolk without the Borough of Norfolk." Almost immediately (1790-91) the County Commissioners sold the court house lot in Norfolk, which had been in use since about 1691, and set about to build a new Court House at Washington Point,* where the County Jail had been since November, 1790. The Court House was completed in June, 1792, and county commissioners for both court house and jail were Thomas Nash, Thomas Newton, Charles Odean, Samuel Veale, Thomas Bressie, and William Boushell. This Court House is still standing—though much altered—at the southwest corner of Walnut (formerly Washington) and Pine Streets; the jail has disappeared.¹³

The Court House did not long remain at Washington Point. By Act of January, 1801, it was authorized to be removed "from the town of Washington to the town of Portsmouth." The finished Court House and Jail there were received in July, 1802, the former being on the northeast corner of Court and High Streets where the Hotel Monroe later stood. The jail and clerk's office (part of which still exists in the present clerk's office) were opposite on the northwest corner. The present County Court House, which also contains the offices of Commissioner of the Revenue, County Treasurer, Sheriff, etc., was finished and occupied in 1846 on that same northwest corner of Court and High Streets.¹⁴ In the little clerk's office just to the west may be seen the priceless Lower Norfolk County records, referred to previously, extending in almost unbroken sequence from 1 May 1637.

When the town of Portsmouth (established by law in 1752) received its city charter in 1858, the County Court again found itself operating in a territory over which it had no jurisdiction. This has not seemed to hinder its harmonious operation, and it still continues to hold its sessions in the 1846 Court House. As this is being written, however, there are heard expressions of dissatisfaction and proposals to move to a more central location. Such proposals arise from the fact that all the county's area north of Elizabeth River has been lost through annexation to the City of Norfolk and large portions have been similarly lost south of that River not only to Norfolk, but also to Portsmouth and South Norfolk. The County Seat is, therefore, now located almost at the northernmost edge of the County and outside its territory, a thing which is most inconvenient for those living in

* Formerly Powder Point, later Ferry Point, and now Berkley, a part of the city of Norfolk.
Va. 19

places like Wallaceton, Hickory and Northwest, the latter over twenty miles from the Court House.



(Courtesy Portsmouth Chamber of Commerce)

PORPSMOUTH—NORFOLK COUNTY COURT HOUSE (1846)

The history of the Anglican Church in Norfolk County follows the usual pattern of church history in other localities: a parish coterminous with the County, containing a centrally-located parish church and outlying chapels of ease; and subsequent division of the parish, when the county became too populous to be ministered to as a single unit. Elizabeth River Parish, established (as we have seen) in 1639, was intended to be the basis

for the extent of Norfolk County when Lower Norfolk was divided in 1691, and parish and county did in fact become coterminous after the previously-mentioned adjustment of boundary in 1695. The second parish church—in use on the north side of Elizabeth River between Lambert's Point and Town Point since 1655-9—continued to serve for about nine years after the county's establishment. Then, with the growth in size and importance of Norfolk Town after the Court House was completed in 1694, it was decided to relocate the Parish Church on the lot which had been reserved for that purpose when the town was surveyed in 1680. This principle of keeping the judicial and ecclesiastical administration close together was one which was closely adhered to throughout our Colonial period, and has been frequently noted elsewhere in these pages. Accordingly, construction was begun at some time after the middle of 1698 and the third Elizabeth River Parish Church was completed and put in service in 1700.¹⁵

Like the Court House in Norfolk Town, the parish church was soon outgrown by the rapid increase of population in both county and town. About the time Norfolk was chartered as a borough in 1736, the vestry must have decided to provide a more imposing church building for the parish. The edifice then begun was completed in 1739—if one may judge from the date on its south transept—and was fashioned in the shape of a Latin cross, with the long arm due east and west and the chancel in the head of the cross to the east, as was then customary in Anglican churches. This is the building which, though partially destroyed in January, 1776, was on several occasions altered and restored and continues in use today under the name of Old Saint Paul's Church, a more recent organization. This church, begun about the time the Borough was chartered, was traditionally called the Borough Church until the end of the eighteenth century, though this name never appeared in any surviving record that we have seen.¹⁶

In addition to its successive parish churches, Elizabeth River Parish was provided with three chapels of ease for the convenience of parishioners in distant areas. As noted in the previous chapter, they were the Western Branch Chapel (1653), the Tanner's Creek Chapel (1661) and the Southern Branch Chapel (1662); they served roughly the western, northern and southern sections of the parish. The first two apparently continued in use until the time of the Revolution, but the third did not remain on its original site long after 1691. This information is contained in the Journal of the House of Burgesses under date of 30 August 1701, in the form of "A Grievance from Norfolk County complaining that a Chapell of Ease formerly built by the inhabitants of the Southerne Branch Precinct of the said County is pulled down and rebuilt in an inconvenient place." The original site was on the east side of the Southern Branch almost opposite the mouth of Paradise Creek, and the site to which it had been moved in 1701

was at the place called Great Bridge.* This was the place William Byrd referred to, during his journey into Carolina in 1728, as "the long bridge built over the Southern Branch." This chapel was still called Southern Branch Chapel in April, 1728, when a return of births and deaths was made to H. M. Secretary's Office, but had come to be called Great Bridge Chapel by October, 1749, when the only surviving Colonial Vestry Book was opened. It suffered considerable damage at the time of the Revolution—particularly during the Battle of Great Bridge—but was apparently not completely abandoned and dismantled until 1845.¹⁷

Mention was made in the previous chapter of the Reverend Josias Mackie, a Presbyterian minister, who served Elizabeth River Parish until he was discharged by Governor Nicholson for his non-conformist views in 1691 or 1692. He was then pastor of the only two meetings for religious worship besides the Church of England which were permitted in this immediate vicinity at that time. One of these was certified by Norfolk County Court Order on 15 August 1692, as being held in a house on Thomas Ivy's land on the Eastern Branch.* It will be recalled from the recital of the boundary of the 1691 Act, that Ivy's land was next to Kempe's at the head of the Eastern Branch, hence fell into Princess Anne County when the line was corrected in 1695. Thus both of Parson Mackie's dissenting flocks met in Princess Anne County; however, he apparently continued to live in Norfolk County, for there his will was proved on 7 November 1716. It is an interesting document telling his place of origin, since it names his father, Patrick Mackie of St. Johnston, County Donegal; Parson Mackie also made bequests to Elizabeth and John, daughter and son of James Wishard [II] and his wife Mary, and to Mary and William, daughter and son of Jacob Johnson [II] and his wife Margaret. This is another of those complicated relationships caused by several intermarriages among families: Margaret Johnson was daughter of William Langley [II], and sister to Elizabeth, wife of George Ivy (related to the owner of the house the meeting was held in?) and to Joyce, who later (1732) married another John Wishard, cousin to the one mentioned here. Also, since James Wishard [I] married William Langley [II]'s sister Elizabeth, the Wishard and Johnson children mentioned in Mackie's will were third cousins! The interesting possibility is also suggested that some, at least, of the Wishards, Johnsons, Langleys and Ivys may have been members of Parson Mackie's congregation.¹⁸

After Mackie's dismissal in 1692, it does not appear that there was a regularly inducted minister in Elizabeth River Parish for at least seven years.

* The site of the chapel is now at the southwest corner of State Routes 170 and 640.

* The other, as will be noted in Chapter XX, was certified by Princess Anne County Court Order of 6 September 1693, as being on Edward Cooper's land; this was on Wolf Snare Creek, where the first Eastern Shore Chapel was in 1689.

During that time, Reverend Jonathan Saunders was minister in Lynnhaven Parish (1695-1700) and may possibly have supplied in Elizabeth River also. Here are the names of the ministers who served Elizabeth River Parish until its division in 1761:

1699-	William Rudd
1709	Roger Kelsall
1710-1714	James McMoran
1720	James Falconer
1724-	John Garzia
1727-1729	John Marsden
1729-1743	Moses Robertson
1743-1761	Charles Smith ¹⁹

The first *complete* governing body of Elizabeth River Parish, which is known, is that contained in the deed of sale for the Old Glebe dated 16 January 1734/5:

John Ellegood, Churchwarden	
Colonel George Newton	
Major Samuel Boush [II]	
Stephen Wright	
John Corpew	
Thomas Wright	
Willis Wilson	

} Vestry²⁰

The Vestry Book (see below) contains some loose sheets of Births and Deaths dated 18 April 1728 and signed by Thomas Nash [II] as clerk of the Southern Branch Chapel.

This only surviving Vestry Book or Parish Register (1749-1761)²¹ furnishes further information on Churchwardens and Vestrymen. Its beginning date, 10 October 1749, gives the following vestry:

Colonel George Newton*
Colonel William Crawford
Colonel Samuel Boush [II]
Captain William Hodges
Captain Willis Wilson, Jr.*
Mr. Charles Sweny*
Captain James Ivy
Captain John Phripp*
Mr. Samuel Boush, Jr. [III]*

The same source also tells of changes or replacements in the Vestry before 1761, as follows:

9 October 1750	{ Col. Robert Tucker Capt. William Ivy*
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20 October	1753	Matthew Godfrey, Jr.*
22 October	1754	James Webb*
21 October	1755	Capt. Thomas Newton*
30 October	1759	{ Major John Willoughby Capt. George Veale
20 November	1759	Robert Tucker, Jr.

Other minor parish officers at this time were listed in the Vestry Book as follows:

10 October 1749	James Pasteur	Clerk of the Vestry
	Thomas Nash [III]**	Clerk of the Parish Church
	Sampson Powers	Sexton of the Parish Church
	Samuel Powers	Clerk of Great Bridge Chapel
	John Hodges	Clerk of Western Branch Chapel
	Richard Edins	Clerk of Tanner's Creek Chapel
		Sexton of Great Bridge Chapel
		Clerk of Western Branch Chapel

More will be said of James Pasteur in a later chapter; upon his ordination as a minister he was succeeded as clerk of the vestry by George Chamberlaine on 20 October 1753. Sampson Powers was followed by Thomas Granberry as clerk of the Western Branch Chapel on 21 October 1755, and Josh Bruce replaced Richard Edins as sexton at the same place on 17 October 1760.

On 20 April 1761, it was

Ordered that Robert Tucker Gent. apply to John Randolph Esq. clerk of the house of Burgesses for a Copy of the Law for Dividing the Parish of Elizabeth River.

And here is the last entry in the Vestry Book:

Here end every Transaction of the Vestry of Elizabeth River Parish till the said Vestry was dissolved and the said Parish was divided into three distinct Parishes as per the Act of Assembly past April 6th 1761. Transferred to the new Vestry Book of Elizabeth River Parish, 1761.

Unfortunately, this new book did not survive the vicissitudes of war.

The act above referred to stated that the Vestry was dissolved "on account of illegal practises [and] oppressing its inhabitants," but was not more specific. The bounds of the three new parishes were set forth: Elizabeth

* Served as churchwarden from time to time.

** Succeeded his father (d. 1735) in same office, though the chapel was then called Southern Branch Chapel.

River Parish, comprising all that part of Norfolk County north of the Elizabeth River and its Eastern Branch; St. Brides Parish, taking in all the county south of the Eastern Branch and east of the Southern Branch; and Portsmouth Parish taking in all the county south of the Elizabeth River and west of the Southern Branch. The southern part of the county was presumably divided by a line running north and south, an extension of the north-south portion of the Southern Branch. The act further stated that Matthew Godfrey, deceased, devised to the poor of the parish, by his will dated 13 March 1715/16, 100 acres of land and some slaves; these were to be divided among the three new parishes. Also to be divided was the money levied for building walls around the churchyard, showing that these walls had not then been built.

In spite of the implied censure of its members, some of the dissolved vestry were re-elected, four in Elizabeth River and two each in Portsmouth and St. Bride's, as will appear below. Of course, some had died in the meantime, and the only ones we can say with certainty were not re-elected were the two Newtons (George and his son Thomas), Samuel Boush III (his father died in 1759), and Major (later Colonel) John Willoughby.

Although no Vestry Book has been preserved after April, 1761, the election of vestries for the three new parishes was recorded in the County Court minutes for June of that year.²² The vestrymen for Elizabeth River Parish were:

Matthew Godfrey	Saunders Calvert
John Hutchings	Lewis Hansford
Joshua Nicholson	Charles Sweny
Georg Abyvon	Christopher Perkins
Robert Tucker [II]	John Tucker
William Orange	William Ivy

Four of these (Godfrey, Robert Tucker, Sweny and Ivy) had been members of the dissolved vestry. Those elected for Portsmouth Parish were:

John Tatem	William Craford
Thomas Creech	Jeremiah Creech
James Ives	Richard Carney
John Ferebee	Giles Randolph
George Veale	John Herbert
Thomas Veale	Thomas Grimes

Two of these (George Veale and Craford) had been on the dissolved vestry. For Saint Bride's, the following were elected:

Henry Herbert	John Wilson
William Smith	James Webb
John Portlock	Robert Tucker, Jr. [III]

Thomas Nash, Jr. [IV]

James Wilson

Joshua Carprew

Samuel Happer

Malachi Wilson

William Happer

It so happens that names of the churchwardens for Saint Bride's at this time were preserved, though not those of the other parishes. They were William Smith and John Portlock, named in a deed of 1763, and Malachi Wilson and William Happer, named in a deed of 1768.²³

A word should be said about the fate of the three chapels after the division of the parish in 1761. Since this division was made along the lines of the areas served by the chapels, it is natural that the latter should have become chapels of the new parishes, and this is what happened. The Western Branch Chapel became a chapel of ease for Portsmouth Parish, and disappeared after the Revolution. A new parish church was completed in Portsmouth Town in 1762, and continues in use today—though many times rebuilt, altered and restored—as Trinity Episcopal Church at the southwest corner of High and Court Streets. Another chapel of ease for Portsmouth Parish was erected at Deep Creek about 1762, and also disappeared after the Revolution. It stood near the northwest corner of State route 166 and U.S. 17. The Borough Church in Norfolk continued in use as parish church of the reduced Elizabeth River Parish, and Tanner's Creek Chapel was its chapel of ease. This chapel was abandoned after the Revolution, but was soon repaired and again put in use by a new Baptist congregation, as will appear below.²⁴

Like Portsmouth Parish, Saint Bride's got a new church in 1762. It stood at the southwest corner of State Routes 170 and 614. It is said to be probable that the Great Bridge Chapel, previously mentioned, served as parish church until the new church was completed, and then continued in use as a chapel of ease for this parish. It is unlikely that either church or chapel was used for worship after the Revolution, though they were not dismantled until some time later, in 1853 and 1845 respectively. The present Saint Bride's Episcopal Church in Berkley represents a modern revival of the old name in 1923, by the union of Saint Paul's, Berkley (1867), and Saint Thomas's (1886). The present building was erected in 1911.²⁵

The ministers who served the three parishes of Norfolk County, until the Revolution and shortly thereafter, were as follows:

Elizabeth River Parish: 1762-	Alexander Rhonald
1766-	Thomas Davis, Sr.
1773-1776	Thomas Davis, Jr.
1786-1788	Walker Maury
1789-1790	Alexander Whitehead
1790-1800	James Whitehead
1790-1803	William Bland

Portsmouth Parish:	1761-1773	Charles Smith
	1774-1784	John Braidfoot
	1785-1801	Arthur Emmerson, Jr.
	1801-1813	George Young
Saint Bride's Parish:	1761-1774	James Pasteur
	1775	John H. Rowland
	1776-	Emmanuel Jones, III
	1787-1788	Needler Robinson
	1791-1793	James Morris
	1795-1799	John Matthews

The incumbents of Elizabeth River and Portsmouth Parishes being residents of Norfolk and Portsmouth respectively, their story more properly belongs in those chapters.²⁶ As for the Saint Bride's ministers, the Reverend James Pasteur's early career as a schoolmaster will be told later. He was ordained in London and licensed for Virginia in 1753 and the following year returned to Norfolk as a lecturer (reader). He became minister in Bath Parish (Dinwiddie County) in 1755 and probably remained there until the beginning of his incumbency in Saint Bride's. He was in the latter parish certainly by 1763 and probably from its inception in 1761. In 1770 he married Leticia, daughter of Willis Langley,* member of an old Norfolk County family mentioned elsewhere in these pages. He continued as minister of Saint Bride's Parish until his death in 1774. Emmanuel Jones, third minister of this name, was a student at William and Mary College from 1772 to 1774, and was ordained and licensed in the latter year. His uncle of the same name was Master of the Indian School at the College for twenty-two years (1755-1777), and his grandfather—the first Emmanuel Jones—was an Oxonian (Oriel College, 1692), a visitor of the College of William and Mary, and minister of Petworth Parish (Gloucester), 1700-1739. Reverend John H. Rowland was a Loyalist; he is said to have assisted Lord Dunmore with information on the activities and sympathies of his patriot parishioners to such an extent that many of the latter were permanently alienated from the Church. In fact, Captain James Wilson, a vestryman since 1761, gave the land on which Hickory Ground Methodist Church (to be mentioned below) was built, and many local people became Methodists. Parson Rowland finally left these parts for New York and became Chaplain of the Loyalist Second Battalion of New Jersey Volunteers. Needler Robinson later became minister of Dale Parish (Chesterfield County) for a while, and died in 1823. Of Parson Morris little is known save his name listed in Church Convention Journals; Matthews came to Saint Bride's after a long incumbency in Saint Anne's (Essex County). In addition to marriages per-

* A shipwright: son of Capt. Lemuel Langley (d. 1748), grandson of Thomas (d. 1717), great grandson of William I (d. 1676).

formed by the above ministers of the three parishes, Norfolk County records list ceremonies by Jesse Nicholson in 1799, by Jeremiah Rutter in 1800, and by James Dawley in 1807; it is not specified in these records which parish they officiated in, or even what faith they adhered to.²⁷

The first non-conformist congregations in this neighborhood were, as we have seen, composed of Anglicans with Presbyterian leanings. In addition to Parson Mackie, another Presbyterian pioneer in these parts was the Reverend Francis Makemie, who was entertained by Anthony Lawson in 1683. It must be remembered that there were quite a few settlers hereabouts of Scotch blood, such as Lawsons, Robinsons, Crafords (Crawfords), etc.²⁸ Other denominations were not established in Norfolk County until after the Revolution, and the most important of them were Baptists and Methodists. The John Asplund *Register of Baptist Churches* (1791)²⁹ lists three churches in Norfolk County. Of these, the Blackwater Church (1774) was so listed in error since it was in Princess Anne, and the Portsmouth Church (1789) belongs to the story of that town. The third one was the Upper Bridge or Northwest River Bridge Church and was constituted in 1782. First served by itinerant preachers, it had as its first regular pastor Elder Jacob Grigg who remained there until 1802. In 1803, Elder Dempey Casey became pastor and a prominent lay leader was James Grimes; the membership was then fifty-two. In 1818, the original meetinghouse was destroyed by fire; a new building was completed in 1821, at which time it was called Northwest Baptist Church, the name it still bears.³⁰ The first Methodist churches in Norfolk County were the one at Oak Grove* just north of Great Bridge and the one at Hickory Ground, the latter founded in 1790.³¹ The Baptist Church constituted at Shoulder's Hill in Nansemond County in 1785 now goes by the name Churchland Baptist Church and is in Norfolk County on the Western Branch near West Norfolk. This site is about six miles from the first one and was first occupied in 1829, at which time the body was known as the Sycamore Hill Baptist Church.³²

Mention has previously been made of Tanner's Creek Chapel of Elizabeth River Parish. It seems to have been abandoned in 1785, and in 1828 was repaired and put back in service as a Baptist meetinghouse; the following year (1829) this congregation was formally constituted as the Tanner's Creek Baptist Church. There is some confusion as to its later fate, but apparently the old building was dismantled and rebuilt in 1836 at the corner of Old Ocean View Road and Seawell's Point (now Little Creek) Road; it was then rechristened Salem Baptist Church. In 1870, a new building was built on the latter site through the generosity of J. Hardy Hendren, a member of Freemason Street Baptist Church, in memory of his father, the

* Not to be confused with the Baptist Church by this name in Princess Anne County, originally the Pungo Baptist Church (see Chapter XX).

first pastor of Tanner's Creek Church, Reverend Jeremiah Hendren (1829-1864). There were two other "ante-bellum" Baptist churches in Norfolk County: they were called, from their location, Pleasant Grove (1845) and Lake Drummond (1850).³³ In Norfolk County records there is a deed of 1 September 1808 made by Lemuel Denby and Margaret, his wife, for a small tract on Seawell's Point Road to be used for a Methodist Church. Like Nimmo's Church in Princess Anne, this one took the name of the donor and was called Denby Methodist Church. Its yard was soon used as a burial ground and in it can still be seen two grave stones of 1826. It was at the corner of a road called Denby Church Road or Ironmonger's Road (it led to Ironmonger's farm on Mason's Creek) which touched the south edge of present Forest Lawn Cemetery. The road has now been closed, and the church's name was changed in recent years to Wesley Memorial.

The Norfolk County records contain many references to those gentlemen who qualified as officers in H. M. Colonial Militia. Such qualification, as noted in a previous chapter, probably consisted in producing the commission in Court and taking the oath of office. The following (with rank and date of qualifying) are some of the officers of Norfolk County Colonial Militia:

Colonel John Wilson		1705
Captain Thomas Hodges		1716
Captain George Mason		1716
Lieut. Colonel George Newton		1734
Captain Willis Wilson		1734
Captain Lewis Conner	10 March	1740
Colonel William Crawford	15 September	1748
County Lieutenant*		
Lieutenant James Wilson	15 September	1748
"in Capt. Willis Wilson's Company"		
Captain John Willoughby	15 September	1748
"Captain of a Company on the north side of Tanner's Creek"		
Captain John Portlock	16 August	1752
Captain Thomas Veale	16 August	1752
Captain Joshua Carpew	16 August	1752
Captain Robert Burgess	28 September	1752
Captain Marcom** Herbert	28 September	1752
Captain William Hodges	20 September	1753
Colonel Robert Tucker	20 March	1760***
County Lieutenant*		

* Chief militia officer of the County.

** Malcom, spelled phonetically.

*** In addition to those listed, fifteen others qualified on this date, a few of whom had already qualified in 1752. (See Stewart, *Norfolk County*, p. 34, for complete list.)

Captain Thomas Talbot	20 March	1760***
Captain Stephen Wright	20 March	1760***
Lieutenant Thomas Nash, Jr. [IV]	20 March	1760***
Lieutenant John Herbert	20 March	1760***
Charles Stewart, Gent.	20 March	1760***
"Quartermaster Norfolk County Militia"		
Lieutenant Samuel Bacon	19 June	1761
Captain David Porter	18 March	1763
Lieutenant Giles Randolph	18 March	1763
Lieutenant Jerome Creech	18 March	1763
Ensign George Wright Burgess	18 March	1763
Colonel John Willoughby*	15 October	1767
"Lieutenant and Chief Commander of County Militia"		
Colonel Josiah Wilson	18 February	1768
Lieutenant Colonel George Veale	18 February	1768
Lieutenant Caleb Herbert	18 March	1772
Lieutenant Samuel Veale	18 March	1772
Lieutenant James Nicholson	17 August	1773
Lieutenant William Nicholson	17 August	1773 ³⁴

The events leading up to the Revolution were foreshadowed in Norfolk County as elsewhere in the Colony. In June of 1766, there occurred an enthusiastic celebration upon receipt of the news of the repeal of the Stamp Act. Like the slightly earlier celebration of similar import in the Borough of Norfolk, this occasion had both religious and secular aspects. Under the date-line "Great Bridge, Norfolk County, June 6," the *Virginia Gazette* told of the setting aside of Tuesday, June 3, as a day of "Thanksgiving and decent rejoicing." Colors were displayed at both church and banquet hall and cannon were fired to usher in the day. Services were held in Saint Bride's Church, with an appropriate sermon by the Reverend Mr. Pasteur, after which a banquet was provided and many toasts were drunk to the Royal Family, Mr. Pitt, liberty, patriotism, etc. At sunset the colors were struck with another discharge of cannon and the lighting of bonfires, and "a very elegant ball and entertainment" in the evening concluded the celebration.³⁵

The first important armed clash of the Revolution in Virginia took place in Norfolk County: this was the Battle of Great Bridge. Though relatively short in elapsed time, this encounter was to have a significant influence on the events which followed. It will be recalled that the Earl of Dunmore, Virginia's last royal Governor, was in conflict with the Assembly early in 1775, and his growing anxiety because of the rapid deterioration of his position caused him—on 20 April of that year—to remove the store of

* Promotion of him who qualified as Captain in 1748.

powder in the public magazine in Williamsburg; this occurred, by strange coincidence, on the day after the skirmishes at Lexington and Concord in Massachusetts Bay, though news of the latter did not reach Virginia for over a week. The Governor was soon forced to take refuge with the British fleet then in York River, and by July, 1775, these ships were in Elizabeth River off Norfolk, where Dunmore planned to make his headquarters for the "reconquest" of the Colony; for most of the patriots and friends of Liberty had by then fled from the Borough, and the English and Scotch merchants who remained—either through sympathy and inclination or through fear of the guns of the British fleet—were with Dunmore to a man.

Meanwhile the Convention—Virginia's Revolutionary government—was determined that Dunmore should not hold Norfolk, and had ordered Virginia troops to go there and drive him out: chief among these forces were the Culpeper Minute Men, and militia from Fauquier and Orange composing the Second Virginia Regiment under Colonel William Woodford. Among those from Fauquier were Major (later Colonel) Thomas Marshall and his son John—not yet a Captain—future Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. As these troops moved on Norfolk they were joined by others from points nearer at hand: Parker's two companies from Isle of Wight, plus units from Elizabeth City, Princess Anne and Norfolk Counties and Carolina. The Norfolk County Militia was under Colonel John Wilson. Dunmore had at his disposal the 14th Regiment (Regulars) of Infantry and some local Tory units, the "Queen's Own Loyal Virginians" (Queen's Rangers) under Colonel Jacob Ellegood of Princess Anne, the "Norfolk Militia of Loyalists" under Colonel (Doctor) Alexander Gordon and the "Ethiopean Corps" composed of fugitive slaves.³⁶

The Governor and his military commanders made the blunder which no strategist should ever fall into: they overlooked their lines of communication with the outside world until too late. The route by which the Virginia troops had to approach Norfolk extended northeasterly from Suffolk skirting the north edge of Dismal Swamp at Shoulder's Hill, then turned southeast crossing Western Branch near present Bower's Hill, passed by Batchelor's Mill on Deep Creek, Tucker's Mill (on present Willis Creek), Corbury's Mill, Bell's Mill and passed Great Bridge Chapel to arrive at the village of Great Bridge. Here the road crossed the Southern Branch, circled the head of the Eastern Branch at Kempsville, crossed the forked head of Broad Creek at Moore's Bridges and entered Norfolk on Princess Anne Road and Church Street. Had the detachment of the Fourteenth Regiment—quartered in a warehouse at Andrew Sprowle's Shipyard at Gosport* since early November—been moved a scant half dozen miles to Batchelor's Mill where the road crossed Deep Creek, the line of approach could have been effec-

* Site of the present U. S. Naval Shipyard.

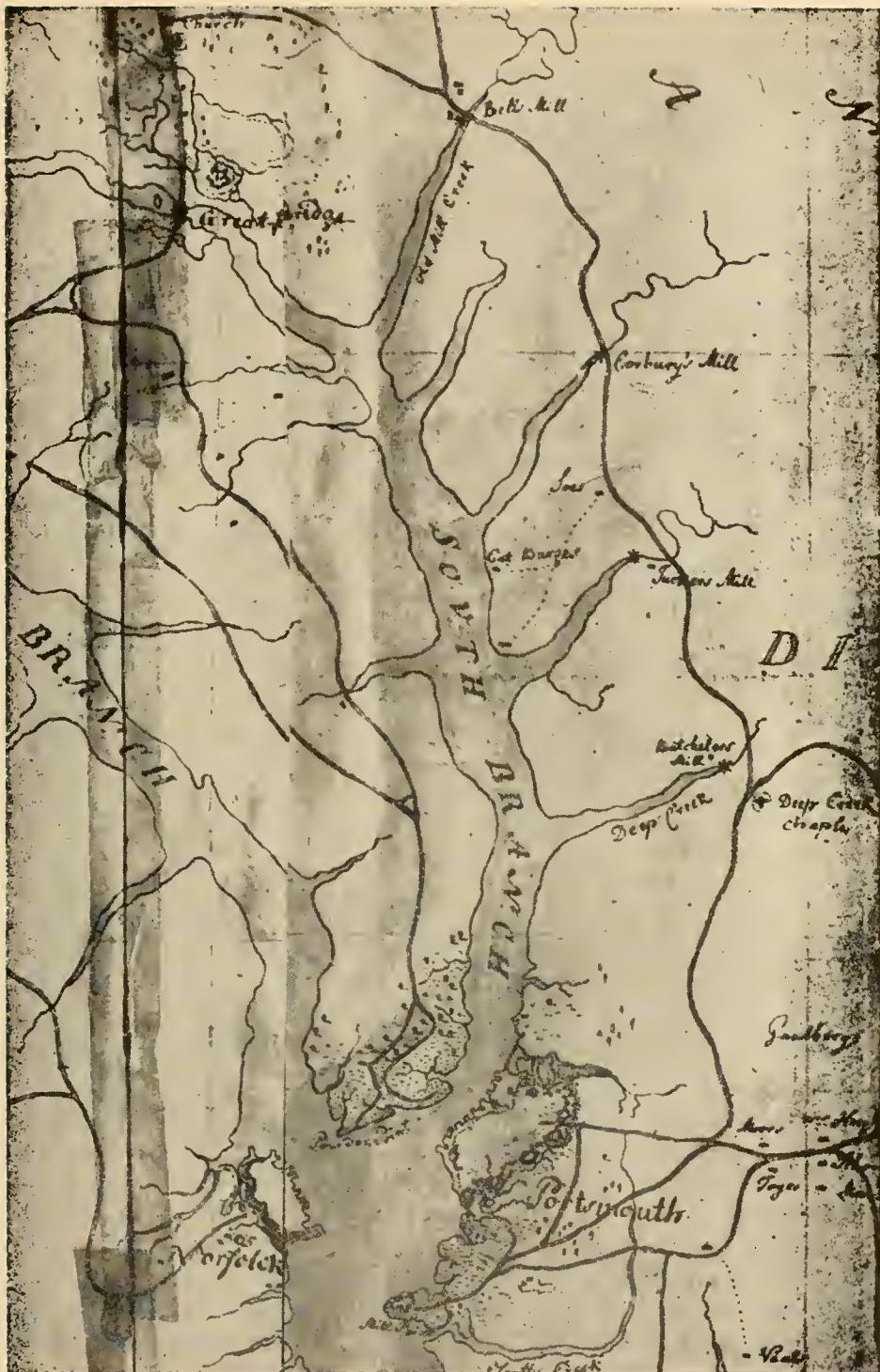
tively cut and it is doubtful that the Virginia troops would have ever reached Norfolk. However, Dunmore turned his efforts toward fortifying the northern edge of Norfolk, and by the time he realized that Great Bridge was the key to the situation, Woodford's shirtmen** were well on their way.³⁷

The Southern Branch at this spot flowed between swampy areas, and the bridge across it—which gave the place its name—had to be approached on either side by a causeway. The bridge itself connected two solid river banks which, because of the tidal swampy streams draining them, were virtually islands. At the south end of the bridge were the yards and warehouses from which were loaded the lumber, cooperage, shingles and other products for the Norfolk and Portsmouth markets. These were connected with the village of Great Bridge (previously called Bridgetown) where the Great Bridge Chapel of Saint Bride's Parish was.

The English belatedly decided to fortify the north causeway, and there they built a stockade fort and planted cannon to command the bridge and south causeway. When the Virginia troops arrived, they encamped at the Chapel—which they used as their headquarters—and began to throw up breastworks athwart the south causeway head and on the solid river bank on their west or left flank. It is estimated that the Virginia troops and militia here from various localities numbered about one thousand, while the English could not count quite that many, including both Infantry and Grenadier companies of the Fourteenth Regiment, Loyalist or Tory Militia and negroes, and sailors and marines from the *Otter* man-of-war. Though outnumbered, the English side had the advantage of a hard core of seasoned regulars plus artillery support; they had captured practically all the cannon in the neighborhood that might have served the patriots, who were therefore without such support.³⁸

Thus matters stood at the beginning of December, with both sides intermittently firing from behind stockade and breastwork, and neither bold enough to attempt the crossing of bridge or causeway in the face of the fire. The British were finally induced to do so by a stratagem. A well-coached negro servant of Major Thomas Marshall feigned desertion to the enemy and reported that the Patriot forces numbered only a few hundred. Early on the morning of Saturday, 9 December 1775, the British began the attack with a grenadier company of the Fourteenth Regiment under Captain Fordyee in the van, followed by infantry, Tories and Negroes. They carried planks to lay over the partially dismantled bridge, dragged two field pieces over with them, and advanced over the south causeway toward the American breastworks. The latter were lightly defended by a small detachment under Lieutenant Travis, who gave an order to his men reminiscent of Bunker

** So were the Virginia Minute Men called, because of their buckskin hunting shirts; their experience in pursuit of wild fowl and beast had made them expert marksmen.



(Courtesy William L. Clements Library)

PART OF NORFOLK COUNTY—NORFOLK AND PORTSMOUTH TO GREAT BRIDGE
FROM CLINTON MS 267 (C. 1781)

Hill: he told them to reserve their fire until the nearest attackers were within fifty yards. At such close range the British losses were heavy and included Fordyee and several other officers. Attempts by Captain Leslie, Commander of the Infantry, to rally them were of no avail; the Tories and Negroes had been of little assistance and the fire of Woodford's reinforcements from the breastworks and the flank made it impossible to renew the attack.³⁹ How the British retreated to Norfolk and their ships, leaving the road open to the Virginians, is a story for a later chapter. The Battle of Great Bridge, which lasted a little over a half hour, was of great local significance: it was now impossible for Dunmore to hold southeast Virginia by establishing his base in the Borough of Norfolk—but it was equally certain that the doom and destruction of the Borough were thereby sealed.

It is traditional that the Virginia troops suffered only one casualty, a hand wound suffered by Lieutenant Thomas Nash* of Gosport, of the Norfolk County Militia. Great Bridge also had its heroine in the person of Miss Polly Miller, an energetic lady of the village who furnished refreshments to the warriors and ministered to their wounded, saving the lives of many.

We give here another section of the 1781 map of Norfolk, Princess Anne and Nansemond Counties⁴⁰ to show the location of the places mentioned in this account. It must be borne in mind that the North point is at the bottom and that the Eastern Branch should be almost at right angles with the Southern Branch. Here may be seen the four mills on the road to Great Bridge, the chapels at the latter place and at Deep Creek, the edge of the Dismal Swamp and the other swampy area still called Green Sea, the American redoubt at Great Bridge (the British stockade is omitted), and the forts at the west end of Main Street, Norfolk, and on Hospital Point, north of Portsmouth. Also visible are the inner defenses of Portsmouth and the breastworks north of Norfolk, begun by Dunmore.

The Virginians under Colonel Woodford, plus the newly arrived North Carolinians under Colonel Robert Howe, lost no time in taking the now undefended road through Kemp's Landing to Norfolk. Dunmore and most of the Tories had taken refuge in his men-of-war and in other vessels. The story of the Borough's destruction in January, 1776, will be told in another place. Many of the homeless inhabitants of Norfolk found refuge in the County and elsewhere. After Major-General Charles Lee was put in command of the Southern Department, posts were established at various points where attack might be expected. The places so protected in Norfolk County were Great Bridge, the overland key to the northern part of this county and of Princess Anne, and at Ferry Point (formerly Powder Point, now Berkley)

* He is called Captain in some accounts. He was fifth of that name being son of Thomas Nash of Saint Bride's, vestryman in 1761.

at the junction of the Eastern and Southern Branches of Elizabeth River. Dunmore anchored *Liverpool* and *Otter* up the latter Branch above Deep Creek, and established a camp at Tucker's Mill; here he drilled his troops—regulars, Tories and ex-slaves. The *Dunmore* was anchored on the other side of the river near the ruins of a distillery which the patriots had destroyed. In this position, the British did not lack for supplies, for there were still many Tories in the area to visit their camp or row out to their ships in the river with supplies. The enemy sympathizers were so active in this way that it was finally decided, in April, 1776, to transplant the whole population of Norfolk and Princess Anne County from Great Bridge and Kempe's Landing to the ocean; thus Dunmore's sources of supply would be cut. This would have been a serious problem, for there were at least five thousand people in the area affected. Fortunately, Dunmore's sudden decision to move up Chesapeake Bay made it unnecessary to carry this order out. Finally in August Dunmore left these shores never to return; with him and his troops in the warships were a hundred miscellaneous vessels of all types, large and small, loaded with the Tories and their families and worldly goods and with the freed Negroes who had been following along since Great Bridge.⁴¹

An incident of this period is of interest because it concerns a Norfolk County man who made a name for himself. In 1775, Lieutenant Richard Dale had joined the Virginia State Navy, and in March of 1776 he was captured and held for a while by the British. He was commissioned Lieutenant in the Continental Navy in 1779 and sailed under John Paul Jones as first lieutenant of the *Bonhomme Richard*. He was an original member of the Society of the Cincinnati because of his war service, and before his retirement in 1801, became Captain and third ranking officer of the United States Navy.⁴²

The next few years were here filled chiefly with hostilities between Patriots and Tories. During this difficult time, many Norfolk County families were divided in their loyalties in a way that we have erroneously associated exclusively with the division between North and South over eighty years later. In May, 1779, a strong naval force under Sir George Collier entered the Elizabeth and captured or destroyed many vessels and large quantities of naval stores. Sir George did not remain long in these waters after having accomplished his purpose. In October 1780, another fleet arrived from New York with troops under General Leslie to reinforce Lord Cornwallis; they remained only a few days and set sail for Charleston. The story of Benedict Arnold's occupation belongs more to the chapter on Portsmouth Town: suffice it to say here that the traitor of West Point arrived in December, 1780, with the intention of occupying and securing southeast Virginia for the English. The turn of events in 1781, however, made it necessary for him to leave and join Cornwallis in Yorktown and defeat.⁴³

The period between our two wars with Great Britain was one of great extremes. First, a tremendous boost was given to American seaborne trade on account of the state of war in Europe. Then, foreign commerce which had been so built up was practically destroyed by the Embargo Act of 1807. Meanwhile, interference with American vessels by the British—under the pretext of seeking deserters—led eventually to war in 1812.⁴⁴ One incident of that war, which occurred in Norfolk County, is worthy of comment here: we refer, of course, to the Battle of Craney Island.

The Hampton Roads area was only slightly affected during the early months of this war, but things were different in 1813. In February of that year, a British squadron arrived in the Capes to seal the entrance to Chesapeake Bay, catching inside its blockade the pride of the U. S. Navy—the frigate *Constellation*. This vessel remained in the Elizabeth River throughout the war, and her officers, men, guns and small boats added greatly to the defense of the port. With the county and its component parts—including Gosport and the shipyard—threatened with invasion, hurried preparations were made to resist. Companies from Richmond, Henrico, Albemarle and Petersburg joined the local militia and volunteers, swelled by the sailors and marines of the *Constellation*, and all were placed under the command of General Robert B. Taylor of Norfolk. Breastworks were thrown up at Lambert's Point, Tanner's Creek and Craney Island. The latter point was especially heavily defended, since it is right at the mouth of Elizabeth River and could easily challenge attempts by a hostile force to reach Norfolk, Portsmouth and the shipyard.⁴⁵

The fortification of Craney Island had been ordered by General Wade Hampton, who preceded General Taylor as commander of this military district. A fort on the east side and redoubts on the west side of the island were armed with two 24-pounders, one 18 and four 6's, manned by personnel from the *Constellation* and two companies of light artillery, one of which was commanded by Captain Arthur Emmerson of Portsmouth.* An assortment of gunboats—schooners, sloops and feluccas, twenty-two in number—were spread in an arc across the channel from the Island to Lambert's Point.⁴⁶

A number of additional warships and transports joined the British fleet in Hampton Roads, and on 21 June 1813 the entire squadron moved up to anchor at the mouth of Nansemond River. There were four line-of-battle ships with their three-tiered batteries, seven frigates, three sloops-of-war, two transports and a number of lesser vessels. An attempt to flank the Island, by landing a force on the mainland to the west, was thrown back with heavy loss to the red-coats. Meanwhile, a frontal attack was in process of

* This was the well-known unit—still in existence—which had just been organized four years earlier (1809) and is now known as Grimes Battery after the name of its commander in 1861.

being mounted, and a double column of troop barges—led by the Admiral's fifty-two-foot barge, *Centipede*—approached the entrance to the river channel. The deadly fire of the land batteries also threw this force into confusion, with great loss of life and four or five of the barges. One of the casualties was the *Centipede*, a handsome craft of twenty-four oars with a shining brass three-pounder on its bow; a cannon shot passed through it, cutting off one man's legs.⁴⁷

We have an almost first-hand story of this battle by an eye-witness. A little over a quarter century earlier—just after the Revolution—a Marine Hospital had been established at Ferry Point.* It stood on the southwest side of what is now Chestnut Street (then called Liberty, but not to be confused with the way Liberty Street now runs) and its grounds extended down to the water. In 1813, the matron-in-charge was a widow named Mrs. Mary Logan Morton, whose daughter, Jane, was married to a former merchant mariner (turned printer) named Richard Dallam Toy. Mrs. Toy later related many happenings to a grandson, and the latter wrote the following before he died in 1909:

The hospital building had a porch from which a view was afforded down the Elizabeth River. My grandmother told me that in [the war of] 1812 she sat on this porch, and, with a glass, saw the attack made by the British upon the Americans at Craney Island, about five miles away [actually only four and a half]. She said that the attack was made in a very large row boat called the Centipede and that as this boat came near the shore of the island the Americans fired a chain shot which cut in two the man standing in the bow. She did not see what other execution was done, but the boat was pulled back and she saw the Americans rush out and take the bodies of men who had been shot and bring them on shore.⁴⁸

Personal observation from the spot, or reference to a map, will show that only the coal and cargo piers at Lambert's Point—the first of which were completed about 1886—now obstruct a clear view of Craney Island from Ferry Point.

The British were thus forced to give up their attempt to gain control of the Elizabeth River. They lost about two hundred men all told, while the defenders lost not a man. But they did not give up their blockade of Chesapeake Bay, and American merchantmen and privateers found it increasingly difficult to get out of the Capes—although this feat was performed with surprising regularity. However, a large share of Virginia's trade found an outlet, not through the Bay, but by way of North Carolina, and the produce of all southeast Virginia—even the flour and tobacco from Richmond and Petersburg—began to move over this route. Much of this merchandise

* Now Berkley, a part of the City of Norfolk.

was carried to the head of Eastern Branch, landed at Kempsville and carried overland ten miles to North Landing River, whence it went directly into North Carolina via Currituck Sound. It was not until June, 1814, that the Dismal Swamp Canal (begun in 1787, as will be related in another place) was put into full operation, and a twenty-ton vessel arrived in the Elizabeth with goods from Scotland Neck. This town is located up the Roanoke River about five miles from its banks, and the route down that river through Albemarle Sound, and Pasquotank and the Canal to Norfolk covered a hundred and fifty miles. Some years later, another canal—the Albemarle and Chesapeake—was to supplement the Dismal Swamp Canal. First surveyed in 1840, it was begun in 1850 and opened in 1859, connecting the Southern Branch at Great Bridge with North Landing River at the Princess Anne County Line. The latter river flows into Currituck Sound in North Carolina, and today the Albemarle and Chesapeake Canal has become an important link in the Intracoastal Waterway for pleasure craft between New York and Florida.⁴⁹

Mention was made above of the Marine Hospital at Ferry Point. This locality was called Powder Point—possibly because of a magazine safely outside Norfolk Town—as early as 1728 when William Byrd passed through; Byrd said it was a careening ground for ships.⁵⁰ It was called Washington Town or Point when the County Court House was located there as above noted (1790-1801), and may boast of being one of the first places named for the Father of Our Country even nine years before his death. One of its principal streets was also so named (though now called Walnut) and another was patriotically called Liberty Street (now Chestnut), the present street by that name being of later naming. It is traditional that this town of Washington was at one time proposed as the site for our national capital before the latter was definitely located on the Potomac. The spot became known as Ferry Point shortly after 1800 because of the ferry from the foot of Liberty (Chestnut) Street to the county dock in Norfolk. The name of Herbertsville was also connected with it for a while. After the War for Southern Independence, it was developed by the late Lycurgus Berkley into an incorporated town bearing his surname, and in 1906 was annexed to the City of Norfolk.

The Marine Hospital was established by Act of Assembly on 20 December 1787 as an Institution for aged and disabled seamen.⁵¹ As previously noted it was presided over by Mrs. Mary Logan Morton, who was succeeded at her death in 1814 by her daughter, Mrs. Jane Morton Toy. Her husband, R. D. Toy died the same year, and she remained as matron-in-charge until 1834 when she moved to Nashville. Shortly thereafter the hospital came under the supervision of Dr. E. O. Balfour, who (it is said) greatly improved the grounds and principal buildings; he was succeeded in 1849 by Dr.

Schoolfield of Portsmouth.⁵² The old building was still standing in 1902, when it was occupied by the Ryland Institute, a school for girls; a photograph at that time shows a substantial two-story structure with large windows and a porch extending up to the eaves and across a part of the facade. Thomas Newton* of Norfolk, a member of the Hospital's board of directors in 1800, wrote the following to President Thomas Jefferson on 30 September 1801:

. . . I hope something will be done to put the Marine Hospital in repair next Congress. It is really a valuable building but getting much out of repairs, a small tax on sailors, would support it handsomely, and leave for admittance of foreign seamen, on paying customary boon wages would greatly assist in maintaining it; the Court House and Prison of Norfolk County, is adjoining the hospital lots except a stretch which will be sold, these would make a very great addition & will sell very low, not at half the Cost of building [on] them & in Cases of Contagious sickness among seamen, they could be kept in separate houses & be a means of saving many lives.⁵³

On 3 May 1807, Newton again wrote President Jefferson the following words on the same subject:

. . . I am sorry to inform you that we had the misfortune of losing the East wing of the Hospital for sick seamen this morning, it is supposed it took fire from a spark out of the chimney, & the wind blowing fresh from the N.W., the roof was instantly in flames, but by great exertions the main building (which was joined to it by a low covered way, about ten feet a part) was saved with very little damage & the West wing remains intire, but neither the main building or wing are finished. They have but one floor & not lathed or plastered. Most of the furniture & many materials are saved, such as the sashes, with glass, doors & C which answer to put the West wing in order, for the reception of the sick & repairing the main building. I suppose from a rough estimate, it would cost 2000\$ or probably more, to put the damaged part in repair & finish the West wing. It is an elegant building and very fine brick work well worth keeping in order; I have wrote the Secty of the Treasury on this subject, requesting instructions on this unfortunate event. I beg leave to observe, that very few or none of the seamen of Virginia are ever put into the Hospital, they are accommodated by their friends & relations. Most of those who are admitted to the Hospital are from the Northern States who, not being used to our climate fall sick . . .⁵⁴

Hostile action in this neighborhood between Union and Confederate forces during the War of 1861-65 were confined to the first year of that conflict, since this area was abandoned by the Confederates as untenable without sufficient naval support. Almost immediately after news of the firing on Fort Sumter in early April of 1861, the Union forces in the Gosport Navy

* Second by this name; Burgess, Colonel of Militia, judge, mayor, alderman, delegate, state senator.

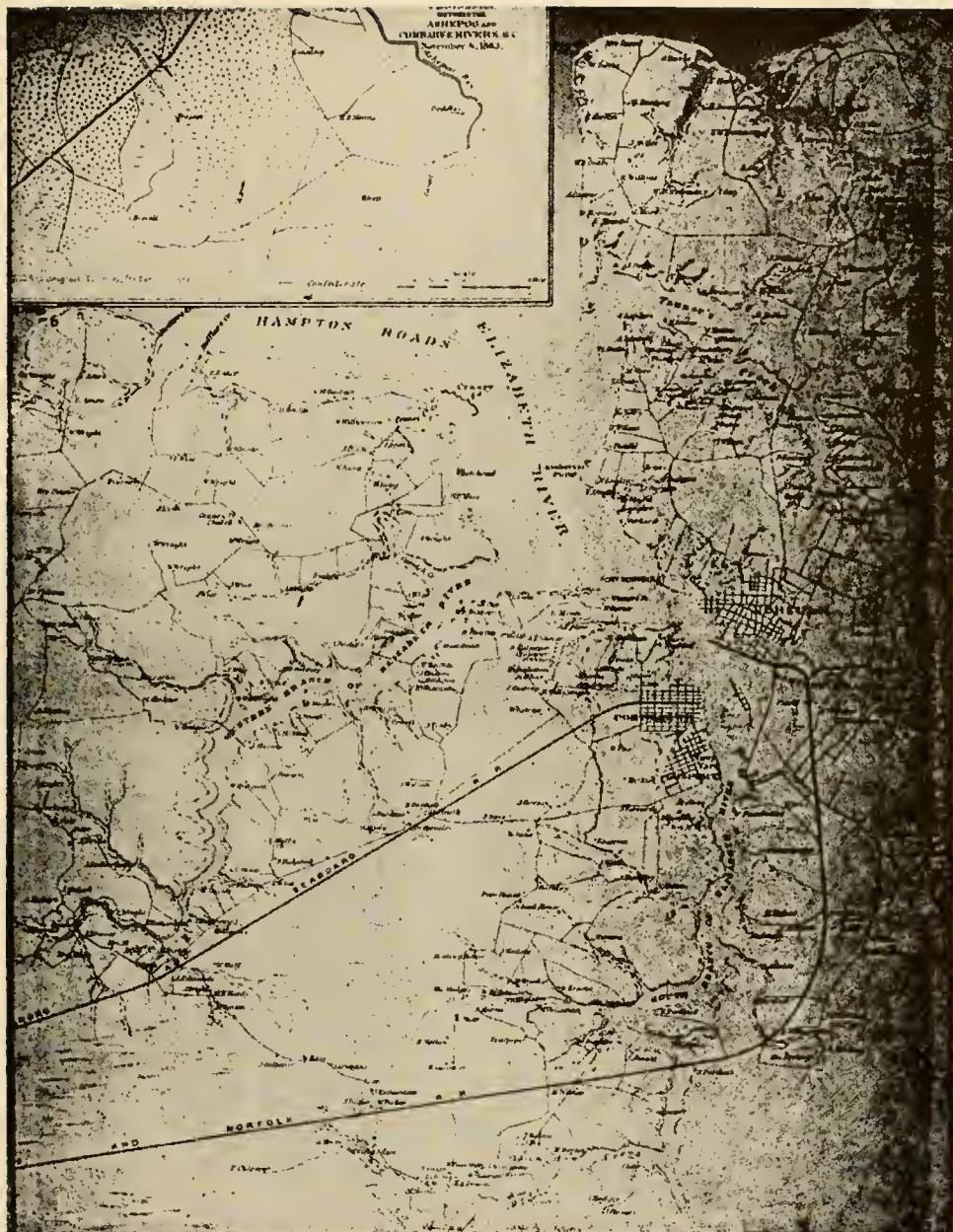
Yard destroyed both shore installations and ships at that place; this is a story which belongs to the chapter on Portsmouth. Within a month, General William B. Taliaferro, district commander, began to fortify the approaches to Norfolk, Portsmouth and Gosport, because of the threat of invasion from the strong Federal army and naval forces at Old Point. As before, the key defense posts were at Seawell's Point, Craney Island, Fort Norfolk and Fort Nelson (Hospital Point). The battery at Seawell's Point included three 42-pounder carronades, twenty 32-pounders and six 9-inch rifles. On 19 and 20 May 1861, an artillery duel was engaged between this battery and two Federal naval vessels (*Monticello* and an armed tug), in which the latter were forced to retire. This was the first engagement of the War in Virginia, and the Seawell's Point defenses remained active until abandoned when evacuation occurred.⁵⁵

Another momentous event of this time had its scene in these waters: we refer to the first battle of ironclads (*Virginia-Merrimac* and *Monitor*), which will be related in the chapter on Portsmouth.

The decision to evacuate this area was reached and effected early in May, 1862, and on the tenth of that month a Union force of 6000 men under Major General John E. Wool* landed at Ocean View. This force was accompanied by a group of distinguished sight-seers in the persons of President Lincoln and two of his cabinet (Secretaries Stanton and Chase); the V.I.P.'s did not venture ashore but watched from the safety of a ship in Hampton Roads. Wool found the bridge over Tanner's Creek (site of present Granby Street bridge) had been destroyed, and had to circle around and enter Norfolk from the east.⁵⁶ The story of the Union occupation will be told in another place. The map here given was made about 1863 for Brigadier General Viele, military governor of the district, and shows a part of Norfolk County north of Elizabeth River.⁵⁷ Clearly visible are the redoubt and entrenchments at Seawell's Point; batteries on Tanner's Creek, Lambert's Point and Pinner's Point, Fort Norfolk and Hospital Point; and the beginning of the entrenchment athwart Princess Anne Road from the head of Tanner's Creek to Moore's Bridges at the head of Broad Creek. At the extreme upper right hand corner, the letter "O" marks the beginning of the legend "Ocean View;" here began Wool's march into Norfolk, down the Old Ocean View Road to its junction with Seawell's Point Road,* and west past the house of "J. Guy" (still called Guy's Corner in this writer's childhood, now the intersection of Tidewater Drive and Little Creek Road), to the junction with Tanner's Creek Road (now Ward's Corner). When it was found that the bridge south of "H. Talbot" was out, the Federal forces had

* His name is preserved in the unfinished Fort Wool at Rip-Raps, the island off Old Point.

* Now disguised under the name of Little Creek Road.



PART OF NORFOLK COUNTY
MAP MADE ABOUT 1863 FOR BRIGADIER GENERAL VIELE, GOVERNOR OF THE DISTRICT

to retrace their steps, take Seawell's Point Road to Fox Hall and enter Norfolk over Princess Anne Road.

Even though Norfolk County itself was early out of the picture as far as armed engagements were concerned, its men and units made their mark on many battle fronts. The Dismal Swamp Rangers (Co. A, 3rd Va. Reg.) and the Portsmouth Rifles (Co. G, 9th Va. Reg.) took part in Pickett's charge at Gettysburg; the former was also at Cold Harbor. The Saint Bride's Artillery (Co. I, 38th Va. Reg.) and the Norfolk County Patriots (Co. F, 41st Va. Reg.) were at Seven Pines; the Jackson Grays (Co. A, 61st Va. Reg.) were at "the Crater." These are just a few of the instances of their participation.⁵⁸ The history of the two oldest and most famous units—Portsmouth Grimes Battery (1809) and Norfolk Light Artillery Blues (1828)—will be told in another place.

Two well-known seaside resorts were originally in Norfolk County, though now in Norfolk City limits. We refer, of course, to Ocean View and Willoughby Beach. Ocean View was first developed in 1854, and in January of the following year the Ocean View Company issued a glowing description of the spot as a country seat, with cool breezes, view of the ocean, surf-bathing, view of Cape Henry, Old Point, the Rip-Raps, and "Naval and Merchant ships at all times trailing across its noble offing, as well as piscatory gentlemen dealing seductive offerings from their boats to the sprightly denizens of the deep . . ."⁵⁹!!! It was also announced in that January of 1855 that forty-two gentlemen had purchased lots there, including Dr. Thomas D. Warren of Edenton, Edward S. Pegram of Baltimore, Dr. George W. Peete of Portsmouth, and the rest (39) of Norfolk, among whom were:

Cincinnatus W. Newton	Captain Francis W. Seabury
Colonel Myer Myers	Dr. William Selden
John B. Whitehead	Tazewell Taylor
Alex Bell	Walter H. Taylor
William S. Camp	Dr. Thomas D. Toy
Richard Dickson	Dr. Richard B. Tunstall
Finlay F. Ferguson	Dr. Robert B. Tunstall ⁵⁹

The war put a stop to any further development at that time, and by 1865—as will be seen in the military map above—only a handful of houses had been built and were grouped in the vicinity of the present triangle at the north terminus of Granby Street. Shortly thereafter it began to grow in popularity, and by 1880 Northerners had begun to visit it. Soon a railroad, later electrified, was built, as well as a hotel, pavilions and other cottages, and Ocean View became a popular spot for all sorts of recreations: surf-bathing, fishing, riding, hunting, etc.⁶⁰ Ocean View became part of the City of Norfolk by annexation in 1923.

Willoughby Beach, while not so early developed as a resort, has a much longer history. As noted in the previous chapter, the first Thomas Willoughby owned land here before 1626 and had built his "manor house" by 1635. As pointed out elsewhere, it was probably situated on a point called Willoughby's Point,* and his lands reached out in both directions, certainly as far as Mason's Creek to the west and probably almost to Little Creek on the east. This point was not identical with what we now know as Willoughby Beach or Spit, the latter being of later formation. We can discount the tradition that one of the Willoughbys woke up one morning after a bad storm to see the sand spit suddenly there. The late Clair Crawford, a gentleman with an inexhaustible store of knowledge concerning the County, believed the spit was formed in 1749. It is probable that shoals had been started before this by the ebb and flow of the waters of the Bay, and Crawford must have been thinking of the severe storm of hurricane proportions which is known to have occurred in 1749,⁶¹ and which undoubtedly helped to bring these shoals above the surface. Colonel John Willoughby, County Lieutenant who died in 1776, left to his son John his "manor plantation and 217 acres known as Sandy Point." This second John Willoughby was County Sheriff and died in 1791; he bequeathed to his son John L. Willoughby "the point called Willoughby's Point and 217 acres taken up by my father." This certainly distinguishes Sandy Point from Willoughby's, and implies a new grant for the former during the lifetime of Colonel Willoughby, which fits in with the theory of new formation at mid-eighteenth century. The Willoughbys fell into difficulties because of the loyalist leanings of some—though not all—of its members, and at least part of the property seems to have passed out of their hands soon after the Revolution.⁶² In 1826 it was advertised for sale by "Madam Garcien Maganos" as "a valuable plantation and fishery on Willoughby's Point containing 360 acres;" this has been erroneously identified with the Spit, which it is not. This tract would now approximately cover that area bounded by Chesapeake Bay, Third View Street, the U.S. Naval Air Station, plus the developments known as Pamlico, Lennox and Pinewell. It was described as being half under cultivation and half covered with pine and oak timber, with half a mile of sandy beach for seine hauling, a dwelling house, two kitchens, stable, carriage house, barn, garden, well, agricultural implements, fishing boats and twenty fathoms of seine.⁶³ The name of the owner, Maganos, is intriguing: we judge from a county marriage record of 11 May 1799 between Joseph and Rosa Josephina Magagnos (cousins?) that they were Italian; there was also a Captain Julian Magagnos of the 54th Virginia Militia in 1812, but we cannot at this time identify any of these

* Just north of the present Ocean View Elementary School.

with the owner of Willoughby's Point. It will be noted from the military map of 1863 (given earlier) that this property was then in possession of "W. Taylor." A chart of 1841 labelled the spit as "Willoughby's Sand Point."⁶⁴

The area remained undeveloped until the turn of the century. One early resident, Colonel William Couper, said his father built a house near 7½ stop in 1898, and identified other playmates of his shortly thereafter as Grif and Stearns Dodson, Ralph and Linton Jones, and Jim Culpepper.⁶⁵ The big growth came in 1907 with the Jamestown Exposition and most of the original cottages on the spit that are still standing date from that time. The Hampton Roads Yacht Club was established at the western end of the beach, and was much enjoyed not only by the grownups but also by the "small fry." Like Ocean View, Willoughby became part of Norfolk City by annexation in 1923.

Norfolk County, of course, followed the pattern of the other Virginia counties in local government after the Revolution. It will be recalled that the early County Courts were composed of a variable number of Justices or Commissioners appointed by the Governor—on the average, eight—who fulfilled all the functions of local government: executive, legislative and judicial. At that time, the County was divided into precincts for enforcement and other purposes, and after 1761 into three parishes for ecclesiastical purposes. We may imagine that these pre-Revolutionary precincts were called Tanner's Creek, Western Branch, Southern Branch or Deep Creek, Eastern Branch or Great Bridge, and probably others. After the war a new system of local government gradually developed a more democratic administration and a more efficient system of justice. The old precincts were replaced by magisterial districts, and the executive and legislative functions of the Justices were assumed by a Board of Supervisors elected one from each district, one of whom was chosen Chairman. They were, in effect, the counterpart of the Mayor and Council in the municipalities. The divisions or districts of Norfolk County under this system came to be known as Tanner's Creek, Western Branch, Deep Creek, Pleasant Grove, Washington, Cradock and Butt's Road. The judicial functions of the Justices were placed under a Circuit Court presided over by a Judge who, as the name of his court indicated, meted out justice in a "circuit" which might include courts in as many as three counties.

Norfolk County today is an important area aside from the municipalities which it contains, though it is constantly fighting the battle of loss of territory to the latter through annexation. It has an excellent public school system including five high schools; there are a dozen classes of manufacture carried on here (food products, textiles, clothing, lumber, furniture, printing, chemicals, glass, transportation equipment, etc.); its farm products amounted

to nearly five million dollars in 1949; it has large commercial forest resources; its mineral resources are confined chiefly to sand, gravel, brick clay and marl; it has important ground and surface water resources—part of the Great Dismal Swamp, with Lake Drummond at its center, occupies vast areas in the west and south portions of the County.⁶⁶

As indicated above, the chief problem here—as in any county adjacent to a city—is the loss of territory by annexation. By the time Norfolk was chartered as a city in 1845, it had not grown appreciably from its borough limits of 1736. However, beginning in 1887 it began to take large bites out of Tanner's Creek District until 1955 when the latter completely disappeared. As these lines are written, preparations are being made to take over a large part of Kempsville District in adjoining Princess Anne to the east. Washington District has similarly suffered by loss of Berkley (1906) and Campostella (1923) to Norfolk, and by the establishment of South Norfolk in 1919. Likewise, Portsmouth has reached out to the Western Branch in one direction and the U. S. Naval Shipyard in another, and now has an annexation suit pending for more adjoining territory. All of these matters will be noted in more detail in the various chapters on these municipalities.

In closing this chapter on Norfolk County, we shall give brief sketches of some of the prominent families who contributed to its history, some of which have already entered into the accounts of Lower Norfolk County before 1691 in the preceding chapter. As before noted, the name of Willoughby was one of the most ancient and prominent of this section. The third Thomas Willoughby died in 1712 leaving a son, Thomas IV, and four daughters: Mary wife of John Porter, Elizabeth, Sarah and Mary. Sarah's will was proved in 1740, and reveals the names of her brother's six sons (John, Thomas V, Lemuel, Samuel, Alderton, William), and the fact that one of her sisters married the Reverend Moses Robertson, Elizabeth River Parish minister (1729-1742). Thomas Willoughby [IV], who died in 1753, was married to Ann the daughter of Thomas Mason, thus uniting the two most prominent families of the Bay Shore, whose names are still preserved in Willoughby Spit and Mason's Creek. Colonel John Willoughby, son of Thomas IV, has been mentioned before; he was married in 1756 to Sarah Abyvon, daughter of a mayor of Norfolk Borough, by whom he had a son John [II] and died in 1776. In view of his official capacity as County Lieutenant, it is not unnatural that Colonel John "took the oath" with Dunmore in 1775; some say both he and his son did this under duress, while others relate that they continued in their loyalist leanings even after Dunmore's departure. Some doubt is cast on these accounts by the fact that the younger John was County Sheriff in 1784, and his two sons (John L. and Thomas) were still living here after 1800. Other descendants of Thomas

Willoughby [IV] lived in the Borough of Norfolk, as will be related in a subsequent chapter.⁶⁷

There was another branch of this family which cannot be precisely identified. Thomas Willoughby of the Southern Branch of Elizabeth River left a will proved 16 March 1710/11, naming three sons (Thomas, John, William) and six daughters.⁶⁸ It will be noted he was a contemporary of the third Thomas Willoughby of the Bay Shore, whose will was proved 16 May 1712. Thus, Thomas Willoughby of Southern Branch may have been son of a brother of the second Thomas Willoughby (d. 1672) of whom we have no knowledge, but this is pure surmise.

Equal to the Willoughbys in antiquity and prominence were their "next-door neighbors," the Masons. As brought out in the preceding chapter, Colonel Lemuel Mason (son of Francis) held every public office in the County, probably including that of County Lieutenant; his wife was Anne Seawell* and their wills are on record—proved respectively in 1702 and 1705/6. Their heirs were Thomas, Lemuel, George, Frances (Newton-Sayer), Alice (Porten-Boush), Mary (Cocke), and Dinah (Thorowgood). Thomas Mason died in 1711 leaving a son Lemuel and three daughters, one of whom (Ann) married Thomas Willoughby [IV] as above noted. George Mason died the same year as his brother (1711), leaving two sons, Thomas and George (Captain of Militia in 1716) and two daughters. The latter Thomas Mason (son of George I) died in 1731, leaving sons George, William, Lemuel, Henry and three daughters. An interesting item is in the will of the elder Thomas Mason (d. 1711): "fifty pounds in good Spanish money to be raised and paid out of my estate for the keeping and education of my son Lemuel Mason at the Gramer Scoole at Williams Brough." This gives proof of the pronunciation of the name of the capital city of Williamsburgh in accordance with its original spelling.⁶⁹

Colonel Lemuel Mason's sister Elizabeth married the Huguenot James Thelaball. The latter died in 1693, leaving two surviving sons: Francis Thelaball (d. 1704) who was father of James, Dyer, Francis (II), Lemuel and Sarah; and James Thelaball (II, d. 1711) who was father of Francis, Lemuel, Dinah, Elizabeth and Ann. The elder Thelaball also had three daughters, two of whom married Langleys, as below noted, and the third was Mary Chichester. Her husband William Chichester died in 1698, and they had two sons, William and James. The will of James Thelaball the elder (proved in September, 1693) has an interesting bequest: "to my loving cozen William Porten* all my ffrench books."⁷⁰

William [II] and Thomas Langley—sons of the first William (d. 1676)—married respectively Margaret and Elizabeth, the other two daughters of

* Designated in her will as "Anne Mason, Gentlewoman."

* Husband of his niece, Alice Mason.

James Thelaball. Thomas Langley died in 1717 leaving four sons, two of whom had descendants: 1) Captain Lemuel Langley (d. 1748) who was father of Thomas (of Princess Anne), Samuel (of Norfolk Borough, joiner and cabinet maker), Willis (a shipwright), Nathaniel, Frances and Mary; 2) Thomas Langley (d. 1747) who was father of Thomas (d. 1750), Lemuel, John, George, Mary (Milner) and Abigail (Hargrove). The family of William and Margaret Langley was somewhat more numerous, consisting of six sons and three daughters. In William Langley's will (proved in 1718), his sixth and "most dutiful" son Jeremiah was named one of the executors; he had no children. The eldest son, William Langley the third, had three sons: Joseph (d. 1750), Jonathan (shoemaker of Norfolk Borough), and William. The second son of William Langley [II] was Nathan (d. 1743), who had four sons and two daughters; James Langley (d. 1797), son of Nathan, had a son William Langley "Senior" (1757-1807), and the latter had a son, William Langley "Junior" (d. 1825). William Langley, Jr., was married in 1797 to Elizabeth Denby and they had Charles, Elizabeth Margaret, and Louisa Ann. Charles Langley was married to Agnes Peed; he died without issue in 1826.⁷¹

We have gone into detail with these last few Langley generations, because of the interesting old Langley burial plot on Mason's Creek. Its site is now within the bounds of Forest Lawn Cemetery, and it was formerly well tended, surrounded by a hedge and containing ornamental trees and shrubs. In recent years hedge and trees have disappeared, and the stones—considerably the worse for wear—are laid level, flat on the ground. The site is a few yards east of Granby Street and a slightly greater distance south of Mason's Creek; it marks not only the residence of this particular branch but certainly the general neighborhood in which the family lived. Here are buried Elizabeth, wife of William Langley, Jr. (died 17 May 1803, aged 22 years), Louisa, daughter of William and Elizabeth Langley (died 20 November 1803, aged eight months), Charles Langley (died 20 December 1825, aged 27 years), Agnes [Peed] wife of Charles (died 20 July 1852, aged 54 years), and two infant children of Charles and Agnes, Elizabeth (died in 1821, aged 11 months) and George (died in 1825, aged 10 months). In addition there are five graves whose connection with the Langley's is not apparent.* It will be recalled that there are two old graves in the former Denby Methodist Churchyard: they are Susan Peed (died 3 February 1826) and Thomas Peed (died 6 October 1826, aged 33 years); it is not known what relationship they bore to each other or to Agnes Peed Langley. It will be noted on the map of 1863 that the name "R. Peed" occurs quite near the churchyard and Langley plot.

* These inscriptions were carefully copied by the writer twenty-five years ago, when they were in better condition and much more legible.

The Denby family also resided in the Mason's Creek neighborhood, though we do not have a complete story of them at this writing. Edward Denby was here possibly before 1700; he died in 1718, leaving four sons (Edward, Charles, John, William) and four daughters. John Denby was a witness to the will of William Langley (d. 1718). William Denby left a will—proved in 1753—showing five sons (Arthur, Dyer, William, Matthias, Samuel) and four daughters.⁷² Jonathan Langley, the shoemaker of Norfolk, is said to have married the daughter of a later Charles Denby; William Langley, Jr., married a Denby also, (probably daughter of another Charles) as we have seen; one of the unidentified graves in the Langley plot was that of still another Charles Denby who died in 1796 at the age of twelve years. We refer again to the 1863 map which shows the residences of "A. Denby" and "C. Denby" in this locality.

Only one branch of the numerous Wishard or Wishart clan seems to have resided in Norfolk County, and not for long. It will be recalled that the elder James Wishard made his first purchase of land in 1665, 150 acres at Seawell's Point. At his death (1680), this tract was the inheritance of his second son John. This John Wishard died in 1707/8, and four years later (12 September 1712) we find his widow remarried to a Simmons; at the same time their son Thomas Wishard conveyed the Seawell's Point tract to Lewis Conner, apparently receiving in return a tract on the north side of Tanner's Creek. After this, nothing has been found concerning this branch. Another Wishard connection with Norfolk County might be mentioned in passing: Joyce, one of the second William Langley's daughters, was first married to her first cousin, Lemuel Thelaball (son of Francis), and as his widow she was married in 1732 to her more distant cousin John Wishard, son of John Wishard (d. 1739), Justice and Sheriff of Princess Anne County.⁷³

Lewis Conner, above-mentioned, was the second of that name. The elder Lewis Conner was here in the seventeenth century. He died in 1697/8 leaving a wife Elizabeth and seven children, of which four were sons; the record book is so mutilated that only two sons' names can be identified, Lewis (the eldest) and Kader. Kader Conner made his will in 1721 (probate illegible), naming his wife Abigail and brother-in-law William Crawford.* The latter will be recognized as founder of Portsmouth, Colonel and County Lieutenant, Vestryman. The will of Lewis Conner the younger was proved in 1753 and named his wife Margaret, daughter Mary, and five sons (Joseph, Lewis III, Charles, Samuel, Lawson); he bequeathed to each son a silver-hilted sword, and divided among them land at the "Cross Roads in Tanners Creek, at Cape Henry and Pungo in Princess Anne, and in

* Pronounced Crawford, and now so spelled.

North Carolina." A word on Craford background: William Craford, Gentleman, left a will proved on 16 March 1699/1700, naming his wife Margaret and two grandchildren, William and Abigail Craford (see above); he directed the return of his indentured servant Anthony to Plymouth and named James Cocke of the latter city as executor, his "trusty friends" Thomas Hodges and Samuel Boush being overseers for the will.⁷⁴

Continuing the story of the Nashes from the preceding chapter, it is to be noted that Thomas Nash "Senr." [II] was one of the executors for William Etheridge (d. 1716), and the latter named a daughter Ann Nash and a granddaughter Dorcas Nash; this establishes the marriage between Thomas Nash and Ann Etheridge. Of their four daughters and three sons, we shall mention only two: William Nash (d. 1751), part owner of a gallery in the Parish Church, and Thomas Nash III (d. 1783) traditionally married to Dinah, daughter of her mother's brother Thomas Etheridge. It is sometimes difficult to distinguish individuals among so many of the same name, but it seems probable that the second Thomas Nash was clerk of the Southern Branch Chapel in 1728, while his son Thomas III was its clerk in 1749.* Thomas Nash IV (d. 1794) was the eldest of four sons and six daughters; he was married in 1754 to Mary Portlock, qualified as Lieutenant of Militia in 1760, was vestryman of Saint Bride's Parish in 1761, was Lieutenant-Colonel of Norfolk County Militia in 1777, and one of the commissioners for building a new County Court House and Jail at Washington Point (1790-92). Thomas Nash (V) of Gosport was he who was wounded at Great Bridge (1775), and was father and grandfather respectively of Dr. Thomas Nash (VI) and Dr. Herbert M. Nash, both of Norfolk. Caleb Nash was a younger brother of Thomas (V); he died in 1827 leaving a son Richard Nash (1803-1855) who was father of seven sons, including Richard E. Nash, John L. Nash and C. A. Nash, mentioned elsewhere in these pages.⁷⁵

The story of the Tucker family belongs more to the Town and Borough of Norfolk but it does have a specific County connection, too. Here again it is difficult to distinguish individuals of the same name. The first Robert Tucker of Norfolk died in 1722; his son Robert—Colonel Robert Tucker—was vestryman of the undivided parish in 1750 and of the reduced Elizabeth River Parish in 1761. The latter's son Robert Tucker "Jr." [III] was vestryman in 1759 and after 1761 so served in Saint Bride's. When Colonel George Washington became interested in the Dismal Swamp in 1763, one of his associates in the venture was Robert Tucker; he it was who probably secured the services of Gershom Nimmo, Surveyor of Norfolk County, when Washington wished a survey made of the land he wanted to acquire.⁷⁶

* It was then called Great Bridge Chapel.

We have seen where Tucker's Mill was just at the edge of Dismal Swamp;* Washington described it in his diary as being eight miles from Great Bridge.

The brothers John and Matthew Godfrey were both residents of Norfolk Town. Each owned land in the County however, and had many county connections. Matthew Godfrey, whose will was proved in 1717, apparently had only one direct heir, a daughter, who was married to James Wilson, Jr. The elder James Wilson (d. 1712) was Colonel of Militia and a Justice (1691); his will shows a large family of seven sons (two of whom died before him) and three daughters. Of the sons, Willis Wilson was Captain of Militia in 1734 and vestryman in 1735—his son Willis, Jr., was vestryman in 1749; Lemuel Wilson was Clerk of the County Court in 1699, and was succeeded by his brother Solomon, in 1718; James Wilson, Jr., was a feoffee of the town land until his death in 1716.⁷⁷ Captain Willis Wilson of a later generation—he died in 1798—was an officer of the Virginia State Navy and commanded the galley *Caswell* in 1776. He had in his crew two other Norfolk County boys: Midshipman William Langley (1757-1807), mentioned above, and Seaman William Wallace, whose family lived in the southern part of the county where Wallaceton is, on the Dismal Swamp Canal.⁷⁸ One of the daughters of James Wilson, Sr., was Aphia Wilson who was married in 1706 to Lieutenant Colonel George Newton of Norfolk Town and Borough.⁷⁹

Near the end of the seventeenth century, the name of Talbot appeared on the scene; the names of Isaac and Jacob Talbot appear as witnesses to the will of John Fulcher who died in 1712. Jacob Talbot's will was proved in 1732 (when he died) and showed he had a single son William, but also gave the names of all his (Jacob's) brother John's children—eight sons and a daughter. We shall mention only two of these sons: Kader Talbot died unmarried in 1752, and his will is interesting because it mentions "a schooner now in the stocks," indicating shipbuilding activities; Thomas Talbot (d. 1777), Captain of Militia in 1760, was head of the family which gained prominence in Norfolk Borough.⁸⁰ Here we are chiefly interested in their county holdings. The 1863 map will show the legend "H. Talbot" in two places, indicating the Talbots owned large tracts on the west side of present Granby Street north of the Bridge; as a matter of fact they also owned much on the east side, too. The southernmost of the two Talbot houses shown is the beautiful Talbot Hall, still standing in that spot. Solomon Butt Talbot (son of Thomas) provided in his will (c. 1800) for the building of a summer home for his son Thomas Talbot. Upon the latter's death in 1838, the property descended to his son William Henry Talbot (the legend "H. Talbot" was therefore in error), who left it in 1884 to his son, another Thomas Talbot. The latter died in 1932 and it passed to

* See 1781 map given earlier.

his brother, Minton Wright Talbot, last of the male line. After Mr. Minton Talbot's death, the house and adjacent land were donated by his daughter to the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of Southern Virginia. There are two features about this beautiful house worthy of note. The first is its location: on a point in front of the house with an unobstructed view to the west toward the mouth of Tanner's Creek, there are two rows of linden trees planted so that they point one toward the place of the setting sun on 22 December and the other towards its direction on 21 June. Thus every beautiful sunset the year round is framed between these twin rows. The other unusual feature is the seal of the United States over the mantel with seventeen stars, dated the building's completion in 1802 to 1803. The seal is said to be responsible for special consideration when the Union forces came this way in 1862. Nearby there was a Confederate encampment which was abandoned when Norfolk was evacuated.⁸¹

Another large landowner in the northern part of the County was Captain Samuel Watts, a prominent citizen of Portsmouth and son of Colonel Dempsey Watts.⁸² Captain Watts owned the land on both sides of present Granby Street from Ward's corner to Mason's Creek including, of course, much of Forest Lawn Cemetery; the location of the land and the house on it are clearly shown on the 1863 map by the legend "S. Watts." At his death in 1878, this land passed to his daughter Margaret Leigh Watts—better known as "Miss Maggie." This writer heard Miss Maggie Watts remark on one occasion that her father's country seat on Mason's Creek was originally called "Pilgrim's Rest" and that it was unfortunate such a beautiful and appropriate name for a cemetery was discarded when the land was put to that use in 1906.

On the south side of Tanner's Creek, just across from the Talbot property, was the country place called "Lebanon." The house here—no longer standing—was built by Captain John Johnston in 1793 and was home for him and his wife, the former Mary Bayard Wooten. They had two daughters both of whom successively married Captain Ethan Allen of Fort Ticonderoga fame. The private road or lane leading to the house from the country road was planted by Captain Allen with two rows of magnolia trees, which he is said to have imported from Mississippi. These ancient trees—now well past the century mark—are still standing and the street they line is now known as Magnolia Avenue. Captain Allen had a daughter Mary who married Andrew Weir* and their son Allen Weir (d. 1933) was the last member of the family to own the place. In 1925 the graves in the old family burial plot were removed to Elmwood Cemetery in Norfolk.⁸³ The Weir property—like Talbot's and Watts'—is now within the Norfolk City limits.

* Pronounced "Ware."

In preparing this sketch of Norfolk County, it has been next to impossible to draw firm lines in either time or space. The reader is therefore referred for further details to the chapters on New Norfolk County and Lower Norfolk County, as well as to the sections on Town, Borough and City of Norfolk, and the Towns and Cities of Portsmouth and South Norfolk.

NOTES ON CHAPTER XI

N.B. See remark at beginning of Chapter I notes.

1. See Chapter XX.
2. 1H250.
3. See Chapter X, note 39.
4. 3H95-6.
5. 3H128.
6. Squires in *Norfolk Ledger-Dispatch*, 22 June 1939.
7. *Norfolk County Records*, Book 5.
8. 3H219, 392, 470.
9. 3H404; for further details, see Chapter XII.
10. For details on Court House and School, see Chapter XII.
11. See Chapter XIII.
12. 57V409-10.
13. *Ibid.*, pp. 411-12.
14. *Loc. cit.*
15. For details, see Chapters X and XII.
16. See Chapter XIII.
17. 21W(2)152-4.
18. 2W(1)179-80; *Norfolk County Records*, Book 9, p. 540.
19. See Chapters XII and XIII.
20. *Norfolk County Records*, Book 12, p. 33.
21. Now among the archives of Saint Paul's Church, Norfolk.
22. Squires in *Norfolk Ledger-Dispatch*, 22 June 1937.
23. Wingo in *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*, 4 May 1952.
24. 21W(2)153-6.
25. *Loc. cit.*; see also Wingo in *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*, 4 May 1952.
26. For details, see Chapters XII, XIV and XVII.
27. E. L. Goodwin, *Colonial Church, passim*; Wingo in *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*, 9 December 1956; Brydon, "Episcopal Clergy 1785-1814," in 19W(2)397-434 (*passim*); Barrett in 8W(2)107 and 9W(2)41-2, 137.
28. Squires in *Norfolk Ledger-Dispatch*, 22 June 1939.
29. The place, date and publisher of this work are not known, but the preface is dated 1791.
30. Burkitt and Read, *Kebukee Association*.
31. Wingo in *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*, 9 December 1956 and 4 May 1952.
32. Adamson, *Court Street Baptist Church*, p. 9.
33. Reuben Jones, *History Virginia Portsmouth Association*, p. 164; Mason in 21W(2)153.
34. W. H. Stewart, *History of Norfolk County*, p. 34.
35. Wingo, in *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*, 4 May 1952.
36. Wertenbaker, *Norfolk*, pp. 60-61; Forrest, *Norfolk*, p. 75.
37. Wertenbaker, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-62.
38. *Ibid.*, pp. 63-64.
39. Forrest, *op. cit.*, pp. 76-77.
40. Clinton MS 267, William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan.
41. Wertenbaker, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-73.
42. Lorenz, *John Paul Jones*, p. 254; R. A. Stewart, *Virginia's Navy of the Revolution*, p. 177.
43. Wertenbaker, *op. cit.*, pp. 76-80.

44. *Ibid.*, pp. 104-120.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 122.
46. Forrest, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-3.
47. *Ibid.*, pp. 124-6; Wertenbaker, *op. cit.*, pp. 123-4.
48. *Memoirs, Morton B. Howell*, p. 23.
49. Wertenbaker, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-5, 203-4.
50. Byrd, *Dividing Line*, p. 20.
51. W. H. Stewart, *op. cit.*, p. 28; the photograph of the Hospital, later mentioned, is in this volume.
52. Forrest, *op. cit.*, p. 325 (footnote).
53. 16W(2)57.
54. *Ibid.*, pp. 66-7.
55. Wertenbaker, *op. cit.*, p. 229.
56. *Ibid.*, pp. 238-9.
57. *Atlas to Accompany the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Plate XXVI.
58. Porter, *Norfolk County, 1861-2*, pp. 49-141, *passim*.
59. *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*, 23 July 1933.
60. Wertenbaker, *op. cit.*, pp. 324-5.
61. R. A. Stewart, *op. cit.*, pp. 144-5.
62. 4V82-3.
63. *Norfolk Ledger-Dispatch*, 15 June 1950.
64. 9W(2)42; Forrest, *op. cit.*, p. 131; see also Chapter III—the Blunt Chart of 1841 is there reproduced.
65. *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*, 16 January 1955.
66. *Economic Data, Norfolk County, 1951*, *passim*.
67. 1V447-50, 4V82-3.
68. *Norfolk County Records*, Book 9, p. 9.
69. *Ibid.*, Book 6, p. 258; Book 17, p. 117; Book 9, pp. 12, 60.
70. *Ibid.*, Book 5, p. 208; 3N 138-146.
71. 19W(1)195.
72. *Norfolk County Records*, Book 10, p. 43, Book I, p. 300.
73. *Ibid.*, Book 8, p. 11; Book 9, p. 2; Book 10, pp. 40-42. See also 1W(1)163.
74. *Norfolk County Records*, Book 6, pp. 111-14; Book ?, p. 7; Book I, p. 320; Book E, p. 172-3.
75. *Ibid.*, Book 9, p. 572; Book I, p. 218; Will Book 2, p. 179; Will Book 3, p. 140; 8W(2)101.
76. Freeman, *George Washington*, I, 93, 103.
77. *Norfolk County Records*, Book 9, p. 220, 591.
78. R. A. Stewart, *op. cit.*, pp. 213, 262, 269.
79. Forrest, *op. cit.*, p. 54.
80. *Norfolk County Records*, Book 11, p. 50; Book I, p. 239; Will Book 2, p. 84.
81. H. Granville Tilghman in *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*, 26 June 1940.
82. Kyle in *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*, 16 January 1955.
83. Clare Marcus in *Norfolk Virginian Pilot*, 29 June 1952.

Chapter XII

Norfolk Town

1680-1736

IN OUR STORY of Lower Norfolk County¹ we told of futile efforts to establish ports as early as 1654/5 and to concentrate in them the religious, judicial and commercial activities of the county. We also told of the Act of Assembly of 1680, providing for the establishment of twenty towns, one in each of the then-existing counties. Five of these towns were located in Lower Tidewater: they were in the counties of Isle of Wight, Warwick, Elizabeth City, Nansemond and Lower Norfolk. It is to the town of Lower Norfolk County that we wish to invite attention in the present chapter.

As previously noted, the Assembly which convened in June, 1680, passed the above-mentioned law with specific provisions as to how and where the towns were to be established. The County Court in each county was to have a survey made and purchase fifty acres which had been previously chosen and specified in the Act. As was pointed out in Chapter X, the town site for Lower Norfolk was there described as follows:

. . . on Nicholas Wise his land on the Eastern Branch of the Elizabeth River at the entrance of the branch.²

The reason for the choice of this site is obvious, since it was at a land-and-water crossroads. It will be recalled that, as early as 1636, a ferry crossing here connected Lynnhaven in the east with the Western Branch area, and the site was strategically located at the confluence of the Eastern and Southern Branches, by which a large part of the county was accessible by water. In fact, this very accessibility was what made this the logical place for the fort of 1673, and ferry and fort being here—and parish church not far away—this spot was certainly the logical place for a town.

It might not be out of place to give a brief history of the ownership of this site. It first became private property by a colonial land grant of 13 February 1636/7 to Captain Thomas Willoughby for two hundred acres "upon the first [?] eastern branch of the Elizabeth River." As in many early grants, the description is very vague and only from later grants and deeds can we know exactly where the land was. This was, of course, not Captain

Willoughby's residence, and he did not hold the land very long. By assignment, confirmed by patent of 1 April 1644, he sold it to John Watkins, but since the latter was here as early as 1640, Willoughby may have disposed of the site sooner than that. The description in the 1644 patent is considerably clearer and shows that the tract was rectangular and measured 148 poles (2442 feet) by 232 poles (3828 feet), with its short sides running north northeast, and the long sides running east southeast. It is to be further noted that two of its corners (the southernmost) stood on Four Farthing Point (west end of Main Street) and a point at the mouth of Dun-in-the-Mire Creek (east end of Main Street in front of Union Station).³

Here are two of our oldest place-names in Norfolk (1644), and as curiosities they should be explained. An authority of 1602 wrote "Commonlie thirty acres make a farthing land," so we are not dealing with quarter pennies, but with quarter hides. Thus four farthings would make a hide, a medieval English unit of area equal to one hundred and twenty acres. It is difficult to discern the connection, since the tract in question remained 200 acres in area until the town land was cut off, as will appear below. Dun-in-the-Mire also has a medieval connotation. "Dun" is defined as grayish-brown, and commonly used to refer to a horse of this color. As early as 1386, Chaucer wrote:

Ther gan oure Hooste for to jape and pleye,
And seyde, "Sires, what! Dun is in the Myre!
Is ther no man, for preyere ne for hyre,
That wole awake oure felawe al bihynde?

Manciple's Prologue, lines 4-7.

In *Saint Patrick for Ireland* (1640), Shirley wrote:

Then draw Dun out of the Mire,
And throw the Clog* into the fire . . .

and Gilliat in *Forest Outlaws* (1887) referred to "merry games at barley-brake and dun-in-the-mire." From these quotations, we can deduce two meanings: first, "things are at a standstill," as used by Chaucer; second, to refer to the games and merriment in connection with the traditional bringing in of the Yule log. It seems, therefore, that there may have been some Christmas merry-making at Watkins' on Elizabeth River in one of those winters between 1637 and 1644!⁴

Following Watkins, a succession of owners held this site during the next twenty years, acquiring it by assignment or patent or both. There is no need to go into tedious detail; the successive patentees were John

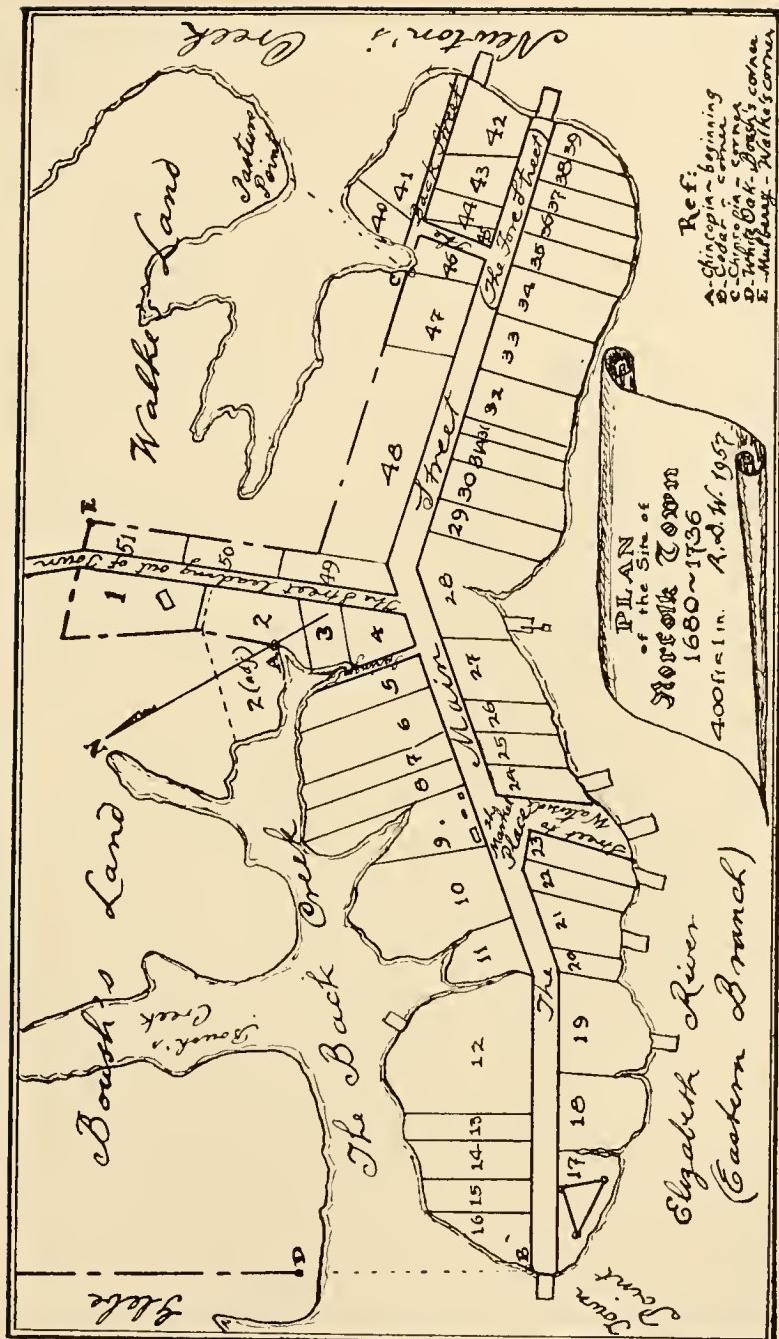
* Yule log.

KEY TO PLAN OF NORFOLK TOWN

1680 - 1736

This plat has been constructed in accordance with the descriptions of the lots as contained in the original deeds. It should be noted, however, that the north-line shown is magnetic north for about the year 1700. The old deeds show the course of the central sector of Main Street as between N 82° W and N 84° W, or a mean course of N 83° W, whereas its true course is N 89° W; this means a magnetic variation of 6° E. The sites have been numbered for purposes of ready reference, and are listed below with names and dates of owners or occupants. These dates do not necessarily represent grants or deeds:

1.	Churchyard	1680	26.	George Newton (I)	1694
	Church built	1698-1700		Peter Smith	1701/2
2.	John Dibbs	1698		Richard Smith	1709
	Peter Cartwright	1703	27.	Francis Simpson (two lots)	1694
	Peter Malbone	1721		Thomas Mason (one lot)	1696
	Samuel Boush (I) (10-ft. strip)	1722		Richard Smith (one lot)	1717/8
2. (adj.)	Peter Malbone	1722	28.	Samuel Boush (II)	1696/7
3.	Peter Blake	1695/6		Daniel Porten	1713
	Peter Cartwright	1705/6		William Porten (II)	1714
4.	Thomas Butt	1695/6	29.	Anthony Walke	1720/1
	William Heslett	1699		Mary Hodges	1696/7
	Thomas Hodges (half)	1697		Dr. William Miller	1708/9
5.	Lewis Conner (two lots)	1695/6	30.	Mary and Ann Cook	1708/9
	Captain Archer (tenant?)	1701/2	31.A.	Not taken	
	Samuel Smith (I)	1720	31.	Samuel Boush (I)	1729
6.	Benedictus Horsington (two lots)	1701/2	32.	William Robinson (two lots)	1689
	Peter Malbone	1712	33.	Arthur Moseley (two lots)	1689
7.	Peter Cartwright (two lots)	1721		Samuel Boush (II)	1729
8.	Fergus Thompson (two lots)	1693	34.	Malachi Thruston (two lots)	1692
	Captain William Boswell (tenant?)	1721		Bartholomew Clarke (one lot)	1693
9.	Court House Field	1680		John Dibbs (one lot)	1699/1700
	First Court House built	1691-4		Roger Dibbs (one lot)	1729
	Second Court House built	1726	35.	Israel Voss	1697
10.	William Heslett (three lots)	1694/5	36.	John Loftland	1709/10
	Nathaniel Newton (part)	1715		Thomas Nash (II)	1697
11.	William Knott (two lots)	1692		Bartholomew Clarke	1709/10
	John Thruston	1696/7		Samuel Smith (I)	1721
12.	Malachi Thruston (six lots)	1694	37.	Samuel Powers	
13.	Samuel Sizemore	1693	38.	Edward Moseley	1697
	Dr. Thomas Tabor	1694		Benoni Smith	1718
14.	Dr. Thomas Tabor	1695	39.	Thomas Walke	1694
15.	Cornelius Tully	1698/9		Edward Moseley	1697
	Edward Thruston	1716/7		Anthony Lawson	1701
16.	Dr. Thomas Tabor	c. 1696	40.	Bartholomew Clarke	1701/2
17.	The Fort, built	1673		James McCoy	1701/2
	"Barnabe's house"	1697		William Langley (II)	1709/10
	Public Warehouse built	1730	41.	Jeremiah Langley	1718
18.	Thomas Hodges	1697	42.	Sampson Powers	1709/10
19.	William Cook	c. 1683	43.	John Godfrey (two lots)	1695/6
	Richard and Jane Hill	c. 1684		Joseph Church	1711
	Mrs. Jane Sawyer, widow of R. Hill	1689		Matthew Godfrey	1715
	Samuel Smith	1708		James Wilson (part)	1715/16
20.	Thomas Wallice	1705		Arthur Godfrey (part)	1716
21.	Henry Spratt (one lot)	1683	44.	Solomon Wilson (part)	1716
	William Knott (two lots)	c. 1689		John Mirphee	1721
	William Porten (II)	1696/7		Joseph Lee	1711
	John Tucker (one lot)	1714/15	45.	Robert Tucker	1722
	Robert Tucker (one lot)	1720	46.	Henry Gristock	1722
22.	Richard Whitley	1683		Edward Moseley	1716
	Peter Smith	1683	47.	Nathaniel Tatem	1731
	William Craford	1697		John Redwood (two lots)	1693
	Solomon Wilson	1719/20		Owen Jones (one lot)	1719
23.	Peter Smith	1683	48.	Archibald Williamson (one lot)	1719
	Peter Hobson	1694		William Porten (I) (six lots)	1687
	George Mason	1719/20		Daniel Porten (six lots)	1692/3
24.	William Porten	1683	49.	Mary Furlong (one lot)	1714
	Peter Smith	1683		William Porten (II) (five lots)	1714
	George Newton (I)	1694	50.	Anthony Walke (five lots)	1720/21
	Lemuel Newton	1709		Samuel Boush (I)	1695/6
25.	George Newton (II)	1701/2		Matthew Godfrey	1695/6
	Peter Malbone	1709	51.	Thomas Wright	1717
	Geo. & Nathaniel Newton	1711/12		The School Lot	1680
				Trustees appointed	1728



PLAN OF NORFOLK TOWN, 1680-1736

Norwood (30 April 1644), Peter Michaelson "and others, owners of the ship *Huis van Nassau*"* (4 March 1649/50), Francis Emperor, merchant (18 February 1653/4, renewed 3 March 1656/7), Lewis Vandermullen,** and Nicholas Wise (19 October 1662, confirmed by renewal 18 March 1662/3).⁵

This, then, was Nicholas Wise's land, part of which was designated for the site for the town in Lower Norfolk County in June, 1680. The County Court acted promptly in complying with the provisions of the Town Act, and just two months later, the following court order—which is self-explanatory—appeared in the minutes under date of 18 August 1680:

Whereas it is enacted that within two months after publication of the last Acts of Assembly that a Certain quantity of land bee Laid out for the building of a towne upon Nicholas Wise his Land butt noe certaine day appointed, this Court have therefore thought fitt and ordered that the Land bee laid out & surveyed according to Act of Assembly by Mr. Jn^o. Ferebee surveyor of this County upon the 7th day of October next and the Sheriffe give him notice heereof, and also to the people who If they think fitt may bee present abt the survey, and to the End that noe pson whatsoever in this County ever heereafter pretend Ignorance of the time, It is further ordered that the severall ministers in this county* give notice thereof in their severale Churches and Chapells of Ease to their Respective Congregations by which means it is presumed all people will have notice of the same.⁶

The survey was accomplished as ordered, and on 19 October 1680, Ferebee was paid "for surveying the towne land and offitiating as Cl[erk] of the Militia." Exactly one year later—19 October 1681—there was recorded another payment to John Ferebee "as Clerke of the militia & laying out the streets in the Town."⁷ Careful consideration of the above facts will clearly show that Norfolk Town was established by law in 1680, was surveyed almost immediately, and was ready for settlers, so to speak, before the end of 1681. It is, therefore, contrary to the historical facts that the Norfolk City seal displays the date "1682."

We referred in an earlier chapter to the opposition to the Town Act, and it is to be noted that the King (Charles II), on advice of his Privy Council in session at Whitehall Palace, suspended the law on 21 December 1681. The historian, Beverley, wrote (1705) that the Act "was kindly brought to nothing by the Opposition of the Merchants of London." As a matter of fact and record, it was his own father, Major Robert Beverley, who had much to do with it. The whole business was closely tied in with attempts to inflate the price of tobacco, and the words used almost three

* House of Nassau: could these shipowners have been a Dutch trading company?

** Another Hollander?

* Rev. William Kern in Elizabeth River, Rev. James Porter in Lynnhaven.

hundred years ago have a strangely familiar ring in present day ears. There was talk of a tobacco holiday, of destroying plants in the fields, and of holding shipments up for higher prices. Major Beverley, then Clerk of the House of Burgesses, was an advocate of these measures and was suspected of being the ringleader of the "night riders" who cut down the tobacco of some unwilling planters in the spring of 1682. He was arrested and held in custody for a short time in May, when he was said to have been "instrumental in the late commotions by stirring up informations upon the Act of Co-habitation." A year later the Council of State inquired into the suspension of the law, and reported to the Governor that it obstructed trade instead of encouraging it, in that planters were enjoined to transport their products to places where there was no shelter for their reception and they had to be turned away. Nothing further apparently was done about the Town Act, and it was never reactivated.⁸

In the midst of all these troubles, the Lower Norfolk County Court proceeded just as if the Town Act had never been suspended, and appointed Lieutenant Colonel Anthony Lawson and Captain William Robinson as feoffees in trust for the town land. These two gentlemen, in turn, set about the performance of their functions by arranging to acquire legal title to the Wise land. This was finally accomplished on 16 August 1682, and the deed recorded on that date furnishes details important to the present account.⁹ In the first place, we learn that the grantor, Nicholas Wise, shipwright,* was son and heir to him of the same name, purchaser of the land in 1662, who had died meanwhile; that the purchase price of the town site was 10,000 lbs. of tobacco and cask; that the tract was of 50 acres bounded on the south and west by Elizabeth River, on the north by a creek (which soon became known as Back Creek since it was behind the town), and on the east by a row of stakes; that the tract was made up partly of an old field and partly of some points of woodland; and that it was "a small nick [neck] of cleared ground and woodland and part of 200 acres formerly purchased by mij father [Nicholas Wise the elder] deceased . . ." This deed was witnessed by four individuals, two of whom are known in other connections; one was Plomer (or Plummer) Bray, who was mentioned in a previous chapter as a headright in Simon Cormick's patent of 1653, and who by deed of 16 May 1690, purchased some land in Lynnhaven from James and Grace Sherwood;¹⁰ the other witness was Richard Hill, who became one of the first lot owners in Norfolk, as will appear below. Wise's deed to the feoffees contained the following customary clause in connection with the purchase price: "the Receipt whereof I doe hereby acknowledge . . . and wherewth I hold myselfe well Satisfied Contented and paid . . ." This state-

* Shipbuilder.

ment was not in accordance with the facts, for the payment to him was not recorded until 12 January 1682/3, thus:

To Nich ^o . Wise for the townland 10000	10800 ¹¹
& caske at 8 pcent 800	

This throws some light on the custom of quoting prices in pounds of tobacco plus the casks in which it was contained; apparently the practise was altered, and instead of actually delivering the casks, eight per cent was added to the total for their value.

This deed of 1682 is the reason for the appearance of that year on the City seal as above mentioned. In the light of what has gone before, it is clear the deed was merely evidence of purchase of the land, and in no way an instrument establishing the town; that was done two years before when the law was passed. It is reiterated that the year 1680 is the correct date to use in referring to the establishment of the town of Lower Norfolk County.

The original area of the town should be defined in terms of present-day Norfolk, and for this purpose the reader is referred to the plat which is given at the end of the present chapter. It will be seen that Main Street followed the same course in 1681 as it does today, though a few feet longer at each end because of filling in there. Main Street was laid out with bends at each end to conform to the lay of the land, being on the high ground among the various creek branches. In the center was a "street that leadeth down to the waterside," which is the present Commercial Place, and its irregular intersection with Main Street (where the Confederate Monument now is) was the Market Place. The "street that leadeth into the woods" is the present Church Street, later so-called for obvious reasons, and the "street that leadeth to the publique spring," the town's sole water supply, is still in existence under the name of Metcalf Lane. Last of all there was the Back Street, composed of two sections almost at right angles to each other; the part parallel to Main Street is now the east end of Bermuda Street, and the part at right angles is present East Street. The riverfront has been considerably filled in and extended, and the two creeks to the north have completely disappeared, following approximately the course of City Hall Avenue. It can be seen the street leading into the woods was over the only dry land connecting the little peninsula with the mainland.¹²

One authority¹³ reports: "In the [1680] towns, spaces were generally left for a market house, church and other public buildings;" and with this we heartily agree, the "other public buildings" in this case being a court house and a school. It is a rather fine line to draw, we must admit, as to whether these lots could be laid out before the streets were in 1681, but it must have been planned from the very beginning to reserve these spaces;

* Later called "the street that leadeth out of town," for reasons to be given below.

hence we have assumed that the churchyard, school lot and court house lot were so designated in 1680. It is known positively that this was true of the school lot, as will appear below. The fort, of course, was here from 1673, as before noted, and the land on which it stood continued to be called "the fort land" down to the Revolution; it is a triangular area bounded by West Main Street, the present Fayette Street and the Elizabeth River.

It has been shown in previous chapters that the date of a land grant or deed of sale frequently did not indicate when the grantee actually took possession of the premises in question, and often a person was residing on land several years before his ownership was legally recorded. So it was in the case of the town lot: it is not known why the feoffees did not get their title to the town site until two years after it was surveyed, but it is obvious they could not dispose of the land until after Wise had executed and recorded the deed in their favor. Thus the fact that the first feoffee grant did not occur until late 1683 by no means signified that there were no town residents until that time. In fact, that first grant indicated clearly that there were other persons, whose grants are not preserved, in possession of certain lots before that first grantee got his. We shall go into some detail regarding these lots, since they were the first to be owned in the town of Norfolk County.

The first grant made by the feoffees Lawson and Robinson was for three half-acre lots (22, 23, 24)* to Peter Smith, mariner, and was dated 17 October 1683.¹⁴ It was clearly stated in this document that he "took up and now liveth on" one of these lots (23); this implies building a house, so he must have been there since late 1681 or early 1682.

It was also stated that another one of the three (22) had been "taken up" by Richard Whitley and adjoined a lot (21) belonging to Mr. Justice Henry Spratt. Neither Whitley's nor Spratt's name appeared again in connection with these sites. Smith's third lot (24) was said to have been formerly "taken up" by William Porten, County Clerk, a convenient place for him, as it would have been for Justice Spratt, exactly opposite the future Court House, but Porten gave it up for another site as will appear below. Thus we have four adjoining lot holders in 1681-83, though two of them did not become permanent residents.

The second feoffee grant¹⁵ was made to Mr. William Porten for six lots (48); this was on 17 August 1687—incidentally the day before the centennial of Virginia Dare's birthday. As will appear in more detail below, Porten had come into possession of the remaining 150 acres of Wise's

* From this point on, every lot mentioned will have a parenthetical number after it corresponding to the similarly numbered sites on the town plat given at the end of this chapter. In this way, the reader can tell exactly where the lots were.

tract in 1684, and these six lots adjoined his large tract outside the town boundary.

On 8 May 1689 there was recorded a grant which in one succinct sentence tells a long story. This document indicated the grant of a lot (19) to "Mrs. Jane Sawcer,* relict of Richard Hill, . . . one lott which W^m. Cook made over to the late Richard Hill and Jane his wife . . ."¹⁶ There is on record no feoffee grant to Cook, and no assignment by the latter to Hill, but it is clear from the above statement that William Cook had this lot very early, to which he made good his claim, that he sold it to Richard Hill who also had a valid claim, that Hill died and his widow remarried, and that she received a grant in confirmation of her first husband's claim in 1689, at which time her second husband had apparently passed on. It is impossible to date these events but William Cook's possession was at the beginning of the sequence. It will be recalled that Richard Hill was a witness to Wise's deed to the feoffees in August, 1682, which may or may not be significant, as the deed could have been signed anywhere. However, it is entirely possible that William Porten, who recorded the deed in his capacity as Clerk of the County Court, may have been running the clerk's office on his first lot (24) as early as 1682, but this is pure surmise.

The next grant was on 15 November 1689 for two lots (33) to Arthur Moseley;¹⁷ this was the son of the first William Moseley of Rolleston, Eastern Branch precinct, Lynnhaven Parish, mentioned in Chapter X. His name does not appear in the town records again, so it is to be assumed the grant relapsed. It is of special interest, however, that mention was made in this grant of an adjoining site (32) owned by Captain William Robinson, Justice, feoffee and Burgess, for whom no grant survives. His son of the same name still owned this lot in 1729.

On 16 November 1689, a payment was recorded to Captain William Knott, mariner, for acting as ferryman.¹⁸ This is a strong indication that he was living in the town at this time. It was noted in another grant three years later—and will so appear below—that he then owned two lots (21) which he lived on. It is not improbable that he had them as early as 1689, though no grant for them is on record. This was the site formerly called Henry Spratt's in 1683, to which the latter did not make good a claim.

In summary of this first period before the County's division (1691), these were the first town lot holders: Peter Smith, Henry Spratt, Richard Whitley, William Porten, William Cook, Richard Hill and Mrs. Jane Sawcer (his widow), William Robinson, Arthur Moseley and William Knott. Spratt, Whitley and Moseley did not make good their claims; Cook sold his lot to

* This name was extremely difficult to read in all the places it is recorded, sometimes seeming to be Sawle or Sowle or even Lawler: it is indexed as the latter. The reading above seems best, and it may be a variant of the French "Saucier."

Hill, and the latter's widow came into possession. Therefore in 1691, there were only five lot holders: Peter Smith, William Porten, Mrs. Jane Sawcer, William Knott, and William Robinson.

Before going on to the important events of 1691, it will be of interest to trace the history of the remaining part of Nicholas Wise's land, since it was eventually to fall within Norfolk's boundary. It will be recalled that Wise's tract was originally 200 acres, whereof he sold fifty to the feoffees for the town. The balance of 150 acres has a curious story: There are on record two deeds made by Wise, conveying this tract to two different individuals. On 6 September 1682, a deed from Nicholas Wise to Charles Wilder tells of the sale of "the balance of two hundred acres which my father purchased of Lewis Vandermull by deed of 19 October 1662 excepting fifty acres already conveyed to the feoffees for a town in Lower Norfolk County . . ." Then on 15 February 1682/3 (five months later) there was recorded a second deed from Nicholas Wise to Jacob Hill for "a tract of land of mijne . . . according to the grand patent, excepting the land now belonging to the town . . ." One would suppose that the older of these two deeds—that to Wilder—would be the valid one; but this is the curious circumstance: Jacob Hill recorded his deed on 16 February 1683 (the day after it was executed), whereas Wilder's was not recorded until 18 May 1683 (five months after its date, and three months after Hill's). It is apparent that Hill's deed was recognized, from the fact that on 16 June 1684 Jacob Hill sold to William Porten "150 acres on the North side of Elizabeth River . . . the remaining part of a patent of 200 acres whereof the town land is part, and that I purchased of Nicholas Wise by deed of sale bearing date the 15 February 1682/3 . . ."¹⁹ Further confirmation of this fact is found in a land grant to William Porten dated 21 April 1690 for 248 acres adjoining the town land, which contains the following statement: ". . . 150 acres of which land was part of a patent of 200 acres granted to Nicholas Wise dated 18 March 1662[3] & by deed of sale and assignment comes due unto the sayd Porten. The residue being 98 acres & due unto the sayd Porten by & for the Importation of two persons . . ."²⁰ A glance at the town plat at the end of this chapter will show a part of the Porten patent and its position in relation to the town land. The bounds of Porten's land seem to correspond to those in the Watkins patent of 1644 for 200 acres less the town land, but Porten's patent was for 248 acres; this is a discrepancy that has not been explained.

The General Assembly, convened in April, 1691, passed two laws of great importance to this story. One of these was the act for dividing Lower Norfolk County into two separate units to be called Norfolk County and Princess Anne County. This circumstance has been treated fully elsewhere in the chapters on these two counties; it should be mentioned here, however,

that the "town of Lower Norfolk County," after the passage of the above act, was referred to logically enough in the records as "the town of Norfolk County." The other law passed at this time had to do with further efforts to establish towns and should be considered in some detail.

This second law of April, 1691, was entitled "An Act for Establishing Ports and Markets," and was obviously an effort to revive the previously-suspended town law of 1681.²¹ There was very little difference in the provisions of the two laws: the same twenty towns were established, one in each county, each was made a legal market, but only fifteen of the twenty were established as ports of entry; half-acre lots were offered as before to those who would build and settle on them. The most interesting feature of the 1691 law, however, was that it described in detail the twenty sites, and it is obvious from these descriptions that only ten of the twenty towns had been established after the passage of the 1680 act. Here are the ten that, by 1691, had been laid out and built upon:

<i>County</i>	<i>Name or Location</i>	<i>Description</i>
Charles City	Flowerdew Hundred	{ "several dwelling houses and warehouses built"
James City	Jamestown	{ no further description necessary
Isle of Wight*	Paitesfield	"houses built"
Nansemond	Huffes [Hough's] Point	"built upon"
Warwick*	Mathew's Land	{ "several houses there built together with a brick Court House and prison"
Elizabeth City	William Wilson's land	{ "several dwelling houses and warehouses already built"
Lower Norfolk	Nicholas Wise's land	{ "several dwelling houses and warehouses already built"
Middlesex	Murdock Creek	"a warehouse built"*
Rappahannock	"Hobbs His Hole"	{ "a Court House, several dwelling houses and warehouses already built"

* Towns in Isle of Wight and Warwick were the only two in this group which were designated as markets only, but not ports. Obviously, the former would come under Nansemond and the latter under Hampton.

* This is the one still standing at Urbanna.

<i>County</i>	<i>Name or Location</i>	<i>Description</i>
Accomack	Anancock Creek	{"a Court House, several dwelling houses and warehouses already built"}

The first four did not survive, though there is now the village of Battery Park on the Isle of Wight site; the others, all of which now include their 1680 sites, have survived under the names of Warwick,** Hampton, Norfolk, Urbanna, Tappahannock and Onancock. Since the primary interest is in Norfolk in this chapter, its description is repeated in more detail: "on Nicholas Wise his land on the eastern branch of Elizabeth River at the entrance of the branch . . . being the land appointed by a former law [of 1680] and accordingly laid out and paid for and several dwelling houses and warehouses already built." This is a "thumb-nail" sketch of Norfolk as it appeared in 1691; there were probably five houses—those of Peter Smith, William Porten, Mrs. Jane Sawcer, Captain William Knott and Captain William Robinson—but no guess could be ventured as to the warehouses. Of the three 1680 towns in Lower Tidewater, Norfolk is the only one of which a detailed story can be given, because of the tragic loss of original records in Warwick and Elizabeth City.

It will be recalled that, in the chapter on Lower Norfolk County, mention was made of the project for building a Court House and prison in November, 1687, and of the Court order of September, 1689, providing for the building of two Court Houses, one of which was to be on "the towne land in Elizabeth River." The late George Carrington Mason assumed this to have been done, but there is no record that it was. On the other hand, there is positive evidence that such a building was not there in April, 1691, but was being erected within a few months after that time, which marks the establishment of Norfolk County. The reader is referred to the following recorded payments in the County levy of 24 November 1691:

To Jn ^o . Davis Carpenter at the Court House	9700
To Jn ^o . Roberts Bricklayer	11000
To Richard Haines for buying the frames from Mr. Walke &c.	600
To Mr. Thos. Hodges for 2000 10d nayles	240
To Mr. W ^m . Porten for 4000 8d nayles	400
To Mr. W ^m . Langley [II] for 533 ft. of plank	400
To Mr. W ^m . Porten for 2000 ft. of plank	2000
To Mr. Thos. Hodges for the frame of the Court House	2500
To Mr. Bartholomew Clarke for the Stocks	50
To Capt. W ^m . Knott for the Public Bridge	500 ²²

** Since this was written the name of Warwick has ceased to exist, both city and county of that name having been consolidated with the City of Newport News under the latter name.

The amounts listed were, as usual, expressed in pounds of tobacco which was the currency of that day. It is realized that the story of this Court House more properly belongs to the history of Norfolk County, but since it was within the town bounds, it has seemed more convenient to include it here. It is obvious that the above payments for labor (carpenter and bricklayer), frames, planks and nails mark the beginning of the County Court House in the town. If the specifications of the 1689 court order were followed—and there is no reason to believe they were not—this first Court House in Norfolk was of brick, 35 feet long by 20 feet wide, of 10 foot pitch (ground to eaves), partitioned so as to form two rooms (the Court room 20 feet square and a smaller one, probably a record room, 20 feet by 15 feet), with two chimneys and fireplaces, a cellar, and an upper room over the record room to be used as a jury room; there was supposed to have been built a brick prison (15 feet square) at the same time, but it is not known just when this was accomplished. The site of this Court House was the Court House Field or Lot (9) set aside for that purpose when Norfolk was laid out in 1680. The reader is referred back to the descriptions of the ten towns as they appeared in 1691; it will be apparent that court houses had been built in three of them (Warwick, Rappahannock and Accomack) but not in the others. This, we believe, coupled with the evidence of the county levy of November, 1691, is proof positive that no court house was built here until after Norfolk County was established. There is now a city historical marker on Main Street inscribed to the effect that it marks the site of Lower Norfolk County Court from 1682 to 1691; this marker is incorrect on three counts: the name, the date, and the location. This was the site of the Norfolk County Court House from 1691, and the marker was recently moved a little to the west of where it was originally placed, and where it ought to be now, directly in front of the W. G. Swartz Company building opposite the Confederate Monument.

Two items were given above in connection with the levy of November, 1691, which are only indirectly connected with the Court House. Bartholomew Clarke, a blacksmith, was paid for building the stocks, the frame for restraint and display of offenders against the law. He later owned part of a town lot, as will appear below, and in January, 1700/01 made handcuffs for the use of the County Sheriff in restraining prisoners. Also, in November, 1691, Captain William Knott was paid for building "the Public Bridge." Since Knott lived in town, it is to be assumed that this bridge was where the road out of town crossed an arm of Newton's (formerly Dun-in-the-Mire) Creek at the present corner of Church and Charlotte Streets, a spot still known as "Town Bridge" in the memory of persons now living. It is significant that Church Street, which had been called "the street that goes

into the woods" in 1687, was referred to after 1696 as "the street that goes out of town."

It appears that, as in the case of the Parish Church at Seawell's Point earlier, there was some dissatisfaction concerning the progress toward completing the Court House. Nearly two years passed, and the Court minutes of 16 September 1693 noted that "John Adams hath been these two or three years past by an agreement to build the Court House . . . having been so long about it . . ." And it was urged that he be compelled to complete it without further delay.²³ The County levy of 17 November 1694 showed a payment to Captain William Knott "for a lock for the Court Dore."²⁴ This must indicate completion of the building.

Like its predecessor act of 1680, the Act of 1691 for Establishing Ports and Markets was also suspended; this took place in March, 1692/3.²⁵ But as before, the feoffees continued to grant town lots and people continued to settle on them, both before and after the suspension. Such grants now become too numerous to follow in detail, so we shall simply list the new grants by site, owner and approximate date between 1691 and 1705 (when another attempt was going to be made to establish towns):

<i>Site</i>	<i>Owner</i>	<i>Date</i>
11	Captain William Knott	1692
34	Malachi Thruston	1692
8	Fergus Thompson	1693
13	Samuel Sizemore (later Tabor's)	1693
47	John Redwood	1693
12	Malachi Thruston	1694
26	George Newton [I]	1694
27	Francis Simpson	1694
39	Thomas Walke (later Moseley's)	1694
10	William Heslett	1694/5
14	D ^r . Thomas Tabor	1695
3	Peter Blake	1695/6
4	Thomas Butt	1695/6
5	Lewis Conner	1695/6
42	John Godfrey	1695/6
49	Samuel Boush [I]	1695/6
50	Matthew Godfrey	1695/6
16	D ^r . Thomas Tabor	c. 1696
28	Samuel Boush [II]	1696/7
29	Mary Hodges	1696/7
18	Thomas Hodges	1697
35	Israel Voss	1697
36	Thomas Nash [II]	1697
38 and 39	Edward Moseley	1697

<i>Site</i>	<i>Owner</i>	<i>Date</i>
2	Captain John Dibbs	1698
15	Cornelius Tully	1698/9
6	Benedictus Horsington	1701/2
25	George Newton [II]	1701/2
40	James McCoy	1701/2 ²⁶

The above lot holders are known either from land grants to them or from mention of their names in descriptions of adjoining lots. Other lots changed hands through sale by the original grantees, and here they are:

<i>Site</i>	<i>Grantor</i>	<i>Grantee</i>	<i>Date</i>
34 (part)	Malachi Thruston to	Bartholomew Clarke	1693
23	Peter Smith to	Peter Hobson	1694
24	Peter Smith to	Mrs. Frances Newton	1695
4	Thomas Butt to	William Heslett	1695/6
27	Francis Simpson to	Thomas Mason	1696
4	William Heslett to	Thomas Hodges	1697
34 (part)	Malachi Thruston to	John Dibbs	1699/1700
39	Edward Moseley to	Anthony Lawson	a. 1701
24	George Newton [II] to	Nathaniel Newton	1701/2
39	Thomas Lawson to	Bartholomew Clarke	1701/2 ²⁷

Still other lots changed hands through the death of the original owners, sometimes by direct bequest in the will, sometimes by descent in case of death intestate. The following are those who died at this time, and the heirs to their town lots:

<i>Site</i>	<i>Decedent</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Heir(s)</i>
48	William Porten	1692/3	Daniel Porten (son)
24	George Newton [I]	1694/5	George Newton [II] (son)
11}	Capt. Wm. Knott	1696/7	{ John Thruston
21}			{ Wm. Porten [II] (godson)
10	William Heslett	1697	Mrs. Ann Heslett (widow)
23	Peter Hobson	1697	John Hobson (son)
5	Lewis Conner [I]	1697/8	Lewis Conner [II] (son)
12	Malachi Thruston	1699	{ Malachi [II] and John } Thruston (sons)
13}	Dr. Thomas Tabor	1700/1	{ John Tabor (son)
14}			{ Thomas Tabor [II] (son)
16}			{ Rosamond Tabor (dau.)
39	Lt. Col. Anthony Lawson	1701	Thomas Lawson (son) ²⁸

We must go back a few years to give an account of the first parish church in town. It will be recalled that mention was made in Chapter X of the fact that the Elizabeth River Chapel of 1640-1 was built on land originally

Robert Glascocke's, which the latter sold to William Shipp before 1654; and that this same location was designated as the site for Elizabeth River Parish Church in 1655. These facts are in accord with the account given by the late George C. Mason, but the latter went further and interpreted certain records to mean that the Elizabeth River site was identical with the churchyard in town, a spot still so used. With this we cannot agree. Our reasons for believing the Glascocke-Shipp property farther down Elizabeth River have been sufficiently discussed previously, and it is not appropriate to belabor the point further. We cannot help pointing out one fact, however: the site (1) which was set aside as a churchyard in the town was right in the middle of Wise's 200-acre tract, and right on the line of the town land when the latter was cut off and sold in 1682. In not one of the patents or assignments from Watkins to Norwood to Michaelson to Emperor to Vander-mullen to Wise to feoffees, and Wise to Hill to Porten—in not one of these recorded documents, reaching from 1644 to 1690, was there any mention of a church or chapel. It is inconceivable that such a building could have been there and not be mentioned; it is also notable that, in the parade of owners after Willoughby's first grant, the names of Glascocke and Shipp are conspicuous by their absence.

The first mention of church affairs even remotely connected with the town—after the hypothetical setting aside of a churchyard in 1680-1—came with a land grant dated 30 October 1686 in the name of Elizabeth River Parish for a Glebe of 100 acres.²⁹ This land touched Porten's land on the northwest and northeast by an irregular line, part of which is shown on the town plat (see below); in fact, Porten's patent of 1690 carried mention of the fact that his land adjoined the Glebe. The latter area was encompassed in terms of present-day boundaries, by Bute Street (between the corner of Brewer Street and the stone just west of Boush), a line parallel to Boush Street, to Brooke Avenue, to the Elizabeth River, to Atlantic City bridge and the Hague to the Norfolk Museum and on to Olney Road and to the corner of Bute and Brewer Streets. That part of the Hague which extended beyond the Museum—now mostly filled in—was first called Ellett's Creek after an early (1664) owner, and came to be known as Glebe Creek after 1686.

There was still no evidence of building on the churchyard lot (1) until some years after the Glebe grant. The reader's attention is invited to the feoffee grant to John Dibbs (mentioned above) for one lot (2) and dated 15 July 1698.³⁰ The description of this lot is clear and easy to follow; without going into the technical language of the surveyor, he began at the corner of Peter Blake's lot (3) and ran back 247.5 feet "to a Gutt of the Back Creek running up to the Publique Spring," then again from the beginning and running northeast along the street (Church Street) 244.2 feet,

then back from the street in a northwest direction 132.0 feet, then southwest 231 feet "bounding on Porten's land . . . to a marked chincapin the beginning line of the town survey and bounding on the head of the Back Creek and the Gutt that runs to the Publique Spring." Careful measurement of the three lots (2, 3, 4) between the corner of Main and Church Streets and the churchyard, shows that the Dibbs lot (2) must have touched the latter, and that the northwest 132-foot line was its boundary. Again it is inconceivable that a church could have been there and not be mentioned in the Dibbs grant of 1698.

All that has gone before is negative evidence. The first positive evidence of a church in town still exists in the form of a silver chalice (displayed in the Norfolk Museum) engraved as follows:

The Gift of Cap^t: Sam^l: Boush
to the Parish Church of
Norfolk Towne March 1700

This chalice bears the London date-letter for 1700-01,³¹ which means it was engraved in the March in which 1700 ended and 1701 began, according to the Old Style Calendar. Allowing some time for instructions for its making to be received in London, and for the cup to be completed before it was engraved, we must assume that "the Parish Church of Norfolk Towne" was nearing its completion in late 1699 or early 1700 at the earliest, not having been begun until the latter half of 1698. It is to be assumed that this first church in town* was a simple rectangular brick building. It would have been oriented east and west (in accordance with canon law and custom), and therefore at an angle with the road or street, which ran roughly in a north-easterly direction. It was also probably near the south corner of the churchyard, which would be the nearest point to the homes of the townspeople. It is not known when this site was first used as a burial ground, possibly shortly after it was set aside in 1680. At any rate, the only three pre-1700 tombstones there are known to have been removed from elsewhere to this spot.

As to the parish ministers of this period, the picture is slightly confused. In an earlier chapter it was noted that Reverend William Kern was minister of Elizabeth River Parish in June, 1680—though how long before or after that is not known—and that the non-conformist Reverend Josias Mackie was minister of Elizabeth River Parish from possibly in 1684 until certainly 1692. The parish had no recorded minister thereafter until Reverend William Rudd. This young man was ordained by the Bishop of London on 12 August 1699, and on the 31st he received the King's Bounty for Virginia, £20 to help pay his expenses hither. He may possibly have arrived here in late

* It was the third Elizabeth River Parish Church, the first having been at Seawell's Point, and the second on Elizabeth River.

1699, about when the parish church in town was being finished. Mr. Rudd was shown on the list of Parishes and Clergy for 8 July 1702 as being in Elizabeth River. In April, 1703, he was invited to preach every Thursday by the vestry of neighboring Chuckatuck Parish, Nansemond County, and during the following summer was asked to preach there every other Sunday. Just how long this part-time arrangement between Elizabeth River and Chuckatuck lasted, there is no way of knowing.³²

It is to be noted that the town residents were continuing to acquire land under the provisions of an Act of Assembly which, like its predecessor, had been suspended. It is obvious, therefore, that the feoffees appointed to act as trustees had no legal standing and the grants made by them were—*theoretically at least*—invalid. This situation was rectified by two Acts of Assembly, dated respectively in April, 1699, and October, 1705, whereby the land grants made by feoffees in the towns were confirmed in spite of the fact that the two town laws had been suspended. Thus the grantees of town lots, and those who had purchased or inherited from them, were given a clear title to the town land which they held.³³

By Act of Assembly of August, 1702, a ferry was established between Norfolk and "Sawyer's Point or Lovett's Plantation," the fare was set at sixpence for a man or a shilling for a man and horse.³⁴ It is not known whether this replaced the ferry of 1636 which crossed to the site later to become Portsmouth. Lovett's Plantation—still called Lovett's Point today—was the north side of the mouth of the Western Branch.

The Assembly of October, 1705, passed several laws which affected the towns in general and Norfolk in particular. One was to provide for building roads to connect Williamsburg, the new capital, with every parish church, court house, public mill and ferry. It will be recalled a similar law had been passed concerning Jamestown in March, 1661/2. At the same time (October, 1705) a ferry was established from Seawell's Point to Hampton, where the fare was set at three shillings for a man or six shillings for a man and horse. This latter ferry was necessary in order to comply with the requirement of connecting Williamsburgh with the churches and court houses of Norfolk and Princess Anne.³⁵

The most important law of October, 1705, was the Act for Establishing Towns or Burghs.* This was obviously designed to renew the previously unsuccessful efforts of 1680 and 1691, but only fifteen of the twenty localities previously chosen were included in this Act of 1705. In the Lower Tidewater area, the towns in Isle of Wight and Warwick were omitted, even

* Pronounced as if spelled in its modern form "borough." The last syllable of Williamsburgh, as then written, must have been so pronounced, as the name of Edinburgh still is today. In a will of 1711 a Norfolk County gentleman set aside an amount for his son's education "at the Gramer Scoole at Williams Brough."

though they had been built upon; it will be recalled that they had not been made ports in 1691. Outside our area of interest two more were added—York Town and West Point, presumably established in 1691 or shortly thereafter—to the list of those still in existence. In the list of ports and corresponding boroughs of 1705, some bore different names; for example, the borough in Norfolk County was called "Norfolk" while the port there was called "Norfolk Town." As a matter of fact, both port and town came to be called "Norfolk Town," a name which this locality had borne unofficially much earlier, as witness the inscription on the Boush chalice in March, 1700/1.³⁶

The most remarkable feature of the Act of 1705 was its provision for local government, a thing which the previous laws had not envisioned. In fact, this Act would be in effect a charter, were it not for the fact that it applied generally to all fifteen localities rather than to one specific place as a charter would. Each town was established as a borough, and was to build a Guild Hall and have merchant guilds and enjoy all customs and liberties belonging to an English free borough. When thirty families were resident in any town, the freeholders could elect eight Benchers of the Guild Hall, and the latter were to elect one of their number as Director. The Director was to preside over three or more Benchers as a Hustings Court, which would be a body corporate with a common seal, have limited jurisdiction, be a court of record, and employ a town clerk, bailiff, cryer and constable. When the population of a town reached sixty families, the Benchers could elect fifteen Brethren Assistants, and the freeholders could choose a representative to the House of Burgesses. The functions of the feoffees in trust would be taken over by the Director and Benchers, and—in accordance with ancient English custom—the right was granted to hold a market twice a week and a fair once a year; these towns were to be recognized as the only legal markets after 25 December 1708. For Norfolk Town, the market days were named as Tuesday and Saturday, and the annual fair was to be "the third day of October and four days following exclusive of Sunday."

The local government thus set up would have been identical to that provided later by the Borough of Norfolk charter, only under a different terminology: the words Director, Benchers and Brethren Assistants were obviously identical to Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council; the other details were not even disguised under different terms. This Act of 1705 had a longer life than that of its predecessors, but suffered the same fate of repeal or suspension on 5 July 1710; ". . . thus another struggle for corporate life was over."³⁷

At the time the Act of 1705 was passed, only ten sites—out of the fifty-one given on our town plat for convenient reference—had not been taken. Not all of them have feoffee grants preserved in the records for them, but

some were mentioned in adjoining grants, in wills, etc. These are the owners of the last ten sites and their dates:

<i>Site</i>	<i>Owner</i>	<i>Date</i>
20	Thomas Wallice	1705
30	Mary and Ann Cook	1708/9
41	Sampson Powers	1709/10
43	Joseph Church	1711
44	Joseph Lee	1711
46	Edward Moseley	1716
7	Peter Cartwright	1721
37	Samuel Powers	1721
45	Henry Gristock	1722
31	Samuel Boush (II)	1729 ³⁸

To the above should be added the grant of 1728 to the trustees of the School for the school lot (51), which had previously been set aside; this will be mentioned in more detail later. Wallice's ownership is mentioned only in his will, to be included in a later list below. In addition to the above, there were seven grants for sites whose original grantees had apparently forfeited them, or may have assigned their rights but did not record such assignment:

<i>Site</i>	<i>Grantee</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Formerly owned by</i>
3	Peter Cartwright	1705/6	Peter Blake
19	Samuel Smith	1708	Mrs. Jane Sawcer
29	Dr. William Miller	1708/9	Mary Hodges
40	Capt. William Langley	1709/10	James McCoy
35	John Loftland*	1709/10	Israel Voss
27	Richard Smith	1716/7	Francis Simpson
15	Edward Thruston	1716/7	Cornelius Tully ³⁹

In addition to the grants listed above, there are on record twenty-one deeds of sale, as follows:

<i>Site</i>	<i>Grantor</i>	<i>Grantee</i>	<i>Date</i>
25	Nathaniel Newton	Peter Malbone	1709
6	Benedictus Horsington	Peter Malbone	1711/12
25	Peter Malbone	Geo. & Nathl. Newton	1711/12
28	Samuel Boush (II)	William Furlong	1713/14
21	William Porten (II)	John Tucker	1714/15
10	Cary Heslett	Nathl. Newton	1715
38	Edward Moseley	Benoni Smith	1718

* This name is also recorded as Laughland and Luffland, probably equivalent to the modern spelling Laughlin, more usually appearing as MacLaughlin.

<i>Site</i>	<i>Grantor</i>	<i>Grantee</i>	<i>Date</i>
47 (part)	{ John Pierce alias Redwood	Archibald Williamson	1719
47 (part)	{ John Pierce alias Redwood	Owen Jones	1719
22	William Craford	Solomon Wilson	1719/20
21	William Porten (II)	Robert Tucker	1720
5	Lewis Conner (II)	Samuel Smith	1720
48	William Porten (II)	Anthony Walke	1720/21
43 (part)	Solomon Wilson	John Mirphee	1721
2	Peter Cartwright	Peter Malbone	1721
43 (part)	Nathaniel Tatem	John Mirphee	1721
2* (adjoining)	Samuel Boush (I)	Peter Malbone	1722
2 (10' strip)	Peter Malbone	Samuel Boush (I)	1722
2 (part)	Peter Malbone	Apphia Malbone	1725
33	Samuel Boush (I)	Samuel Boush (II)	1729
31	Samuel Boush (II)	Samuel Boush (I)	1729
46	Edward Moseley	Nathl. Tatem	1731 ⁴⁰

Again, as previously, we learn of some changes in ownership through death and inheritance:

<i>Site</i>	<i>Decedent</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Heir(s)</i>
20	Thomas Wallice	1705/6	William Wallice (son)
11, 12	John Thruston	1709	Malachi Thruston, II (bro.)
42	John Godfrey	1710	Amie & Annie Godfrey (dau's.)
35 (?)	Israel Voss	1714	John Voss (son)
28, 48	Daniel Porten	1714	Cradick Porten (son)
43, 50	Matthew Godfrey	1717	Matthew & Arthur Godfrey (nephews)
40	Capt. William Langley	1718	Jeremiah Langley (son)
21, 44	Robert Tucker	1723*	Robert, John, (sons) Courtney (daughter) Tucker
29	Dr. William Miller	1727	Robert Miller (son)
3, 7	Peter Cartwright	1727	Margaret Cartwright (dau.)
21, 45	John Tucker	1736*	Henry Tucker (son) Frances Gristock (dau.) ⁴¹

In the lists which have been given in this chapter, an attempt has been made to give only a bare outline of site ownership in a general way; naturally it has been impossible to give all details of changes, and the reader is referred to the original records for such details.

It is appropriate at this time to relate what happened to the immediately

* This is a piece of land outside the town boundary, exchanged for the 10-foot strip next to churchyard.

* The dates for both Tuckers are dates of inventories of their estates; their heirs are learned from other sources.

adjacent tracts of land, those touching the town land to the north and east. We have told previously of the conveyance of 1684 to William Porten, confirmed by patent of 1690; the latter died intestate about March, 1692/3, his land being inherited by his eldest son, Daniel. Daniel Porten in turn died in 1714, and one of the clauses in his will directed that enough land be sold by his executor—his father-in-law,* Major Samuel Boush (I)—to pay debts and funeral expenses. Accordingly, by deed of 6 March 1714/15, Samuel Boush (I) sold that part of the Porten tract which was on the west side of the main road to his own father, Maximilian Boush. This would be bounded in modern terms roughly by Bute Street, Church Street, City Hall Avenue and Boush Street. Exactly six months later, on 14 September 1715, this same tract (said to contain 87 acres) was deeded by Maximilian Boush to his son, Samuel Boush (I).⁴² Obviously this device was resorted to because Boush wished to purchase the land and keep it in the family, but could not legally purchase it from himself as executor for another. Be that as it may, this valuable piece of property in the heart of what was to become the Borough, was soon laid out in streets and lots, some of which were sold and some of which remained in the Boush family for several generations.

The rest of the Porten lands were left to Daniel's only son, Cradick, who evidently did not live long, for we soon learn of their being disposed of by William Porten, "surviving brother to Daniel Porten." On 14 March 1720/21, William Porten (II) sold to Anthony Walke that part of the 1690 patent lying east of the main road, together with his father's original home site (48).⁴³ This tract would be bounded very roughly, in modern terms, by Church Street, Bute Street (extended, east of Church), Tidewater Drive and East Main Street. It was then described as being "140 acres of woodland and pasture." As in the case of the Boush property, this tract was much later laid out in streets and lots, and much of it remained in the Walke family for several generations.

Upon becoming seat of the County Court, and as overseas trade increased, Norfolk Town saw itself called upon to provide entertainment in the form of food, drink and lodging for an increasing transient population of county folk come to market and court, and of sea captains, mariners, traders and all such as had business in town. It was natural, therefore, that quite a few ordinaries or taverns came into existence in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century. The first probable tavernkeeper in Norfolk Town may have been John Redwood, who, in 1693, received the grant of a site (47) on the Main Street. We make this surmise because of the fact that, in 1703, one John Redwood was named gaoler and caretaker of the newly-built Capitol in Williamsburg, and at the same time obtained possession

* In older usage, this meant also step-father; such was here the case, Boush having married Porten's widowed mother.

of a town lot there; a short time later he was operating Redwood's Ordinary, and he continued there until 1708. The only other knowledge we have of him in Norfolk is when, under the name of John Pierce, he sold his site (47) in 1719 as listed above. In another deed about this time (1716), he was called "John Perse alias Redwood;" it is not clear why he changed his name.⁴⁴

The tavern keepers were well regulated as to what they could charge for their services. Here is a price-list of 1714, as decided on by the County Court:

Rum	6s. per gal.
Punch "if made good"	16d. per qt.
Cider	12d. per gal.
Small beer*	7½d. per gal.
Madeira	22½d. per qt.
Milk Punch	7½d. per gal.
Claret	3s. 3½d. per qt.
Diet	3¾d. per meal
Housing and "foderadge"	6d. per day
Corn and Oats	6d. per gal.

There was also regulation as to the measures used in the taverns, and one of the first occasions on which we meet all the tavernkeepers in Norfolk Town was when, in 1717, all were before the Court for giving false measure, an accusation which they were able to disprove.⁴⁵ In this list of eight tavernkeepers were John Loftland, who had had a town lot (35) since 1710, and Peter Malbone, who had been here (6) since 1712; another, Mrs. Ann Coverley, because of a connection (later to be noted) with Samuel Smith, may have had her tavern on one of his lots (5, 36) next door respectively to Malbone and Loftland. Of the other five—Thomas Cretcher, John Gay, Richard Josslin, Grace Powell, Thomas Walker—very little is known, except that Josslin's was the scene of an exuberant gathering in 1716, which ended in a tragic accident.

On that occasion, a convivial group—Samuel Rogers, Nathaniel Newton, James Hustings and Henry Jenkins—were gathered round a bowl of Sangaree.* In came William Finiken, a jolly soul, dancer of jigs and player of cards, who was willing to join in the fun. After several jigs to the strains of a fiddle played by one of the group, Finiken and Rogers turned to a game of cards called "All fours," or "High, Low, Jack and the Game," hereabouts now better known simply as "setback." They then engaged in some scuffling and rough horseplay, in the course of which Finiken was rendered unconscious by a fall and blow on the head. The next morning he was dead.⁴⁶

* A beverage of lesser alcoholic content; cf. *klejn bier* (small beer) as opposed to *goed bier* (good or strong beer), so called by our Dutch neighbors to the North.

* *Sangria* (Spanish), a beverage compounded of wine and spices. (Webster)

It is not inappropriate now to turn to further details on the Parish Church of Norfolk Town. At some undetermined time, between 1703 and 1708, Parson Rudd was succeeded by the Reverend Roger Kelsall. A young man by this rather unusual name is said to have been expelled from Jesus College (Cambridge) on 4 March 1698/9 for having joined the Quakers' Assembly there. If this is the same one, he must have given very substantial evidence of "re-conversion" to have been received back into the fold, when we consider the attitude toward Quakers at that time. Parson Kelsall died in Norfolk in February, 1708/09; his will showed he owned considerable property in England, and named his father, Reverend Roger Kelsall the elder. The former non-conformist connections of the younger Kelsall may explain why a young man of property and son of an Anglican minister had accepted a charge out in the colonies instead of trying to obtain a more comfortable living at home. Reverend Mr. Kelsall's will tells us he left a widow and a son, John.⁴⁷

Kelsall was succeeded by Reverend James McMoran, who was assigned to Elizabeth River Parish by Governor Spotswood in 1710.⁴⁸ He died here in 1714 (as per will proved in December) leaving no family; his heirs were a couple named John and Elizabeth Nabb, of Antrim in the North of Ireland. In 1720 Reverend James Falconer came from Northampton County, his first colonial charge, where he had been since early 1719. Mr. Falconer did not remain here long, in fact, he is said to have been in Elizabeth City before the end of 1720. It is possible he could have alternated between Norfolk and Hampton from 1720 to 1724—the length of his stay in Hampton—but this is not known to be so.⁴⁹

It was at this time that the Church in Norfolk acquired additional communion silver. A chalice and paten were donated by Robert Tucker, a prominent merchant, both of which bear the date-letter for 1722-23.⁵⁰ The chalice was engraved as follows:

The Gift of Mr. Rob^t. Tucker to ye: Parrish Church
of Norfolk Towne, Aprill ye: 3: 1722

These, with the Boush chalice previously mentioned, are on display at the Norfolk Museum; in the illustration here shown, the Boush chalice is on the left, and it will be noted the Tucker chalice has its pedestal or base slightly bent. All three pieces bear the donors' coats-of-arms.

The Reverend John Garzia* came next to Elizabeth River Parish, arriving in 1724 for a sojourn of about three years. He later went as a missionary to North Carolina for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. We judge from his name he was of Spanish extraction, an unusual nationality for an Anglican minister. In fact, the Reverend George

* More correctly, García.

Whitefield, an early Wesleyan visitor to these parts, wrote the Bishop of Oxford much later (1741): "Mr. Garzia can scarce speak English."⁵¹

The next minister to serve here was the Reverend John** Marsden, who apparently went to Lynnhaven Parish in 1727 on the recommendation of Governor Gooch. That he officiated in Norfolk Town also is apparent from William Byrd's account of his visit—to be related later in more detail—



(Courtesy Norfolk Museum)

NORFOLK—ELIZABETH RIVER PARISH COMMUNION SERVICE, 1700-1764

when on the way to begin his survey of the Virginia-North Carolina boundary. On 3 March 1727/8, Colonel Byrd wrote at Norfolk: "This being Sunday we were edify'd at Church by Mr. Marston [*sic*] with a good sermon. People could not attend their devotion for staring at us, just as if we had come from China or Japan." Byrd said the parson was "a painful [painstaking] apostle," as will be noted later, but Marsden's sojourn proved more painful than painstaking for his parishioners, for before the middle of 1729 the Bishop of London was informed by both Governor Gooch and Reverend James Blair (the Bishop's Commissary*) that Marsden had suddenly departed Virginia, leaving over £400 worth of debts.⁵²

** Bishop Meade called him Richard.

* Spiritual representative: he exercised no episcopal functions, the latter being in Virginia, the Governor's prerogative.

About the same time Parson Marsden was leaving precipitately, his successor arrived—about July or August, 1729, according to a letter from Mr. Commissary Blair to the Bishop of London. This was the Reverend Moses Robertson who very likely came to Norfolk Town and Elizabeth River Parish as his first charge, although we have no positive knowledge of his being here until 1734/5, as will appear below. Parson Robertson remained here until after Norfolk Town became a Borough, as will be related in the next chapter.⁵³

The Glebe, which had been granted in 1686, was sold by the Parish Vestry on 16 January 1734/5 to Samuel Smith, merchant, whom we have met before.⁵⁴ The tract was then said to contain 86 acres as opposed to the 100 which it was supposed to be in 1686; this was caused by the discrepancy of overlapping boundaries, as previously noted. We learn from this deed that Smith owned another tract—quaintly called "Smith's Other Land"—adjoining the Old Glebe and extending north of present Bute Street and east to the Main Road (Church Street). The two tracts reached, therefore, from the Atlantic City bridge to Church Street, including the area west of Boush Street to the river and north of Bute Street to the former Glebe Creek, then called Smith's Creek; only part of this creek remains unfilled, between Ghent Bridge and the Museum. The deed stated the Glebe had been surveyed on 10 November 1710, and a plan then made, by Major Lemuel Newton. The grantors listed give us, for the first time, a complete list of the ruling body of Elizabeth River Parish as was mentioned in Chapter XI.

The County Court House, built between 1691 and 1694 as previously noted, was replaced by a new one after serving for nearly forty years. The new Court House was provided for in a court order of 19 April 1726, and was presumably built shortly thereafter.⁵⁵ Like the first one, it was of brick though slightly shorter in length and higher in pitch: 32' by 20' by 13' pitch to the eaves. The court room was entered by double doors and outside steps, had an arched ceiling, seats for the Justices and two bars; like the old building, there was a smaller room in the rear with an upper room over it, the latter with two dormer windows. There was an oval window in the gable over the main entrance, which—it is deduced from later records—faced east, the building being at the west side of the lot on the Main Street. The county jail (provided for in the Court Order of 1689) was on the east side of the Court House lot; it was mentioned as being in use in 1717. A whipping post was also mentioned in 1719, probably near the stocks (previously referred to) between Court House and jail. A ducking stool was ordered to be built "good and substantial" at the end of Boush's wharf in the upper end of town in 1716;⁵⁶ this was probably on the river side of the Boush lot (28), where the foot of Church Street now is. A court cryer,

Sampson Powers, was employed as early as 1697 and is known from later evidence (1709/10) to have owned a lot (part of 41) on the Back Street at the mouth of Dun-in-the-Mire Creek;⁵⁷ this creek came to be known as Newton Creek soon after 1690, on account of the tract owned by the first George Newton east of Church Street between the corners of Nicholson and Bute Streets. Although the creek has practically disappeared, Newton Creek Boulevard over part of its bed was shown on city maps as late as 1951; this was before Tidewater Drive was cut through there.

Having told of the establishment of ecclesiastical and judicial institutions in Norfolk Town, we should now turn to education. Reference was made above to the fact that a lot (51) was reserved for such purpose; an Act of Assembly of much later date (1752) reads in part as follows: ". . . at the time of the laying out of the aforesaid town [of Norfolk], a lot or parcel of land was laid off and set apart for the use of a school . . ."⁵⁸ It was no coincidence that this lot was directly across the street from the site chosen at the same time as a churchyard. From the very beginning of formally organized education in our Western culture, it was under the supervision of the Church; the most ancient European universities were solely Schools of Theology in their beginnings. Our own College of William and Mary was chartered and established as well for the "breeding of good ministers" as for the education of youth, and all its presidents and masters (professors) during the Colonial period were ordained ministers of the Church of England. Hence it was a perfectly normal and natural thing, when Norfolk Town was laid out in 1680-81, to locate churchyard and school lot close together. There has been found no hint in the records that anything further was done about organizing a school for nearly a half-century. On 13 November 1728, there was recorded a feoffee grant to Samuel Boush (II), Samuel Smith and Nathaniel Newton, conveying to them as trustees the lot previously set aside as a school lot.⁵⁹ While this deed was essentially a transfer of ownership, it contained certain unusual provisions which resemble those of a charter. The feoffees (then Col. Samuel Boush and Col. George Newton) in effect appointed three trustees for the school in Norfolk Town, provided that a vacancy in their number could be filled by the survivors, and assigned to them the duty of erecting a schoolhouse and employing a schoolmaster. To be exact, the lot conveyed to the three gentlemen above mentioned, was described as being "for the proper use of the Inhabitance [sic] in Norfolk Town for the erecting a schoolhouse . . . and for the uses of any schoolmaster or masters whom [they] shall employ." It would seem from the above that feoffees had gone beyond their originally intended functions, which were simply the holding and granting of town land. In any case, it is clear from the wording of the 1728 grant that no schoolhouse had yet been built and no master engaged, nor is there evidence of such organization

until some time after 1736, as will be told in the next chapter. If there were any scholastic activity at all in Norfolk Town between 1680 and 1736, it would have of necessity been carried on by the parish minister—in view of his educational qualifications—and in the parish church in view of the close connection between church and school, both physical and otherwise.* The school lot was 270.2' by 83' and its northeast boundary was an extension of the corresponding line of the churchyard across the street; the Norfolk City historical marker on the southwest wall of the churchyard, indicating the "Northern Limit of Old Norfolk," should therefore be at the other end of the yard, for it is obvious both churchyard and school lot were in town.

Another great institution had its local beginning in Norfolk Town, and that was the Masonic fraternity. The claim has been made by some that the Norfolk lodge was the first constituted in the American Colonies, but it must be admitted that such a statement is impossible to prove; it is unquestionably true, however, that it was the first in the Colony and Dominion of Virginia. The beginnings of Freemasonry in the Colonies are clothed in mystery for many reasons; the principal ones are the very secret nature of the fraternity itself and the unfortunate loss of original documents and other records during the Revolutionary conflict. There has been also a certain amount of rivalry among claimants for the honor of being "first," which has added to the confusion. In addition to the above considerations, it is difficult for an outsider and impartial observer to obtain all the facts necessary for a conclusion, though it must be said in all fairness that the members of the Fraternity, both here and abroad, have been most generous in making available such data as can be published with propriety. With these limitations we shall proceed to tell the story of the Masonic Lodge in Norfolk Town.

It is a generally accepted fact that individual members of the Fraternity had migrated to the American Colonies from late seventeenth century on, and probably earlier. Prior to the establishment of the Grand Lodge of England (1717), such individuals were accustomed to join themselves together in independent lodges, and even after the Grand Lodge was founded, they continued so to set themselves up both independently and by warrant (from another lodge) and by constitution (from the Grand Lodge). It is evident from later events that there were Masons in Norfolk Town early in the eighteenth century, but it is not likely that they obtained a warrant for establishment as early as 1729, as has been claimed. When the Grand Lodge of Virginia was formed much later (1775) and seniority of its component member lodges was established (1786), the Norfolk Lodge was placed at the top of the list and the date of 22 December 1733 assigned as

* The story of the school as told here is the beginning of Norfolk Academy, still in operation, a name which it did not bear until after the Revolution.

the date of its founding.⁶⁰ We may be sure the representatives of the Norfolk Lodge had produced incontrovertible documentary evidence and that the representatives of the other Virginia lodges examined such evidence very carefully. Unfortunately, the evidence has either disappeared or is now reposing in a place where it is not visible to the uninitiated; we would lean toward the former explanation, for we see no reason for such information to be kept secret. This early lodge probably called itself, in the usage of that day, "The Society of Free Masons of Norfolk Town in Virginia;" it had no meeting place of its own until much later, and we do not even know the names of any of its early officers or members. We may be sure, however, that the names of Newton, Boush, Tucker and Taylor must have figured prominently on its rolls.*

In the last list of feoffee grants given above, it was noted that a town lot was conveyed to Samuel Boush (II) in 1729. This was for the half lot (31) on the south side of the east end of the Main Street, and was the last site granted by the feoffees.** We should pause at this point to list all those who filled the office. They always acted in pairs, were appointed for life, and the following list gives the date of the first and last grant on which the name of each pair appeared:

Lt. Col. Anthony Lawson	16 August 1682	— 15 January 1695/6
Capt. William Robinson (d. 1696)		
Lt. Col. Anthony Lawson	15 January 1696/7	— 16 July 1697
Mr. William Heslett, Surveyor (d. 1697)		
Lt. Col. Anthony Lawson	16 November 1697	— 15 July 1698
(d. 1701)		
Capt.* Samuel Boush (I)		
Major* Samuel Boush (I)	17 February 1701/2	— 20 July 1711
Mr. James Wilson (d. 1716)		
Col.* Samuel Boush (I)	17 August 1716	— 24 August 1729
Col. George Newton (II) ⁶¹		

It might be noted in passing that one site (31A) was never taken and remained public land; it probably became the site of the Borough Court House, as will be later related.

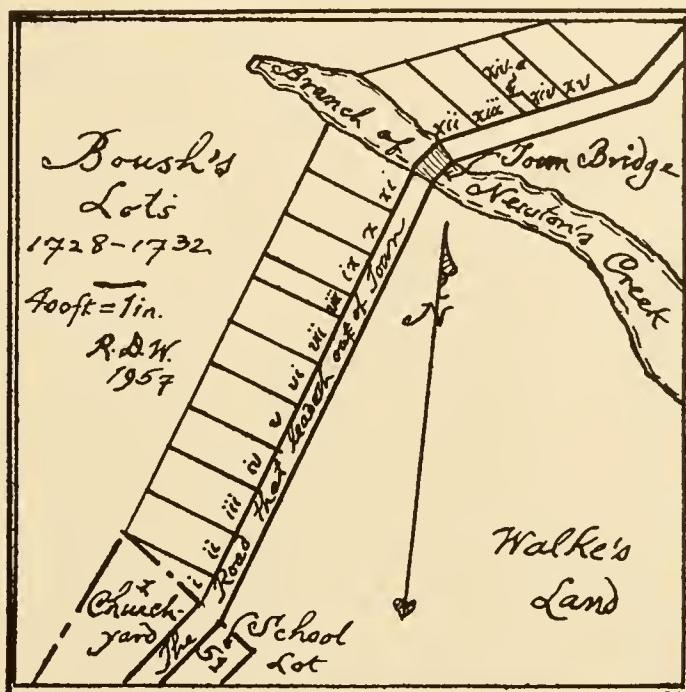
With all the town lots taken, more land was necessary to satisfy the continuing demand for building sites. Hence, Col. Samuel Boush began to divide his land into lots and sold some of them between 1728 and 1732; this might be called Norfolk's first suburban development, since these lots were not within the town boundary. A plat of this part of Boush's land has

* Such was the beginning of Norfolk Lodge No. 1, A.F.&A.M., which will be continued in the next chapter.

** There was one other feoffee grant later (1741), but it did not cover a lot. This is to be related in next chapter on the Borough of Norfolk.

* These indicate the successive ranks held by Boush in the Colonel Militia, as will later appear.

been prepared, showing that the lots he laid off were on the northwest side of the main road (Church Street) and extended northeasterly from the churchyard to a point a little beyond the Town Bridge (present corner of



Charlotte Street). The Boush lots have been numbered from (i) through (xv) in order to distinguish them from the town lots, and are listed here chronologically:

<i>Lot</i>	<i>Grantee</i>	<i>Date</i>
(x)	Walter Clothier	13 April 1728
(v)	Capt. John Phillips, mariner	14 April 1728
(xi)	John Scott, shoemaker	15 April 1728
(vi)	John Guy	16 April 1728
(vii)	Philip Dison, shipwright	16 April 1728
(viii)	John Munds, weaver	17 April 1728
(iii)	Edward Portlock	16 May 1728
(ii)	George Tucker	16 May 1728
(ix)	James Moore, mariner	18 June 1728
(xii)	William Ives, joiner	16 July 1728
(viii)	Edward Pugh	24 July 1728
(i)	John Munds	25 July 1728
(iv)	Henry Gristock	14 July 1729

<i>Lot</i>	<i>Grantee</i>	<i>Date</i>
(xiii)	John Roberts	21 May 1730
(xiv-a)	Margaret Novcutt	19 May 1731
(xiv)	Edmund Jenkins	17 August 1732 ⁶²

All the above are represented by deeds except the one to George Tucker, and he was mentioned in Munds' (i) and Portlock's (iii) deeds. All were executed by Col. Samuel Boush except that to Edward Pugh, whose lot was sold to him by John Munds (viii); the latter purchased another lot (i) almost immediately. The lots belonging to Scott (xi) and Ives (xii) were described as being "by the bridge side called the Town Bridge." This, we feel sure, was the bridge built by Captain Knott in 1691; the locality was still called "Town Bridge" until late nineteenth century. In order to locate these lots approximately in modern terms, let it be noted that Market Street (formerly called Wolfe) was cut through between (i) and (ii) and took a large part of (ii), that Freemason Street came between (v) and (vi) and took a large portion of the latter, and that Charlotte Street was laid out between (xi) and (xii) almost exactly where the bridge was.

There are a few other miscellaneous items to be added. Mention was made earlier of the "publique spring" in 1695/6, the town's only supply of drinking water at first. The waters of the river were used for washing clothes, and at about the same time, there was mentioned a "place appointed for the public laving" in the eastern end of town. This was probably the eastern wharf or public landing at the foot of the east end of the Main Street.⁶³ Previous mention was also made of the two ferries from Norfolk Town, one to what was later Portsmouth and the other to present West Norfolk; these two ferries were both being run in 1715 by Major Samuel Boush (I) at a compensation of 3000 pounds of tobacco per annum.⁶⁴ In May, 1730, the Assembly appointed certain places for public warehouses, one of which was "at Norfolk Town upon the fort land."⁶⁵ This is the first mention of this site (17) by that name since the town was established, and the first knowledge we have of a warehouse built here on public land; it will be recalled that several private warehouses had been built here before 1691. The fire problem was one which was early recognized as a serious one, and in May, 1732, the Assembly passed "An Act for Pulling Down Wooden Chimneys in the Towns of Southampton [Hampton] and Norfolk, and to prevent the building of others for the future."⁶⁶

As has been done in previous chapters, it is intended here to give brief sketches of some of the more prominent names which became established early in Norfolk Town. In these small isolated communities, the small number of inhabitants made it almost inevitable that there be intermarriage between persons connected more or less remotely by blood or marriage; this in turn has brought about some rather complicated family relationships,

as we have noticed before. One of the most involved of such connections is the Porten-Boush-Newton-Sayer relationship, which was brought about by the fact that two young ladies—sisters—were each twice married; as a result, a large number of people in both Norfolk and Princess Anne Counties, who can trace their genealogy back beyond the year 1700, are more or less closely connected. These two ladies were Frances and Alice Mason; they have been earlier shown to be daughters to Lemuel and Anne Seawell Mason, and granddaughters of Francis Mason and Henry Seawell.⁶⁷

This story should be told from its logical beginning which is with William Porten. County Clerk since 1668/9 and a resident of Elizabeth River Parish, Porten was himself married twice; his first wife, Sarah, was the widow Godfrey when he married her. This information is obtained from a deed of gift Porten made to his wife and *her* children, and from Sarah Porten's will; these two documents were written within five days of each other in September, 1675, and both recorded the same day, 15 August 1678, just after her death.⁶⁸ From them we learn that her five heirs were sons Matthew and John Godfrey (both later citizens of Norfolk Town), son Warren Godfrey, and daughters Sarah Malbone and Ann Egerton. We surmise Sarah was wife of Peter Malbone (later of Norfolk Town) and Ann was wife of Charles Egerton,* who, with Matthew Godfrey, witnessed the deed of gift. Porten did not long remain a widower, but married Alice Mason with whom he had five children before his death in 1692/3. He established his residence in Norfolk Town shortly after its founding, possibly as early as 1682, certainly by 1687, when he obtained the home site (48) which was to remain in the family until 1721. We first learn of his death by a record of 17 March 1692/3 entitled "An Account of what Records and other Papers were found in the Clerk's office of this County . . . by us underwritten [the subscribers] . . . left in the custody of Malachi Thruston now Clerk."⁶⁹ This is an inventory of the record books and is too long to give here in detail, but identifies clearly Books A, B, C, D, E, 4, 5, Order Book (1675-1686), some bundles of papers (still today uncatalogued), a statute book, and Dalton's *Justice of the Peace*. The account was signed by Lawson and Robinson, feoffees, with the statement that it was done by Court order; which, as in the case of the school above mentioned, leads us to believe the feoffees exercised administrative functions over and above their trustee duties. Two months later (18 May 1693) was recorded a petition of Mrs. Alice Porten, widow, reciting the facts that her husband had died suddenly after a short illness, that his pains and afflictions had been so violent he was incapable of making or directing the making of a will, and requesting that certain furniture and household effects be allowed her before division

* Charles Egerton, the elder, had died in 1669. (See MacIntosh, p. 29.)

of the estate among herself and five children.⁷⁰ Only three of the latter are important to this story: Daniel (d. 1714), William, who was heir to Daniel, and Anne, who was married to Capt. Richard Furlong (died before Daniel) and had William and Mary Furlong.⁷¹

As was customary in those days, the widow did not wait long before marrying again; in the will of her father, written on 17 June 1695⁷² and mentioned in a previous chapter, she was named as "Alice wife of Samuel Boush and widow of William Porten." Her new husband, who was to leave his name indelibly inscribed on many pages of Norfolk's history, was from Lynnhaven Parish and was son of Col. Maximilian Boush (d. 1728), Queen's Attorney in the famous Grace Sherwood witchcraft trials around 1705; his (Samuel's) mother was Sarah Woodhouse, as previously noted.⁷³ He probably resided in the Porten house upon his marriage, but soon (15 January 1695/6) purchased a lot of his own (49) on the northeast corner of the road out of town and the Main Street; there his house was built and remained in the family for many generations. Samuel Boush (I) was Justice, Burgess, probably Churchwarden and Vestryman, and successively Captain, Major and Colonel of Colonial Militia. He did not die until after the Borough charter was granted 15 September 1736, but his two wills* were both written before that date (1733 and 1735): they show he had three children, Samuel (II), John and Anne, and special mention was made of a grandson, Samuel (III), to whom most of his property descended.⁷⁴ Major Samuel Boush (II) was married to Frances, daughter of Charles Sayer (I) and had Samuel (III), Arthur, Nathaniel, Charles Sayer, Goodrich, Margaret (Peggy) and Mary (Molly).⁷⁵ The two latter were witnesses to their grandfather's will of 1733, appearing on that document as Mary Miller and Margaret Haire; Henry Miller, Mary's husband, was also a witness. Margaret's husband was John Haire, Sheriff of Norfolk County in 1726/7.⁷⁶ The rest of the Boush story belongs in the next chapter.

The other Mason daughter was Frances, possibly older than Alice, since she married and had three sons before her husband's death in 1694/5. He was George Newton, a resident of Elizabeth River Parish—probably in the Mason's Creek-Willoughby's Point area—was named as one of four overseers in the will of Mrs. Sarah Willoughby in 1673, and was a Justice in 1683.⁷⁷ He was first noted as having a lot (26) in Norfolk Town in August, 1694, and apparently soon died intestate, certainly before 15 January 1694/5. Before he died he had purchased one of Peter Smith's lots (24) but failed to get a deed for it; this fact was explained in Smith's deed of 16 July 1695 for the lot: "to Mrs. Frances Newton widow and administratrix of the said George Newton . . . for the use and benefit of his son George

* This is a curious story to be related in the next chapter.

Newton [II] if he be still living . . ."⁷⁸ This last proviso is a curious one and needs some explanation; we believe it signifies George Newton (II) had been sent to school in England like young Thomas Willoughby and young Henry Seawell, and this clause in the deed was a rather fatalistic recognition of the hazards of trans-oceanic travel. At any rate, he was back in February, 1701/2, when he received a feoffee grant for this lot (24).⁷⁹ It was on the east side of what is now Commercial Place and extended from the Main Street down to the river; even until the end of last century this property was still known as Newton's Row. George Newton (II) had two brothers previously mentioned: Major Lemuel Newton, a surveyor (1710), and Nathaniel Newton, one of the first school trustees (1728); both were residents of Norfolk Town.

Col. Lemuel Mason's will (as above noted) was written on 17 June 1695, and named his daughter "Frances wife of George Newton." This must be a slip for "widow," for we know Newton died before this. The widow Newton probably married within a short space of time; her second husband was Charles Sayer of Princess Anne County, and they had two children: Charles Sayer (II), clerk of the court from 1716 to 1740, and Frances, who married Thomas Lawson.*

The reader can now appreciate the complicated connection. For, if we have the links joined correctly, the following results are to be noted: Matthew and John Godfrey were brothers-in-law of Peter Malbone; both Godfreys and their sister, Sarah Malbone, were step-children of William Porten and half-brothers and sisters of Daniel Porten, William Porten (II) and Anne Furlong; the last three named were similarly related in the half blood to Samuel Boush (II), John Boush and Anne Boush; Daniel Porten, William Porten (II), Ann Furlong, Samuel Boush II, John Boush and Anne Boush were first cousins to George Newton (II), Lemuel Newton, Nathaniel Newton, Charles Sayer (II), and Frances Sayer Lawson; and finally, all—through their mutual Mason ancestry—were connected with Seawells, Thelaballs, Langleys and Wishards.

Another word about the Godfreys: John died in 1710 and Matthew died in 1717.⁸⁰ The latter had no sons, but John Godfrey had a son Matthew, and Warren Godfrey (the brother who did not live in Norfolk Town) had two sons, Matthew and Arthur. John Godfrey also had two daughters, Anne and Amy, who inherited his town lots (42). Anne married Captain Nathaniel Tatem, and Amy married Captain John Hutchings, who came from Bermuda. The Back Street, which touched the Godfrey lot, soon came to be known as Bermuda Street, traditionally because Captain Hutchings always had

* It is barely possible Charles and Frances may have been children by a former marriage; otherwise, Charles Sayer (II) became County clerk at the tender age of twenty. (See Kellam, pp. 199, 223-4.)

Bermudian vessels lying at his wharf before his lot.⁸¹ It is clear from the above that Hutchings acquired the lot through his marriage. Going back to the elder Matthew Godfrey, he left some town property to his brother Warren's sons, Matthew and Arthur, and to his son-in-law, James Wilson.

C. Chalice & Paten
 A Concordall Dictionary, or pot of phisick
 A Cley popd as from Barley
 A R Concordall 6 pds of roots sy of brokels
 Syur of Rofigs sp of salt syrs of gill
 And syre of Rofigs ol pot of milk.
 Radix Contra ydova Radix Con
 ydova faboun. Radix ydova
 sy of blonks -

ITEMS FOR MR. MATTHEW GODFREY; HANDWRITING OF DR. THOMAS TABOR (C. 1697)

The Tucker brothers, Robert and John, arrived in Norfolk Town from the Barbadoes before 1715. The former was married before coming here to Frances Courtney; they had two sons, Robert (II) and John and a daughter, Courtney, one or two of whom may have been born in the Barbadoes.⁸² Of the three only Robert Tucker (II) left known descendants. John Tucker, brother of the first Robert, did not marry until arrival in Norfolk, and probably not before 1722. His wife was Frances Gristock and that was the year her father, Henry Gristock, bought a lot (45) in Norfolk Town. The Tucker brothers first acquired the younger William Porten's site (21) in 1715 and 1720, then John Tucker probably moved in with his father-in-law (who had no sons) and Robert Tucker (I) acquired the lot (44) immediately adjoining. After this, it is assumed the first location was devoted entirely to stores, warehouses, wharves and their mercantile activities. It will be recalled that Robert Tucker gave the chalice and paten to the Parish Church in 1722; he died shortly thereafter, and John Tucker survived him until 1736. Dr. Wertenbaker chose the two Tuckers as exemplifying the wealthy merchant class which developed in Norfolk in early eighteenth century by listing in detail their material possessions. The inventory of the Robert Tucker estate in 1723 (after his death) showed the following personal and household effects: in entry hall and parlor, 12 leather bottom

chairs, 3 tables, couch, clock, mirror, chest of drawers, rugs, pictures, fire tongs, shovel, bellows and fender; in three bedchambers, beds, cane chairs, chests of drawers, tables, trunks, pictures, tongs, shovels; in the kitchen, snuffers, copper pot, coffee pot, mortar and pestle, warming pan, spits, drip pans, skimmers, ladles, gridirons, iron pots, pot hooks, racks, brass kettles, iron dogs (*andirons*), and the following pewter ware: 24 dishes, three dozen plates, 13 soup plates, 6 basins, porringer, cheese dish, chafing dishes, etc. In addition to the above, there were 57 pieces of silver plate, nearly £7000 in Virginia currency, 23 slaves, one brigantine, three sloops and three "flats" (*barges?*). The inventory of John Tucker's estate in 1736, on the other hand, gives a clear idea of the merchandise available for purchase by the townspeople: woollens, sheetings, silk stockings, thread, tape, ribbon, lace, razors, lancets, combs, buckles, Bibles, primers, writing paper, pewter dishes, basins and plates, hatchets, chisels, hammers, locks, saws, hour glasses, kettles, brass compasses, Madeira wine to the value of £690, rum £850, and sugar £240. He also owned three sloops, one shallop and six slaves; his liquid assets were £2500 in cash and 88 ounces 13 pennyweight of gold wedges.* The John Tucker inventory contained an item of £2000 in "wares at Mr. Mason's store." This probably referred to George Mason, brother of Mrs. Boush and Mrs. Newton, whose place was almost next door (23).⁸³

Malachi Thruston,** who has been mentioned before, deserves some special notice here. He was grandson of Malachias Thruston of Wellington, Somerset, and son of John Thruston (1606-1675) of Bristol, county town of Somerset.⁸⁴ He lived first in Lynnhaven Parish, being a Justice of Lower Norfolk in 1683, and a Justice of the first Princess Anne County Court in 1691. He first acquired a town lot (34) in 1692, and in 1694 obtained the six lots (12) where his residence was established. He succeeded William Porten as Clerk of the Court in March, 1692/3, and being a surveyor by trade, was, in 1694/5, appointed "chiefe and head surveyor of the Roads in Tanner's Creek precincts" in place of Anthony Lawson, removed to Little Creek.⁸⁵ Malachi Thruston died in November, 1699, leaving his home place divided between two sons: John Thruston got the half next to what he had inherited from Capt. Knott (part of 11) and Malachi Thruston (II) got the other half next to Tabor's (13). John's share contained the dwelling house, "shopp house," other houses, and a wharf on the Back Creek; he also inherited "my Signett Ring with my Coat-of-Arms." John Thruston was mentioned in the will of William Heslett (d. 1697)—surveyor and feoffee—to receive the bequest of his surveying instruments. He died in 1709, his will naming as heirs his wife, mother and brother, Malachi (II). Malachi Thruston (I) made a deposition in 1698 that he was "aged 62 yeares or

* Ingots were sometimes cast in this shape as well as in bars (Webster).

** This name was originally Tristan, and is not to be confused with Thurston.

thereabouts," hence was born about 1636; his brother, Edward Thruston was born in 1638, was in Virginia—but not permanently—at Martin's Hundred in 1666, and came here to stay in January, 1716/7, when he acquired a town lot (15) at the west end of the Main Street; he also owned land in Princess Anne County.⁸⁶

L:fr: George L: sonne of Sir: f:re: George France and
John King: defendant of the suit by
To the Sheriff of the County of Norfolk greeting
We command you that you take the body of John
Halloway as if he be found within your Bailiwick
and him in your custody safely keep so that you have his
body before the Justices of the said Court of Norfolk on
the last Friday of Feb: next ensuing — at the Court
house & chamber of the said Court — in a place
presently on his Case — and five pounds over
money — and have you then there this writ
witness Solomon Wilson Clerk of our said Court at his
place the 28 day of January 1726/7 and in the
thirtieth year of our reign

Sol Wilson

WRIT OF CAPIAS DATED JANUARY 28, 1726/7, BEARING AUTOGRAPH OF
SOLOMON WILSON, CLERK OF THE NORFOLK COUNTY COURT

Malachi Thruston was succeeded as Clerk of the County Court at his death by Lemuel Wilson, who held the office until 1718. This period saw John Ferebee (the surveyor) and Thomas Butt serving successively as deputy clerks, and it is apparent from what follows that the court records were removed from town at that time.⁸⁷ The following notation is to be seen on the front fly leaf of an old record book: "Solomon Wilson sworne the 22d day of November 1718 Clericus Curiae [Clerk of the Court]." Six months later—15 May 1719—there was the following minute entry: "Upon motion of Samuel Boush it is by this Court ordered that the Clerk do bring his records and office to town as soon as convenient may be."⁸⁸ It is no coincidence that on 15 February 1719/20 Solomon Wilson purchased a lot (22) from Captain William Crawford on the Market Place almost opposite the Court House. It is pointed out that James Wilson (feoffee, 1711-16) was bequeathed part of a lot (43) by his father-in-law, Matthew Godfrey;

Wilson died in 1716 before the Godfrey will was probated (1717), and the land went to Solomon Wilson.*

Norfolk Town had its first member of the medical profession—or what then passed for it—early in its history: this was Doctor Thomas Tabor. He was a resident of Lower Norfolk County (probably Elizabeth River Parish) for some years before settling in town. An early record of him was a bond of one William Vaughan, who agreed to pay a debt to "Mr. Thomas Tabor, merchant," on demand at his store; this was on 28 June 1687, and gives no indication that he was then other than a trader.⁸⁹ Shortly thereafter, on 15 November 1688, there was recorded the following:

Dr. Thomas Tabor being presented by the Grand Jury for Common Swearing & drunkenness it is ordered that hee bee fined according to law.⁹⁰

Here he was given a title, and was apparently no better or worse than others of his kind, if we can credit Dr. W. B. Blanton who pictured the Colonial practitioner as "fond of ale, horse-racing and cuss-words."⁹¹ Dr. Tabor first appeared on the Norfolk scene in 1693 when he purchased the lot (13) just granted to Samuel Sizemore. Two years later (1695) he received a confirming grant for the Sizemore lot plus the one (14) adjoining to the West, and at an undetermined time took up a third lot (16) for which no grant was preserved. All these lots were on the north side of the west end of the Main Street, west of where Granby now intersects.

Paper being sometimes a scarce commodity in Colonial times, the reverse of a sheet was frequently used after one side had been written on. The reverse side of William Vaughan's bill to Tabor was so used and is reproduced here: The sequence or continuity of this writing is difficult to follow, though most of the words can be deciphered. It would appear that these were some items sold to—or prescribed for (Rx)—Mr. Matthew Godfrey. Thus we recognize "cordial electuary" (medicinal stimulant compounded in simple syrup), "phisick" (medicine), and pills. The ingredients which went into these items were syrup of salt, roses and gill (ground ivy, a medicinal plant), saffron (an aromatic plant used medicinally), barley (used medicinally, as in barley water), *radix contrayerva* (root of *Dorstenia Brasiliensis*, used to make a tonic stimulant) and syrup of *mente* (mint, equivalent to the modern French spelling *menthe*).⁹² There was also a clay pipe for Mr. Godfrey. It is clear from this that Dr. Tabor dealt in "simples" or medicinal herbs as well as other merchandise, in addition practicing medicine in the limited fashion of his day. He died in January, 1700/1, his will naming his wife, Mary, as sole executrix; his three town lots (13, 14, 16) were left respectively to his children, John, Thomas and Rosamond. It was made clear John was the eldest son and inherited also "mortars, pestles,

* As was noted in Chapter XI, James, Solomon and Lemuel Wilson were all sons of Col. James Wilson (d. 1712).

steel instruments, stills, seals, weights . . . and anything that may be called or doeth belongeth to Surgery."⁹³ Dr. Tabor would have called himself, we feel sure, a Surgeon-Apothecary;* he belonged, therefore, to a privileged class of practitioners, a kind of subphysician who was in England the usual family medical attendant.

A few years passed before another medical man settled in Norfolk Town. In 1708/9, a lot (29) was granted to William Miller, gentleman (called Dr. William Miller in another deed), on the southwest side of the east end of the Main Street. This was the lot which, as noted, formerly belonged to Mary Hodges. In 1715 Dr. Miller had to sue Col. Anthony Walke for £6 10s "for curing a negro's leg" and for medicines furnished Walke's sick child. Col. Walke objected to paying the doctor, stating that "to his judgment and appearance, the said negro's leg was never cured nor made whole." In the end, the Court ordered him to pay £1 10s "for visits, physick, and attendance."⁹⁴ Dr. Miller died in 1727, being survived by his wife and a son, Robert Miller.⁹⁵ The historian, Robert Beverley, made some interesting reflections in 1703 concerning the medical profession in Virginia:

They have the Happiness to have very few Doctors, and those such as make use only of simple Remedies, of which their Woods afford great Plenty. And indeed, their Distempers are not many, and their Cures are so generally known, that there is not Mystery enough to make a Trade of Physick there, as the Learned do in other Countries, to the great Oppression of Mankind.⁹⁶

It should be noted in passing that there were others of this profession here quite early: Pharaoh Flinton, "surgeon," of Elizabeth City, who arrived in 1612; Jonathon Langwood, "chirurgion," in Lower Norfolk (Western Branch area) in 1638, and Dr. James Speer in Lynnhaven Parish in 1680.⁹⁷

Another prominent merchant of Norfolk Town was John Ellegood. He was churchwarden in 1734/5 (see above) and had acquired the lots of George Mason (23) and Solomon Wilson (22), on the latter of which was his residence. In connection with his mercantile activities, he owned a sea sloop, and in his store were dry goods, rum, and other merchandise. His three sons were William, Mason and Jacob Ellegood.⁹⁸

First of a family which is still well known here was John Taylor, who carried on a mercantile business with his brother, Archibald Taylor. They came here prior to 1736 from the parish of Fintrie, in the county of Stirling, which is just north of Glasgow and known chiefly because of Bannockburn and Loch Lomond. John Taylor lived on the site (18) formerly owned by Thomas Hodges, on the Main Street, where the United States

* Surgeon, one who treats diseases or disorders by manual operation; apothecary, one who prepares and sells drugs or compounds for medicinal purposes. (Webster.) It must be remembered that, at the time of which we are writing, the surgeon-apothecary was in the same class with the surgeon dentist and surgeon barber, all being concerned with manual operation.

Customs House now stands. His family consisted of his wife, Margaret, and two sons, James and John.⁹⁹

Mention has been made several times above to Samuel Smith, merchant, whose land was to play an important part in the development of Norfolk Town. He first appeared on the scene in 1708, when he purchased the site (19) which had formerly belonged to Richard Hill and his widow, later Mrs. Jane Sawcer, which was (we believe) the site of his residence. Smith later acquired Lewis Conner's site (5), and the lot (36) first granted to Thomas Nash and later owned by the blacksmith, Bartholomew Clarke. He was one of the first school trustees in 1728, and in 1734/5 purchased the Old Glebe from the Parish Vestry. He then owned all the land west of Boush Street and north of Bute Street, and reaching from present Atlantic City Bridge to Church Street, as has already been told in detail. He came to Norfolk Town from London, where lived his father and elder brother, both named John Smith, linen drapers by trade.* He had a cousin, Josiah Smith, living in Virginia in 1732 and later to become a prominent citizen of Norfolk. According to Col. William Byrd (who visited Norfolk Town in 1727/8), "Mr. Sam Smith [was] a plain man with 20000 pounds." While Samuel Smith did not die until 1739 (a fact which belongs in the next chapter), we may properly speak here of information contained in his will, which was written in 1732. Outside of the former Glebe (left to his brother, John, of London) and the tract adjoining the Glebe plus his residence (left to his cousin Josiah), he left all his other property—consisting of four dwelling houses, kitchens and other out-buildings and the land they were on—to "my friend Samuel Smith alias Samuel Coverley." Here is a minor—but intriguing—mystery which has not been explained. One of these dwellings so left was then occupied by Martha Coverley. Could this have been young Samuel's mother or sister? And could young Samuel have been adopted by Smith? The will also provided for his education. Another question: What connection was there between Samuel, Martha and Mrs. Ann Coverley, the tavernkeeper? Possibly Martha or Mrs. Ann Coverley was Smith's housekeeper whom Byrd mentioned: in referring to his being entertained by Smith, Byrd wrote, "He produced his two Nieces whose charms were all invisible. These Damsels seemed discontented that their Uncle Shewed more distinction to his Housekeeper than to them."¹⁰⁰ It might be added that young Samuel soon came to be called "Samuel Smith junior," and became a prominent and highly respected citizen, as will appear in the next chapter.

The only eye-witness description of Norfolk Town in the early eighteenth century—its religious, economic and social life as well as its appearance—is

* Sellers of cloth. (Webster)

that written by Col. William Byrd (II) of Westover and briefly referred to in the preceding pages.¹⁰¹ Byrd was in charge of the Commission appointed to survey the Virginia-North Carolina boundary, and spent a weekend in Norfolk Town in March, 1727/8, while on the way to the coastal point of beginning for the boundary. He wrote a detailed account of the expedition and his remarks on Norfolk Town are certainly pertinent to this story. It was on Friday, 1 March, 1727/8, that Col. Byrd and his party met at Major William Craford's plantation (later the site of Portsmouth Town) "over against Norfolk Town." They left their heavy gear and most of the party, crossing over to Norfolk with personal servants and portmantles (*Fr. portemanteau*, a leather hand bag or traveling case). Byrd went to an ordinary, probably Malbone's Tavern (6) which was nearest the ferry landing. There he met Col. George Newton, who lived just across the street (24) and who invited him to his home. Col. Byrd, accompanied by his chaplain, Rev. Peter Fontaine, accepted and

Mrs. Newton provided a clean Supper without any Luxury about 8 a Clock, and appeared to be one of the fine ladies of the Town, and like a true fine Lady to have a great deal of Contempt for her Husband.

This Mrs. Newton was Aphia Wilson, the mother of Thomas and Wilson Newton. On Saturday, 2 March, Col. Samuel Boush—"Old Col^o. Boush," as Byrd called him—called on Col. Byrd to offer his assistance in determining a route to Currituck. That evening the Commissioners were entertained at "an Oyster and a Bowl" by another prominent Norfolkian, Mr. Samuel Smith, and we have already told what Byrd said about Smith's worth, his nieces and his housekeeper. This entertainment must have consisted of an oyster roast and a bowl of fairly strong punch, for Byrd wrote of the breaking-up of this party:

The Parson [Mr. Fontaine] and I returned to our Quarters in good time & good Order, but my man Tom broke the Rules of Hospitality by getting extremely drunk in a Civil House.

On Sunday, 3 March, Byrd wrote as follows:

This being Sunday we were edify'd at Church by Mr. Marston [Marsden] with a good sermon. People could not attend their devotion for staring at us, just as if we had come from China or Japan. . . . At night we spent an hour with Col^o. Boush, who stir'd his Old Bones very cheerfully in our Service.*

* Byrd's two references to Col. Boush's advanced years may give some clue as to his age. Byrd himself was 54 at this time (born 1674), so we judge Boush must have been at least in his very late sixties; in that case he would have been over 75 when he died in 1736, a very respectable age for a man to attain in that day.

Byrd's description of Norfolk Town is of sufficient interest to repeat verbatim:

Norfolk has most the ayr of a Town of any in Virginia. There were then near 20 Brigantines and Sloops riding at the Wharves; and oftentimes they have more. It has all the advantages of Situation requisite for Trade and Navigation. There is a secure Harbour for a good Number of ships of any Burthen. Their River divides itself into 3 Several Branches, which are all Navigable. The Town is so near the Sea, that its Vessels may sail in and out in a few Hours. Their Trade is chiefly to Lumber. The worst of it is, they contribute much toward debauching the Country by importing abundance of Rum, which like Gin in Great Britain, breaks the Constitution, Vitiates the Morals, and ruins the Industry of most of the Poor people of this Country.

The place is the Mart for most of the Commodities produced in the adjacent ports of North Carolina. They have a pretty deal of Lumber from the Borderers on the Dismal,** who make bold with the King's Land there abouts without the least ceremony. They not only maintain their Stocks*** upon it but get Boards, Shingles, and other Lumber out of it in great Abundance.

The Town is built on a level Spot of Ground upon Elizabeth River, the Banks whereof are neither so high as to make the landing of Goods troublesome or so low as to be in Danger of overflowing. The Streets are Straight and adorned with Good houses, which Encrease every Day. It is not a town of Ordinarys or Public Houses, like most others in this Country but the Inhabitants consist of Merchants, Ship Carpenters and other useful Artisans, with Sailors enough to manage the Navigation. With all these Conveniences, it lies under the two great disadvantages that most of the towns in Holland do, by having neither good Air nor good Water. The two Cardinal Virtues that make a Place Thrive, Industry and Frugality, are seen here in Perfection, and so long as they can banish Luxury and Idleness, the Town will remain in a happy and flourishing condition.

The method of building Wharffs here is after the following Manner. They lay down long Pine Logs that reach from the Shore to the Edge of the Channel. These are bound fast together by Cross-Pieces nocht into them according to the Architecture of Log-Houses in North Carolina. A wharff built thus will stand several Years in spight of the Worm, which bites here very much, but may soon be repaired in a place where so many Pines grow in the Neighbourhood.

Over against the Town is Powder Point, where Ships of any Burthen may lye close to, and the Men of War are us'd to Careen.

Col. Byrd had difficulty in obtaining directions as to how to reach Currituck, until he was fortunate enough to meet up with an inhabitant of

** Dismal Swamp.

*** Livestock.

those parts who furnished him with a rough map. Whereupon the party "determined to march directly to Prescott Landing, upon North West River and proceed thence by Water to the Place where our Line was to begin." And so, to carry out this decision, wrote Byrd on Monday, 4 March,

. . . we crosst the River this Morning to Powder Point,* where we all took Horse and the Grandees of the Town with great Courtesy conducted us Ten Miles on our way, as far as the long Bridge** built over the Southern Branch of the River. The Parson of the Parish, Mr. Marston, a painful Apostle of the Society,*** made one in this Ceremonial Cavalcade.

Thus the Byrd Commission departed down the road to Great Bridge and Northwest, and so on to Currituck Sound. We may be sure that Col. Boush and Col. Newton were at the forefront of this procession of "grandees" who thus sped the parting guests!

In summary,¹⁰² it is evident that the people of Norfolk Town were living in an entirely different economy from that of the river plantations. The basic difference was to be found in the sandy soil of the coastal counties, which yielded a much poorer grade of tobacco, which had come to be the wealth of the inland areas. It is true the Norfolk and Princess Anne planters still cultivated some fields of the "weed" alongside their maize, beans, pumpkins and other food crops, but they had to look elsewhere for a source of income and economic independence. It was found near at hand in the virgin forests of these shores, the tall pines, the sturdy oaks, the durable junipers and cypresses which abounded in the swampy hinterlands. In a country which was increasing almost hourly in population, there was a tremendous demand for the material with which to build houses to live in, and ships to carry their commerce. And so the people of Norfolk found their economic salvation in the trade in pine tar, pitch and turpentine, oak barrel staves, planks and sills, juniper and cypress shingles. This gave rise to the growth of the prosperous merchant class which, as we have seen, was the backbone of Norfolk Town, those who would take the ship stores and building materials from the producers and give in return the European wares—both necessity and luxury—which the people wanted.

"There are beginnings of towns at Williamsburg, Hampton and Norfolk, particularly at Norfolk-town at Elizabeth River, who carry on a small trade with the whole bay." So wrote the Reverend Francis Makemie, the Presbyterian dissenter in Accawmack, shortly after the year 1700.¹⁰³ But if Norfolk Town had depended on the trade of the bay, it would have died an economic death at its very beginning. For the ships from England in that day had no need

* Berkley.

** Great Bridge.

*** A painstaking and diligent representative of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

of deep water harbors, but could approach every bay and river plantation wharf to barter manufactured goods from England, and pick up the hogsheads of tobacco for the European market. Therefore, Norfolk found its source of supply of raw materials—and demand for overseas goods—in the area of which it was the natural port, southeast Virginia and northeast North Carolina. From this area it drew, not only the lumber and ship stores we have mentioned, but also quantities of beef, pork, hides, tallow, furs, and other products of the farms, swamps and woodlands.

Moreover it was soon evident that Norfolk Town was nearer the West Indies than were the ports of England, nearer even than Boston, New York and Philadelphia. Hence the Norfolk merchants soon garnered the lion's share of the West India trade, and the town's warehouses were full of hitherto strange and unknown products, such as sugar, molasses, rum, coffee; even items from farther afield—spices, wines from Oporto (port), Jerez (sherry), Madeira and Canary—were introduced into the New World through the West Indies.

As this seaborne trade increased, there was increased interest and activity in the ships which carried it, both in the rivers and creeks of the area and over the ocean to faraway places. As early as 1697¹⁰⁴ Lewis Conner, one of the first Norfolk merchants, owned a ship and a brigantine.* In 1717, Matthew Godfrey was buying barrels of tar from one of his town neighbors, Owen Jones, who was also a carpenter. About the same time Godfrey owned the sloop *America*. In 1723, Robert Tucker had one brigantine, three sloops and three "flats;" his brother John, in 1736, had three sloops and one shallop. Also in 1736, Captain Nathaniel Tatem owned the ship *Caesar* and the sloop *Indian Creek*; he also owned cartwheels, chains, axes, whipsaws and wedges: the tools required for cutting and hauling of planks. About the same time the sloop *Industry* was built at Norfolk, and the ship *Moseley* (whose name suggests Col. Edward Moseley of Rolleston and Norfolk Town) was loading cargo at Norfolk for Great Britain. William Byrd was impressed by what he saw here: the brigantines and sloops, the wharves, the merchants, ship carpenters and sailors, the careening ground across the river. Byrd, being of the so-called landed gentry, keenly noted the differences between the people of this place and those with whom he associated. He realized, too, that the strangeness was not entirely one-sided, when he was stared at in church as a foreigner. He evidently respected them and their feelings and material possessions. He could call Mr. Sam Smith a plain man, but was at the same time impressed with his £20,000; he paid tribute to Mrs. Newton

* Ship, a three-masted square-rigged vessel; Bark, a three-masted vessel, square-rigged at the fore and main and schooner-rigged at the mizzenmast; Barkentine, a bark with both main and mizzenmast schooner-rigged; Brig, a two-masted square-rigged vessel with an additional fore-and-aft sail at the mainmast; Brigantine, a brig without a square mainsail. (Webster)

and the other "true fine Ladies"; he regretted his servant's breach of hospitality; he appreciated the attentions shown him by the "grandees" of the town, and appreciated the minister's* efforts and activities.

I can think of no better way to conclude this early picture of Norfolk Town than to quote the words of one to whom I am greatly indebted, Dr. Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker:

The town—a busy seaport in an agricultural colony—was a thing apart from the rest of Virginia. Its people were Virginians, it is true. Yet they had in many ways more in common with Boston or Philadelphia than with the planters of the James and the York. Although they rivaled the landed aristocracy in wealth, built substantial houses fitted with handsome furniture and costly plate, surrounded themselves with slaves, adhered to the Anglican Church, and acquired a certain degree of breadth and culture, there were essential differences. They were first of all practical, keen business men, lacking the taste for political life, the urge for study, and the philosophical view, which the plantation system fostered in their neighbors. Norfolk produced no Washington, no Jefferson, no Madison.¹⁰⁵

NOTES ON CHAPTER XII

N.B. See remark at beginning of Chapter I notes.

1. See Chapter X.
2. 2H472.
3. *Virginia State Land Office Records*, Patent Books II and III, *passim*; Nugent, *Cavaliers and Pioneers*, p. 54.
4. NED.
5. *Virginia State Land Office Records*, Patent Book IV, *passim*; *Lower Norfolk County Records*, Book D (1656-1666).
6. *Ibid.*, Order Book (1675-1686).
7. *Loc. cit.*
8. 2H508, 540, 561; Beverley, *History of Virginia*, p. 88.
9. *Lower Norfolk County Records*, Book 4, p. 126.
10. *Ibid.*, Book C, p. 46; 2N89.
11. *Lower Norfolk County Records*, Order Book (1675-1686).
12. *Ibid.*, Books 4 through 9, *passim*.
13. Ingle, "Virginia Institutions," p. 36.
14. *Lower Norfolk County Records*, Book 4, p. 153.
15. *Norfolk County Records*, Book 5, p. 35.
16. *Ibid.*, Book 6, p. 2.
17. *Ibid.*, Book 5, p. 118.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 159.
19. *Lower Norfolk County Records*, Book 4, pp. 135, 140, 169.
20. *Virginia State Land Office Records*, Patent Book 8, p. 69.
21. 3H58-60.
22. *Norfolk County Records*, Book 5 (1686-1695).
23. *Loc. cit.*
24. *Loc. cit.*

* Parson Marsden had not yet become *persona non grata*.

25. 3H112.
26. *Norfolk County Records*, Books 5, 6 and 7, *passim*.
27. *Loc. cit.*
28. *Loc. cit.*
29. Nugent, *op. cit.*, p. 499.
30. *Lower Norfolk County Records*, Book 7, p. 21.
31. *Historic Church Silver*, note on The Borough Church, Norfolk (pages unnumbered).
32. E. L. Goodwin, *Colonial Church*, p. 303; Meade, *Old Churches . . . in Virginia*, I, 306.
33. 3H186, 432.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 219.
35. *Ibid.*, pp. 392, 470-1.
36. *Ibid.*, pp. 404-19.
37. *Loc. cit.* (marginal note); Ingle, *op. cit.*, p. 100.
38. *Norfolk County Records*, Books 7, 8, 9, 10, OAW,* F, and G, *passim*.
39. *Ibid.*, Books 7, 8 and 9, *passim*.
40. *Ibid.*, Books 8, 9, 10, OAW,* F, G, and 11, *passim*.
41. *Ibid.*, Books 7, 8, 9 10 Q&W** and H *passim*.
40. The story of the Norfolk Lodge is difficult to pin-point as to sources: much of this information was furnished by Grand Secretaries of the Grand Lodges of Virginia and England; see also articles in the Norfolk *Virginian-Pilot* (26 June 1940, 30 October 1949) and the *Norfolk Ledger-Dispatch* (21 July 1938), which contain many errors of interpretation.
42. *Ibid.*, Book 5, p. 197; Book 9, pp. 355, 380, 431.
43. *Ibid.*, Book OAW,* p. 138.
44. *Ibid.*, Book 5, p. 195; Book 9, p. 521; Book 10, pp. 79-80; *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*, 13 April 1950; R. Goodwin, *Williamsburg*, p. 327.
45. Wertenbaker, *Norfolk*, pp. 19-20.
46. *Loc. cit.*
47. E. L. Goodwin, *Colonial Church*, p. 284; *Lower Norfolk County Records*, Book 8, p. 50
48. E. L. Goodwin, *op. cit.*, p. 290.
49. *Ibid.*, p. 268.
50. *Historic Church Silver*, note on the Borough Church, Norfolk (pages unnumbered).
51. E. L. Goodwin, *op. cit.*, p. 271.
52. *Ibid.*, p. 291; 19W(2)462, 465, 467.
53. E. L. Goodwin, *op. cit.*, p. 302; 19W(2)467.
54. *Norfolk County Records*, Book 12, p. 33.
55. Mason, "The Court-Houses of Princess Anne and Norfolk Counties," p. 408.
56. Wertenbaker, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-11.
57. *Norfolk County Records*, Book 5 (Orders); Book 8, p. 117.
58. 6H265.
59. *Norfolk County Records*, Book G, p. 104.
60. *Lower Norfolk County Records* and *Norfolk County Records*, Books 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, OAW, F, and G, *passim*.
62. *Norfolk County Records*, Books G and 11, *passim*.
63. Wertenbaker, *Norfolk*, p. 12.
64. *Ibid.*, p. 35.
65. 4H266.
66. *Ibid.*, p. 376.
67. See Chapter X.
68. McIntosh, *Lower Norfolk County Wills*, pp. 56-7.
69. *Lower Norfolk County Records*, Book 5 (1686-1695).
70. *Ibid.*, p. 197.
71. *Norfolk County Records*, Book 9, p. 355.
72. *Ibid.*, Book 6, p. 258: the will of Col. Lemuel Mason was dated 17 June 1695 and proved 15 September 1702.
73. Kellam, *Princess Anne*, pp. 179-80.

* An unnumbered book of Orders, Appraisements and Wills (1720-1723).

* An unnumbered book of Orders, Appraisements and Wills (1720-1723).

** An unnumbered book of Orders and Wills (1722-1734).

74. Original of first will still on file but not spread on records (see McIntosh, *Norfolk County Wills*, p. 139); second was recorded. *Norfolk County Records*, Book I, p. 32.
75. *Norfolk County Records*, Will Book 1, p. 37.
76. Reverse side of the writ illustrated, signed by "Solo Wilson," bears the notation "Cop: left at his house this 31 January 1726/7 p____ John Haire Shf."
77. See Chapter X.
78. *Norfolk County Records*, Book 5, pp. 239, 249.
79. *Ibid.*, Book 6, p. 227.
80. *Ibid.*, Book 8, p. 160; Book 9, p. 591.
81. Wertenbaker, *op. cit.*, p. 5n.
82. F. N. Mason, *John Norton & Son*, p. 514.
83. The Tucker inventories were recorded in *Norfolk County Records*, Book F, p. 103, and Book H, pp. 32-59, respectively, and are quoted in detail in Wertenbaker, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-16, 50.
84. This information was furnished to me in a letter dated 28 February 1954 by Mr. Jack D. Thruston of Berkeley, California from a seventeenth century family record book in his possession.
85. See note 69, above; also Kellam, *op. cit.*, pp. 224-5.
86. *Norfolk County Records*, Book 6, pp. 123, 170.
87. *Ibid.*, Books 5 through 10, *passim*.
88. *Ibid.*, Book 10, flyleaf; also minutes under date 15 May 1719.
89. *Lower Norfolk County Records*, uncatalogued loose papers.
90. *Ibid.*, Book 5 (1686-1695).
91. Hughes, *Medicine in Virginia*, p. 73.
92. Webster.
93. *Norfolk County Records*, Book 6, p. 201.
94. Wertenbaker, *op. cit.*, p. 14.
95. *Norfolk County Records*, Book O&A,* p. 36.
96. Beverley, *op. cit.*, p. 306.
97. See list of Ancient Planters in Chapter IV; also Nugent, *op. cit.*, pp. 55, 81; *Lower Norfolk County Records*, Order Book (1675-1686).
98. *Norfolk County Records*, Book I, p. 23.
99. *The Borough Church*, 1739, pp. 60, 97; *Norfolk County Records*, Book H, p. 123.
100. Byrd, *Dividing Line*, pp. 19-20; *Norfolk County Records*, Book I, p. 25.
101. Byrd, *op. cit.*, pp. .
102. What follows is from Wertenbaker, *op. cit.*, Chapters I and II, *passim*, unless otherwise specifically footnoted.
103. Squires, *Through Centuries Three*, p. 245.
104. *Norfolk County Records*, Book 6, p. 111.
105. Wertenbaker, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

* An unnumbered book of Orders and Appraisements.

Chapter XIII

The Borough of Norfolk

1736-1775

IN PREVIOUS CHAPTERS, the story has been told of the abortive attempts to establish municipal government in Virginia in 1680, 1691 and 1705. It will be recalled also that, in the latter year, an Act of Assembly made provision for the organization of a municipal government in certain previously established towns, which provisions were never carried out since the act was suspended in 1710.¹ Meanwhile, the City of Williamsburg had been established by Act of 1699;² the term "city" as here used had no significance other than that it was to contain the seat of Colonial Government, for Williamsburg was in no other way different from the other towns: its land was held by six feoffees in trust and it had no municipal organization. It is true the Act of 1699 appointed ten Directors* for the City, but their functions had to do solely with the "settlement and encouragement of the place" and with the building thereof. It should be pointed out that the Act empowered the Governor to issue a Charter of incorporation for the City of Williamsburg, but this was not done until 22 July 1722, over twenty-three years later. At that time a true municipal government—the first in Virginia—was established by Charter with a Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen, Common Council, Hustings Court, and a representative in the House of Burgesses, an organization identical to that of the Borough of Norfolk, as will appear below.³ It might be mentioned in passing that Fredericksburg was established by law—not incorporated—by an Act of 1728, which specified its site and appointed seven directors and feoffees (they were called trustees) to lay out the town and dispose of its lots.⁴ With this background information in mind, we may pass on to the Norfolk charter with a better understanding.

We have seen, in the previous chapter, that all the town land had been taken up by 1729, and that a number of lots had been laid out and sold outside the town limits between 1728 and 1732. Thus it was evident that Norfolk Town had been outgrowing its original bounds for several years before the events of the year 1736, a circumstance which gave rise to the movement for

* Four of whom were also feoffees.

incorporation which then had its beginning. Under date of Friday, 13 August 1736 (certainly not a day of evil omen in this case), there is this item in the minutes of the House of Burgesses:

A petition of several of the inhabitants of the Town of Norfolk, in the County of Norfolk, praying that the Limits of the said Town may be enlarged; and the freeholders, inhabitants within the bounds thereof, incorporated—Also, a Petition of diverse inhabitants of the said County, representing the Advantages that might accrue to the said County in general, by incorporating the said town, were presented to the House, and read.

Ordered, That Leave be given to bring in a Bill, according to the said Petitions; and that Mr. Boush, Mr. Craford, Mr. Walke, Mr. Blair and Mr. Ellegood, to prepare and bring in the same.⁵

The names of those who were to "bring in" the bill are interesting. With one exception, they had a more-than-altruistic interest in its passage. Samuel Boush and Anthony Walke, the one in 1715 and the other in 1720/21, had acquired large tracts of land adjoining the town to the north, as appeared in the previous chapter and Boush had already sold some lots before this. William Craford was to become founder of Portsmouth in 1752, and John Ellegood was a Norfolk merchant, was churchwarden in 1734/35, and died here in 1740; Mr. Blair, the exception above referred to, was John Blair, Sr., Burgess from 1734 to 1740, and nephew of the Reverend James Blair, president of the College of William and Mary and commissary of the Bishop of London.

Here is another item from the minutes of the Burgesses: On Friday, 3 September 1736,

Ordered, That Mr. Boush have leave to be absent from the Service of this House, til this Day Seven-night.⁶

The matter was presented before the Council (Upper House), four days later, Tuesday, the 7th: "A draught of a charter for incorporating the inhabitants of the town of Norfolk into a borough, upon their petition to the Governor, being by his Majesty's Attorney General, was this day laid before the Council and referred to the consideration of a fuller board."⁷ If Mr. Boush did not overstay his leave, he got back to Williamsburg on Friday the 10th and had time to have the charter signed by Governor Gooch on Wednesday the 15th. On Friday 17 September 1736, "Mr. Boush presented to the House, according to Order, a Bill to confirm the Charter of the Borough of Norfolk . . ."⁸ for its first reading, and on the 23rd it was passed.⁹

It would be appropriate at this point to go into some detail as to the provisions of this document. The charter was dated 15 September 1736 and created a Body Incorporate to be known as the "Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen

and Common Council of the Borough of Norfolk." The following were named to these positions therein:

Samuel Boush, Mayor,
Sir John Randolph, Knt., Recorder,
George Newton,
Samuel Boush, the younger,
John Hutchings,*
Robert Tucker,
John Taylor,
Samuel Smith, the younger,
James Ivey,
Alexander Campbell, Aldermen.

The common councilmen were not named but were to be chosen by the aldermen, in the number of sixteen. Most of the aldermen later served as mayor, since the mayor could not succeed himself and had to be chosen from the aldermen; new aldermen were chosen from the common councilmen, and the latter from the male inhabitants or freeholders at large. There was no restriction on the choice of recorder, except that he be "learned in the law." The boundary or limit of the borough was extended to the Town Bridge. It was provided that Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen and Common Councilmen should meet together once every year on the feast day of St. John the Baptist (June 24) for the purpose of filling vacancies among their number. This joint meeting was called the "Common Hall" and this was the traditional date for such meeting and for elections for nearly a hundred and fifty years. Just as the repealed Act of 1705 had granted the right to hold markets and fairs, so the charter did likewise; there were to be three weekly markets: Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday; and two yearly fairs: the first Monday in April and the first Monday in October. On these fair days all persons were exempt from arrests, attachments or executions, except for toll and process from the Court of Pie-Poudre.* This ancient English legal institution had jurisdiction limited to the time and precincts of a fair. The name is a corruption of the French *pied poudreux* (Low Latin, *pedem pulverosum*), "dusty foot," referring to the wandering merchants or peddlers who would frequent a fair.¹⁰ In this connection, it should be noted that the fair itself is quite an ancient institution in England. It is defined by one authority as "a greater species of market recurring at more distant intervals," and both fair and market can be defined as "periodic gatherings of buyers and sellers in an appointed place, subject to special regulation by law or custom." There are on record in England 2800 grants of franchise markets and fairs between 1199 and 1483.¹¹

* Sometimes written Hutchins or Hutching.

* Or Pie-Powder (probably so pronounced).

The charter further provided for a Court of Hustings.^{**} If we may be allowed a comparison here again, the Hustings Court was one of the most ancient of the lower courts of the city of London. It was composed of the Lord Mayor, the Sheriffs and Aldermen, and heard common pleas, land pleas, was a court of record and had probate jurisdiction.¹² Norfolk's Court of Hustings was composed of the Mayor, Recorder, and Aldermen, had no probate jurisdiction, could not hear criminal cases, and was a court of record only as far as judgments and executions were concerned. Under the charter the freeholders of the Borough were permitted to elect a member to the House of Burgesses, giving them representation in addition to that afforded by the two members chosen by Norfolk County.

Such were the provisions of the charter; let us now see how they were carried out. For this purpose we must refer to the Borough Register, an ancient volume carefully preserved in the office of the Norfolk City Clerk,¹³ which contains the minutes of the meetings of the Common Hall from its beginning. Other sources also throw some light on this subject and will be mentioned as appropriate.

The following is quoted from the minutes of the first meeting:

At a Common Council held November 18th 1736, in the Borough of Norfolk, by virtue of a charter bearing date under the great seal of Virginia, the 15th day of September . . . in the year of our Lord 1736. Before Sr. John Randolph Knight, Recorder of the said Borough, George Newton, John Hutchins, Robert Tucker, John Taylor, Samuel Smith the younger, James Ivy and Alexander Campbell gentlemen Aldermen, and eleven of the Common Council of the said Borough. Sir John Randolph having taken the oaths appointed by the Act of Parliament . . . and having also taken the oath of Recorder before George Newton and John Taylor gentlemen Commissioners appointed by the Honorable William Gooch, Lieutenant-Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Colony and Dominion of Virginia, for that purpose, entered upon the execution of his office.

George Newton Esq. was unanimously chosen Mayor in the room of Samuel Boush Esq. lately deceased, who was appointed Mayor by the Charter, and having taken the oaths appointed by Act of Parliament . . . also the oath of his office, took his seat in the chair.

Mr. Samuel Boush [the younger] was chosen Town Clerk by the unanimous voice of the Mayor, Recorder and Aldermen present.

We can well imagine that this first meeting was a sad one, since the one man chiefly responsible for the borough charter was not present to see his plans come to fruition. Since the charter required a vacancy for any reason to be filled within a month, we can fix the death of the elder Boush in late October or early November of 1736. All the officers of the Borough were residents

^{**} Hústing (Anglo-Saxon), a tribunal or assembly (Webster).

except the recorder, of whom more will be said later. Boush and Newton are given special notice below. Colonel John Hutchings married a daughter of the late John Godfrey; he lived at the east end of what was later Bermuda Street, as noted in the previous chapter. Samuel Smith, Jr., has likewise been previously referred to. Robert Tucker [II] and James Ivy were vestrymen. John Taylor's tombstone—he died in 1744—can still be seen in the churchyard; Hutchings, Taylor, Tucker, and Smith were all later mayors of the borough. Alexander Campbell was probably father of Dr. Archibald Campbell, who was mayor in 1763.

The recorder, Sir John Randolph, was never a resident of Norfolk; his appointment to that office arose from the charter provision for a lawyer therein. His home was Tazewell Hall* in Williamsburg, and he held the offices of King's Attorney and Speaker of the House at various times; in fact he was Speaker at the very time when Norfolk's charter was confirmed. He was father of two other King's Attorneys, Peyton Randolph (1721-1775) and John Randolph (1727-1784). Sir John was never actively the recorder. The Act of Assembly which confirmed the charter stated that the recorder was allowed to appoint a deputy to act in his absence. On 20 November 1736, Major David Osheal qualified as Deputy Recorder under commission from Sir John Randolph. The *Virginia Gazette* for Friday, 26 November 1736,¹⁴ telling of Norfolk's charter, the death of Boush and Newton's succession, relates how Sir John was royally entertained when he came to Norfolk for the first Council meeting on Thursday, 18 November. Colours were displayed, men-of-war in the harbour fired their guns, and there was a general celebration which lasted several days. Sir John died on 2 March 1736/7,¹⁵ and was succeeded as noted in the minutes of 19 March 1736/37:

Major David Osheal having taken the oath of Recorder in the room of Sir John Randolph Knt. lately deceased . . . entered upon the exercise of his office . . .

On 11 March 1736/7, the Reverend James Blair wrote to his superior, the Bishop of London, the following words:

A few days ago we lost Sir John Randolph, who was a good friend to the College and Country; I can't say to the Church, for he had some wild, dissenting and scarce Christian opinions.¹⁶

The custom of holding three weekly markets was continued for twenty years but was found unsatisfactory for the venders of produce, in that it was not often enough. Hence an Act of 1757 gave authorization to hold a market in the Borough every week day. There is one point which should not be overlooked, that there were eight aldermen appointed in the charter and only

* So called in the Nineteenth Century because of its connection with Senator Tazewell.

seven qualified. The one lacking was Samuel Boush the younger, and the reason was his appointment as Town Clerk. Norfolk's representatives in the House of Burgesses, as authorized by the charter, were:

John Hutchings	1 November 1738	to 11 July 1746
Robert Todd	27 October 1748	20 April 1749
John Hutchings	5 February 1752	25 March 1756
John Hutchings jr.	30 April 1757	30 March 1758
William Atchison	14 September 1758	1761
Joseph Hutchings	3 November 1761	1 June 1775

The dates shown are of the first and last session attended by each and the period covered is down to the Convention of 1775.¹⁷

Some time ago, while looking into the historical background of the borough as a legal and municipal institution, this writer was struck by the remarkable way in which the Borough of Norfolk followed and conformed to its British prototype. In order to demonstrate this conformity, the following facts are set forth in tabular form, showing in the left-hand column certain general statements taken from an article¹⁸ on the borough in general and in the right-hand column—opposite each—the corresponding characteristics of Norfolk:

<i>The English Borough as an Institution</i>	<i>The Borough of Norfolk</i>
From the Anglo-Saxon <i>burgh</i> (pronounced "borough," place names ending in -bury come from the dative case <i>byrig</i>), a fortified place or stronghold, like the German <i>Burg</i> . Before the Conquest, usually took the place of former Roman forts or camps.	Site chosen in 1680 because of the fort built there in 1673.
The public stronghold and administrative center of a dependent district.	County seat of Norfolk County from 1691 to 1789.
Place where artificial defense most needed; junction of roads, on rivers, centers naturally marked for trade; hence drew commerce from every channel.	Located at the junction of the Eastern and Southern Branches of the Elizabeth River, it was connected to all parts of surrounding territory by water; this was also an important early ferry crossing.
The ecclesiastical center: the mother church of a shire usually placed in its chief borough. Usually showed signs of having previously been a village settlement.	Location of the Elizabeth River Parish Church from 1700 on. Norfolk was the approximate location of the Indian village of Skicoak. It was a town in 1680 before becoming a borough in 1736.
In the reign of Richard I, London citizens called their chief officer "mayor" in imitation	Chief officer a mayor under the charter.

of French *Commune* which had a *maire*. In 1208, Winchester also had a mayor and soon the title became no rarity.

By the end of the XIIIth century, London had established two definite councils: that of the Mayor and Aldermen representing the borough court, and the common council representing the commonalty.

In the XVIth century, the boroughs obtained the right to return a member of Parliament.

In 1660, the rule was established that all charters reserved to the Crown the first nominations of aldermen, recorder and town clerk.

Under the charter, had a bicameral council, the Mayor, Recorder and Aldermen being the Borough or Hustings Court, and the lower chamber the Common Council.

The charter authorized the borough freeholders to elect a member to the House of Burgesses.

First Mayor, Recorder and Aldermen were appointed by the charter in the name of the King. One of the aldermen refused and became town clerk.

The minutes in the Borough Register contain many more items of interest. A few of them will be detailed here—the dates refer to the minutes in which they appear.

On 24 June 1740, Josiah Smith was chosen Captain of Militia for the Borough, and Samuel Smith Esq., Mayor, presented to the Borough a silver seal with vellum and wafers. The elder Samuel Smith had died the year before (his will was proved 21 December 1739), and Josiah Smith, a cousin, was one of his heirs. The younger Samuel Smith did not long remain in Norfolk, for we learn, on 21 June 1741, that he had "removed to Great Britain."

On 7 July 1741, the following item appears:

Hon. Robert Dinwiddie Esq. having made a present of a seal for the use of the borough as a grateful recompense for being created a burger, the same is gratefully accepted of . . . Resolved and ordered that the clerk take the same into his possession and that Mister Mayor* in the name of himself and this Community return thanks to the said Robert Dinwiddie with a grateful acceptance.

This may throw some light on the relationship between Dinwiddie and the Borough, and his gift of a handsome silver mace some twelve or thirteen years later. Dinwiddie did not become Lieutenant Governor until 1751, but held the position of customs clerk in Bermuda from 1727 to 1738, and was promoted from that post to be Surveyor-General of Customs for the southern ports of the American Continent. He held the latter position until 1743, when

* Josiah Smith.

he was commissioned to investigate certain reports of corruption in the customs service of the Barbadoes; as a reward for cleaning up these irregularities he was appointed Lieutenant Governor of Virginia in 1751, remaining in that office until 1758.¹⁹ It can be seen from this that Dinwiddie was not a politician but a career customs man, and as such was extremely unpopular with Virginia's agricultural aristocracy. However, such was evidently not the case as regards his relations with the citizens of the Borough of Norfolk, and during the period in which he was surveyor-general of customs for the southern ports, his dealings with the merchants on this port were of such cordial nature that he was made an honorary citizen of the Borough, in gratitude for which he presented the seal above referred to.

On the same day, 7 July 1741, it was ordered that all white male inhabitants should go armed to church on Sunday or any other day on which service was held, ". . . to prevent any invasion or insurrection . . ." The traditional but unverified statement has also been made that the minister of the parish church conducted services at this time with a pistol lying on the reading desk. In seeking an explanation for these precautions, we must remember the state of war existing between England and Spain beginning in 1740. It might be mentioned in passing that a young naval officer named Lawrence Washington in that year accompanied Admiral Vernon on his ill-fated expedition against the Spanish colonies in what is now Colombia—his mansion on the Potomac, built a few years later, was named Mount Vernon in compliment to the Admiral.

On 23 July 1746, there was a great celebration in Norfolk of the victory in the Battle of Culloden Moor, fought three months earlier.²⁰ This victory, won by the Duke of Cumberland (son of George II and uncle of George III) over the Young Pretender, Charles Stuart, put an end to any hope of a Stuart restoration.* At this time Norfolk was strong in its loyalty to the House of Hanover, which might not have been true some years later. We have a street named for the Duke, which, in the words of the late Dr. Squires, leads from one cemetery to another.

On 6 December 1746, upon the arrival of a small-pox-infested ship from the West Indies, it was ordered that an infirmary be established on the Glebe land for the care of the afflicted ones and for the protection of the rest of the population. This Glebe, on the Western Branch, is not to be confused with the Old Glebe, which was sold in 1734. In the above order, the Glebe land was said to be "in the seizure of the Reverend Charles Smith." As will later appear, the Reverend Mr. Smith ministered to the Borough Church in Norfolk, and to the whole of Elizabeth River Parish, from 1742 to 1761. In the

* One of the Stuart partisans in this uprising was the father of Lord Dunmore, who was later pardoned.

latter year, when the parish was divided, he took over Portsmouth Parish, which he served until his death in 1773.

On 25 March 1750, a council order reads as follows:

Limits and Bounds of said borough to go from the place called Town Bridge west north west til you come to the head of Boush's Creek to a marked pine between Mr. Samuel Boush and Mr. Josiah Smith thence down the west side of Boush's Creek to the Back Creek.

It will be recalled that in the charter the borough limit was extended to Town Bridge. The necessity to redefine the boundary here may have arisen from the fact that parts of the Boush and Walke tracts were outside the borough line. The term "Boush's Creek" is interesting as it is probably the only such designation of that northward branch of the Back Creek, reaching from what is now City Hall Avenue over the lower parts of the present Monticello Avenue and Brewer Street, and extending beyond Freemason Street just east of Granby. The marked pine referred to was at the spot now occupied by the stone marked by a bronze plaque (to be mentioned later) on the north side of Bute Street just west of Boush. In July, 1749, Ebenezer Stevens was surveyor of streets for the borough and was ordered to "begin to repair same from Town Bridge."

In connection with the above, in March of 1761 the House passed an "Act for enlarging and ascertaining the Limits of the Borough of Norfolk," reading in part:

That from and after the passing of this Act, all the land contained within the lines and bounds hereinafter described, including the Town originally built on and established at the time of the granting of the said Charter, shall be deemed and taken to be the Borough of Norfolk, to-wit:

Beginning at the head of a creek called Newton's Creek; and thence with a line to be run north fifty-nine degrees west, seventy-two poles to the head of Smith's Creek; thence along the said Smith's Creek, according to its various courses and meanders, to the mouth thereof in Elizabeth River; thence bounding on the said river the different courses thereof to the mouth of the said Newton's Creek, and thence up the said Newton's Creek to the beginning.²¹

On 1 February 1753, it was "Resolved and ordered that a compleat plan be made of the Borough by Mr. Gershom Nimmo, surveyor of Norfolk County." This was evidently intended to carry out one of the provisions of an act passed exactly one year earlier, "that a complete plan be made of the bounds within the borough." Unfortunately, this plan is not known to have survived. Mr. Nimmo's wife, by the way, was Elizabeth, daughter of Maximilian Boush (II), a brother of the first Mayor.²² Nimmo made the survey of the Boush property (to be mentioned below) in 1762, and the following year was employed by George Washington to survey the Dismal Swamp (see Chapter XX).

Mention was made above of the ceremonial Mace presented to the Borough of Norfolk by Lieutenant Governor Dinwiddie, which is now a highly cherished and carefully guarded relic of the colonial era. It is of pure silver, bearing around its crown and bowl the customary royal and heraldic insignia in the form of four escutcheons, one each for England, Scotland, Ireland and France. It is forty-one inches long, weighs one hundred and four ounces, and bears the lion rampant hallmark and the initials "F.W." cipher of the well-known silversmith, Fuller White of London. It is inscribed: "The Gift of the Hon^{ble}. Robert Dinwiddie Esq^r. Lieu^t. Governour of Virginia to the Corporation of Norfolk, 1753." This date indicates when it was made, but it was not until the following year that it was received, and the following minutes from the Borough Register tell the story:

At a Common Council held this 1st day of April, 1754, the Honourable Robert Dinwiddie, Esq., his Majesty's Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief, this day presented to the Borough of Norfolk a very handsome silver mace, which was thankfully received,

Resolved—That the humble thanks of this Borough be made to the Honourable Robert Dinwiddie, Esq., his Majesty's Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief of this Dominion, for his valuable present, assuring his Honor that the same was received as a Token of his great Regard and Affection for the said Borough.

Ordered

That a Committee be appointed to return the thanks of this Hall to the Governor upon the said Resolution and that it be referred to Josiah Smith,* Robert Tucker, Christopher Perkins, Archibald Campbell, Alexander Ross and Richard Scott, Gent., to draw up the same.

It has been stated by some local historians that the mace was presented by Dinwiddie on behalf of his sovereign, George II. It is true a mace of this kind is a traditional symbol of royal authority, and was so used on ceremonial occasions. However, it is obvious from the wording of the inscription as well as the Council minutes above quoted that the Lieutenant Governor made this gift as an individual, that he attended the Council meeting in person, and presented his gift in person. The Norfolk mace is unique in the nation as being the only piece of *municipal* regalia which survived the Revolution. A similar mace, dating from 1757, is still in existence in South Carolina and belonged to the Colonial Legislature in that State. There were apparently two maces in Williamsburg, one used in the House of Burgesses, and the other belonging to the Corporation of the City. Neither survived the Revolution

* It may not be pure coincidence that Josiah Smith was Mayor at the time of both the Dinwiddie gifts, the seal in 1741 and the mace in 1754.

intact, though the bowl head of that City's mace is said to have been found and returned in 1919. It is probable the College of William and Mary, being a royal corporation, had a mace also; if so, it has long since disappeared.

The mace of Norfolk is now in the custody of the National Bank of Commerce,²³ whose officials have provided a suitable plate-glass-and-mirror display case in its vaults so that this priceless treasure can be viewed but still remain in safety. In 1952, the Bank caused to be made two sterling silver *repliques* and presented them to the City of Norfolk and to the Norfolk Museum, the former for ceremonial use and the latter for display; in this way the original is safe from possible accidents which might result from handling, because of the purity and softness of its silver.

Another occurrence of note took place a short while after the presentation of the mace. This had to do with the visit in 1756 of the well-known philosopher, scientist, journalist and statesman, the "sage of Philadelphia" Benjamin Franklin.²⁴ Franklin, then fifty, had become famous both here and abroad; in a single year—1753—he received three high honors: honorary Master of Arts of Harvard College and of Yale College, and award of the Copley medal of the Royal Society in London. The purpose of his visit to Virginia in 1756 was to confer with his colleague, deputy Postmaster General William Hunter in Williamsburg. Franklin wrote his wife from that place on Tuesday, 30 March 1756: "Virginia is a pleasant country, now full of spring; the people extremely obliging and polite." His presence in Williamsburg was the occasion for conferring the degree of Master of Arts on him—the first honorary degree conferred by the College of William and Mary—on Friday, 2 April 1756. After completing his visit there, he proceeded to Norfolk, possibly to inspect facilities for the receipt and handling of European and West Indian mail. While here, he was given the honors of this Borough by being made an honorary citizen on Saturday, 10 April 1756. It is strange that the Borough Register contains no reference to this circumstance, but happily the diploma then presented to him has been preserved in the library of the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia:

At the Borough of Norfolk
the Tenth Day of April One Thousand and Seven Hundred
and fifty six

The which Day in presence of the Worshipful Richard Kelsick Esquire Mayor
of the Borough of Norfolk, John Hutchings, Robert Tucker, Josiah Smith,
John Phripp, John Tucker, Wilson Newton, Christopher Perkins and George
Abyvon, Aldermen thereof, Benjamin Franklin Esquire of the City of Phila-
delphia is made Burgess and ffreeman of this Borough and the Whole Libertys,
Priviledges and Immunitiess of a Burgess and ffreeman thereof are granted to
him in most Ample form as use is.

(SEAL) [Sig.] Rich^d. Kelsick, Mayor.

At the Borough of Norfolk
the Tenth Day of April One Thousand Seven Hun-
dred and fifty six 27

The which Day in Presence of the Worship
full Richard Kelwick Esquire Mayor of the Borough
of Norfolk, John Duttingo, Robert Tucker, Soiah Smith
John Philipp, John Tucker, Wilson Newton, Christopher
Perkins, and George Abydon Aldermen thereof, Benjamin
Franklin Esquire of the City of Philadelphia is made
Burgess and Freeman of this Borough and the whole
Libertye Priviledges and Immunitie of a Burgess
whereof are granted to him in most ample forme
as follows



Rich. Kelwick Mayor

(Courtesy American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia)

NORFOLK—BENJAMIN FRANKLIN'S DIPLOMA

A word about the seal: It is actually a wax seal as can be seen from the accompanying photograph. It will be recalled that the Borough was presented two seals, one by Samuel Smith [II] in 1740 and one by Dinwiddie in 1741. Smith's seal was accompanied by vellum and wax wafers, and the seal on the above diploma is of that type, a wax wafer covered with a square of vellum through which the impression was made. This is the only known surviving impression of either Borough Seal; unfortunately, it is too indistinct for its devices to be made out, and only a faint "NOR" can be made out at its edge, according to information furnished by the Librarian of the American Philosophical Society.

The history of Elizabeth River Parish from 1691 to the Revolution belongs more properly to Norfolk County, and has been related in detail in the chapter under that heading. As was done in the chapter on Norfolk Town, we shall relate here those details of church history which directly concern the Borough of Norfolk.

It has already been seen that the churchyard in Norfolk Town contained a church building probably as early as 1700, but certainly not before 15 July 1698. This church was, as previously noted, a simple building of very modest proportions, in accordance with needs at the time it was built. We have evidence of great increase in population and need for more space as early as 1728, and by the time the year 1736 dawned, it was evident that the little church of 1700 was totally inadequate and would have to be replaced. It is not coincidence that the move to incorporate the Borough and the building of a new church occurred within a very few years of each other.

An Act of Assembly of August, 1734,²⁵ permitted the sale of the Old Glebe, since a new one had been purchased, and authorized the use of the proceeds for such other parochial uses as the vestry might see fit. As we have seen, the following January (1734/35) the vestry sold the Old Glebe to Samuel Smith. The late Dr. Squires suggested that the money so obtained might well have formed a part of the fund for the proposed new building. We know, and it will so be shown below, that the new church was completed sometime in 1739. May we not be permitted, in the absence of parish records for this time, to indulge in a little imaginative reflexion on the circumstances of its building?

There was in Norfolk Town, as early as 1721, one Peter Malbone, a mariner. He it was who built the New Brick Church in Lynnhaven Parish (now called Old Donation). He was living next door to the Norfolk Town churchyard from 1721 on, and about November, 1733, was engaged to build the Lynnhaven church;²⁶ he did not complete it until June, 1736, just before the time the Borough Charter was approved and granted. It seems logical that Malbone would be the one chosen by the Vestry of Elizabeth River Parish to build the new Parish Church in the Borough. If we imagine such an

agreement was entered into after September, 1736 (the charter date), then the completing date of 1739—mentioned below—would be exactly right.

Be that as it may, the new building was in the form of a Roman cross, with the long arm due east and west (the altar being, as is customary, in the east) and the short arm or transept due north and south. About half way up the outside wall of the south transept, by the protrusion of the ends of certain bricks, a design has been formed showing letters several feet high, as follows:

17	39
S	B

These two groups are on either side of the rose window, as can be distinctly seen in the accompanying photograph, taken by the author some years ago.



(Rogers Dey Whichard)

NORFOLK—ELIZABETH RIVER PARISH CHURCH (FOURTH), ERECTED 1739
NOW ST. PAUL'S EPISCOPAL CHURCH

The date 1739 is our basis for stating that the building was completed in that year. The initials are undoubtedly Samuel Boush's. We have seen that he died less than a month before the first Borough Council meeting on 18 November 1736. The tradition that Samuel Boush [I] donated the land on which the church stands can be dismissed as untenable: a church was on the site, as previously indicated, as early as 1700, and Boush owned not a foot of land in this immediate vicinity until 1715. The churchyard was part of the town land, and therefore public land. There are other reasons why Samuel Boush's initials were placed on the church wall as a memorial to him. His devotion to the church is well known. He gave the first piece of communion silver,

a chalice, in 1700; he provided for the religious education of his grandson in his will. The Boush plan, made in 1762 (to be mentioned later), shows at the southwest angle of Cumberland and Wolfe (now Market) Streets a large lot marked "formerly used as a brickyard." It is not without the bounds of probability that Boush, before his death in 1736, promised to donate the bricks if the vestry would build a new church—if so, the bricks came from this yard, and those very bricks are now his memorial.

The new church was known traditionally as the Borough Church,* a name which was not discarded until nearly a century later when Saint Paul's Church was organized in 1832. It was the only church in the Borough before the Revolution, and its construction was probably begun very shortly after the date of the borough charter. It should be especially noted, however—lest we might not see the church for the building, to paraphrase an old saying—that the Borough Church was still the Church of Elizabeth River Parish, and was the fourth building to be used for that purpose.

It has been previously pointed out that Reverend Moses Robertson was probably minister of the Parish as early as 1729, and was certainly here in January, 1734/35. He appears in a new charge in Northumberland County in 1743,²⁷ hence probably remained in Norfolk Town until sometime in 1742. This fits in with what we know of his successor, Reverend Charles Smith. The latter's gravestone in Trinity Churchyard, Portsmouth, states that his ministry lasted upwards of thirty years, and since he died 11 January 1773, he was probably in Norfolk as early as 1742. We have certain evidence that he was here on 6 December 1746, on which date an entry in the Borough Register stated that the Parish Glebe was "in the seizure of the Reverend Charles Smith."

The only pre-Revolutionary records of the parish which have been preserved are contained in the Vestry Book covering the period from 10 October 1749 to 20 April 1761,²⁸ during the whole of which time the Reverend Mr. Smith was minister. In the pages which follow immediately will be found some of the entries in this volume concerning the church and the Borough of Norfolk. Details concerning Parish and County have already been given in Chapter XI.

In that chapter we told of those who served as vestrymen from 1749 to 1761. Of the seventeen gentlemen who so served, ten were inhabitants of the Borough, as best as we can determine. Here are their names with the dates each was first mentioned in the minutes:

Col. George Newton	10 October	1749
Col. Samuel Boush [II]	10 October	1749
Mr. Charles Sweny	10 October	1749

* Though not so called in any contemporary record.

Capt. John Phripp	10 October	1749
Mr. Samuel Boush jr. [III]	10 October	1749
Col. Robert Tucker [II]	9 October	1750
Matthew Godfrey jr.	20 October	1753
Capt. Thomas Newton	21 October	1755
Major John Willoughby	30 October	1759
Mr. Robert Tucker jr. [III]	20 November	1759

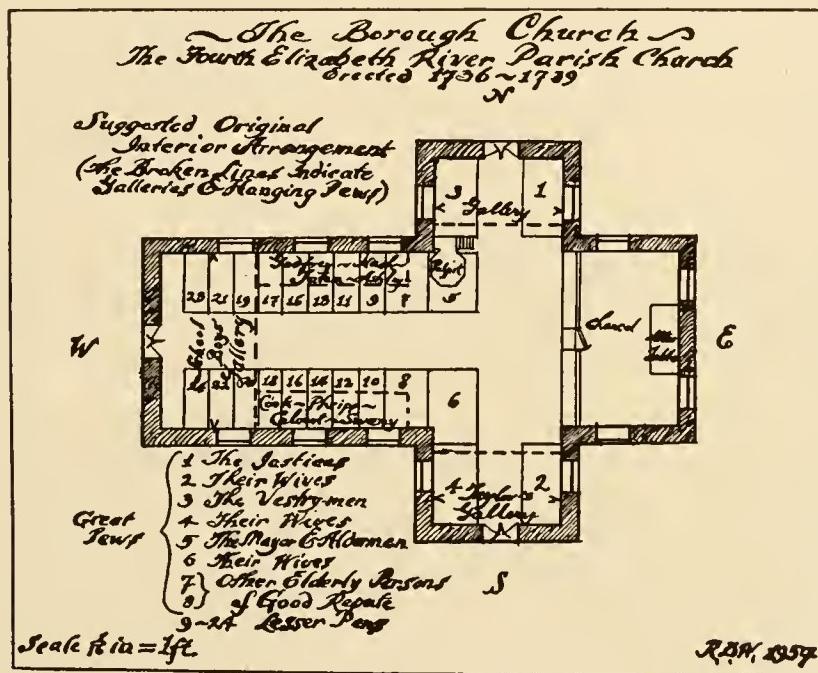
It is to be noted that there may be some overlapping and non-consecutive terms involved here. All except the elder Boush, the Tuckers and Willoughby also acted from time to time as churchwardens. Colonel Newton and Colonel Boush (both second of their name) were the only two left of the Vestry of 1734/5. Sweny's daughter, Martha, was married to Charles Sayer Boush, another son of Samuel Boush [II]. Thomas Newton was son of Colonel Newton and later to be Mayor. Willoughby's principal residence was at Willoughby's Point, though he maintained a town house, as did many other planters; he was the fifth generation: Thomas (d. 1753)—Thomas (d. 1712)—Thomas (d. 1672)—Thomas (d. 1658). Colonel Robert Tucker [II] was an Alderman in 1736, thrice Mayor, was later one of those associated with Colonel George Washington in the Dismal Swamp project.²⁹

Other important parish officials were the clerks and sextons of the church and various chapels of ease. These have been mentioned in a previous chapter, but we would point especially here to James Pasteur who is to play an important role in our story. As early as 10 October 1749 he was performing a triple function as Clerk of the Vestry, Clerk of the Parish Church and Sexton of the Parish Church. As church and vestry clerk he was responsible for keeping the Parish Register of births, christenings, marriages, deaths and burials, and for keeping a record of the vestry meeting minutes. As sexton—or sacristan, as this officer was sometimes called—he was custodian of the building, had charge of its sacred vessels and vestments and waited on the minister; he had more lowly duties, too, such as ringing the bell, if any, and digging graves. James Pasteur is a typical example of a poor boy who made good. Son of a tradesman, he struggled for his education, supported himself, became a schoolmaster, a lay reader, and finally an ordained minister. All these things will be detailed in another place. Pasteur was succeeded by George Chamberlaine as Clerk of the Vestry on 20 October 1753; the register does not note whether the latter also became vestry clerk and sexton at the same time.

It was decided to build a brick wall around the churchyard, and on 9 October 1750 a levy was made for that purpose, and for building a Work House for the poor. The location of the latter was probably the same as that indicated on the Nicholson map of the Borough of 1802, on the south side of Queen Street (Bramkleton Avenue), exactly where Granby Street now

intersects. On this same date, Dr. Archibald Campbell was compensated for tending the poor of the parish. Dr. Campbell was later Mayor of the Borough.

Also on the same date, we see an example of a wide-spread colonial custom, that of building private galleries in the churches. As one source expresses it: "Some people considering it due to their social position that they should have lofty seats at Church, constructed little galleries along the side



walls, and there they proudly worshipped."³⁰ Captain John Cook, Captain John Phripp, Captain Maximilian Calvert and Mr. Charles Sweny were empowered to build a gallery in the church from the gallery of Mr. John Taylor, deceased, to the school boys' gallery, "equally betwixt them and their heirs forever to have and to hold." At the same time similar permission was given to Mr. Matthew Godfrey, Mr. William Nash (brother of Thomas), Captain Trimagan Tatem and Mr. William Ashley, their gallery to extend from the pulpit to the school boys' gallery. Thus we may assume an interior arrangement similar to the accompanying diagram.³¹ The arrangement of the "great pews" on the main floor is purely imaginary. It was customary to assign the place of honor to the Justices of the County Court and their families; the next, to the vestrymen and their families, and thereafter to the more prominent families of the parish regardless of whether they lived without or within the borough. It may well be imagined that such prominence would

be given to the Willoughbys, the Masons, the Boushes, the Newtons, and possibly to the Langleys and the Tuckers. As to the galleries and "hanging pews," we can be a little more certain, in the light of the entry in the parish register. In view of the close supervision of the School by the Church, the scholars were required to attend worship (usually in a body) and a place was reserved for them; it was customary that a gallery was so set aside and located at the west end of the church opposite the chancel, as was the case in Bruton Parish Church in Williamsburg, where such a gallery was located and reserved for the students of the Royal College of William and Mary. Assuming the "school boys' gallery" to have been so placed here, and assuming that the pulpit was at the corner on the north side (this also was customary), it may be supposed the other galleries were arranged as here shown.

On this same 9 October 1750, it was, by the vestry,

. . . ordered that Mr. James Pasteur do have the Bricks and Timbers of the old church to build an House on the school Land of such Dimentions as shall be agreed upon betwixt he the said James Pasteur and those who shall grant him Liberty to build on the said Land . . .

This is interesting for the information it gives us in regard to the fifty-year-old original church building on this site, now fallen into disuse; it is more significant as concerns the school, which will be treated later in this chapter. It will be recalled that Pasteur was clerk and sexton. At this same time it was ordered that ". . . the Churchwardens of Elizabeth River Parish do contract with some workman to build an House on the Parish Land . . ." This was probably the first parish house. The specifications were given: fifty feet by twenty feet, with a shade (porch roof) ten feet wide the length of the house, and with chimneys in the middle for four fireplaces. Joseph Mitchell undertook to build it; he was to be, in 1754, builder of the Eastern Shore Chapel in Lynnhaven Parish.³²

Several interesting items are noted under 8 October 1751. The following accounts, among others, were paid: to Samuel Langley for coffins, to Thomas Nash for a tankard, and to John Duprees for communion bread and wine. Samuel Langley of the Borough of Norfolk, cabinet maker and joiner, was son of Captain Lemuel (d. 1748), grandson of Thomas (d. 1717), and great grandson of William I (d. 1676).³³ It will be recalled that William Langley II owned a lot in Norfolk Town.

Also on 8 October 1751, there was

Received into the Vestry of Capt. George Whitwell, commander of H.M.S. *Triton*, a silver plate as a compliment for his wife, Mary Whitwell, being interred in the Church.

The Reverend William Pow, one-time chaplain of the *Triton*, was minister of Bath Parish, Dinwiddie County, in which charge he was succeeded in 1755 by the Reverend James Pasteur, as will be later noted.³⁴ The Whitwell plate is to be seen on the illustration of church silver previously given.

On the same date, Dr. Campbell was allowed 4000 pounds of tobacco for tending the Poor House, and the amount levied for walling in the churchyard in 1750 was to be appropriated for repairs to the Great Bridge Chapel and for maintaining the Poor House; the churchyard was, therefore, not yet permanently protected.

On 26 October 1756, Dr. John Ramsay agreed to attend the poor of the parish within two miles of the Borough. He was married the following January (1757) to Miss Mary Hutchings.³⁵ He was associated with another prominent physician, Dr. James Taylor, who will be mentioned in regard to the Masonic Lodge.

On 17 December 1756, it was noted that the Poor House was lately burned accidentally, and a new one was ordered to be built. Its specifications were: thirty-four feet by twenty-eight feet, walls one and one-half bricks thick, bricks well burned, and mortar with three bushels of lime to one of sand.

On 25 October 1757, 25 October 1758, and 30 October 1759, levies were again made toward walling in the churchyard, and on the latter date, Samuel Boush was ordered to receive the sums levied and put them out to interest. On 20 November 1759, the churchwardens were empowered to let out the building of the churchyard walls to the lowest bidder. However, the walls were not built at this time, for the funds for this purpose were divided when the parish was divided in 1761, as will later be seen. The mention of putting these sums "out to interest" may indicate that the merchants, in addition to their many other activities, did a private banking business.

On 17 October 1760, it was ordered that ". . . Joseph Mitchell have the Bricks &c of the Old Church on condition that he clears the churchyard of all the Rubish . . ." This fact will be mentioned below in connection with the school.

As previously noted in Chapter XI, Elizabeth River Parish was, in 1761, divided into three separate parishes. Details concerning their immediate history will be found in that place. Since the parish church of the new smaller Elizabeth River Parish continued to be in the Borough of Norfolk, much of its history is closely connected with that of the Borough. Of the new vestry elected for Elizabeth River Parish on 4 June 1761 (a matter which has already been discussed in Chapter XI), only three were not residents of the Borough, and four—including one of the above three—had been members of the dissolved vestry.

In 1762, Mrs. Elizabeth Perkins, wife of one of the vestrymen, died and

was interred in the church. Part of the stone was found many years later when a heating plant was being installed, and can now be seen in the Parish House Museum. Little more than the name of the deceased can be seen on it now. Mr. Perkins presented to the church a silver flagon, inscribed as follows:

The Gift of Christopher Perkins
to the
Church of Norfolk, in Virginia,
In memory of Elizabeth, his wife
who was interred therein,
1st September 1762.

which is reproduced in the photograph of the church silver previously given.

The Assembly passed a law at its session begun January, 1764, concerning the reduced Elizabeth River Parish.³⁶ Its area was stated to be all north of Elizabeth River, "within the bounds whereof the borough of Norfolk is included," and it was pointed out that this territory had become so populous that it contained at least three-quarters of the inhabitants of the County. When the glebe of the old parish was sold and the proceeds divided between the three new parishes in proportion to the number of tithables, Elizabeth River Parish's share was said to be insufficient to buy a new glebe. It was pointed out further that the lands of the parish were poor and barren and not fit for the cultivation of tobacco, and that it would be easier if the parishioners were allowed to pay their minister in money instead of tobacco. This right was granted by the Act in question, and the vestry was empowered to purchase lots in the Borough of Norfolk not to exceed four in number in lieu of a glebe, and to erect thereon "one mansion house and such other houses and improvements as are allowed by law." In the following year, 1765, four lots were purchased under the authority of this act from Samuel Boush [III]; their story will be told when the Boush property is discussed below.

After the division of the parish, the Reverend Charles Smith became minister of Portsmouth Parish, where he remained until his death in 1773, as we have seen. There is no record of a minister in Elizabeth River Parish until 1762 when the Reverend Alexander Rhonnald took charge. He was licensed in 1759, and had been schoolmaster in Hampton* before coming here. Following him was the Reverend Thomas Davis. He was licensed in 1754, was in Warwick County in 1758, and we find him first in Norfolk in 1766 when he was chosen moderator of the meeting of the Sons of Liberty to protest against the Stamp Act, as will be later noted.³⁷ The last named should not be confused—as has frequently been done by some historians—with an-

* Possibly at the Syms or Eaton School.

other of the same name. This second Thomas Davis was still Usher** in the Grammar School*** of William and Mary College in 1768 and was not ordained until 1773. There is no evidence that they were related, but the younger Thomas is supposed by some to have been son of the Reverend William Davis, acting Master of the Grammar School in 1768, and earlier in King George and later in Charles City County. Thomas Davis [II] was actually minister in Norfolk later in another capacity, but that is a story for the next chapter.

It has been pointed out in a previous chapter that Norfolk Town became the county seat of the newly-formed Norfolk County in 1691, and that the judicial and administrative business of the county was transacted in a Court House erected between 1691 and 1694, and replaced by a new building in 1726. When the Borough of Norfolk was chartered in 1736, no provision was made for separate quarters for the Borough government, and its meetings must have been held from the beginning in the County Court House. An Act of Assembly passed in February, 1752,³⁸ reads in part as follows:

And whereas it appears to this Assembly that there is no court house or prison belonging to the Corporation of the said Borough for the commitment of debtors, criminals or offenders, but that the Court House and Prison of Norfolk County standing within the limits of the said borough hath hitherto been used for that purpose on sufferance, which is attended with inconvenience both to the said County and Borough, and that they are desirous a court house and prison should be built for the use of the said borough . . . Be it therefore enacted . . . that it shall be lawful for the Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council of the said Borough . . . to levy . . . all such sums of money as shall be necessary for erecting a Court House and Prison for the use of the said borough . . .

We learn from this, among other things, that a *County* Prison had been built at some time before this date, presumably on the Court House lot. We learn also that the resolution of the Borough Council, 21 June 1747, five years earlier, had not been carried out. This resolution was to the effect "that a prison and watch house be built upon the public ground," but did not concern a court house. The public ground referred to may have been the lot shown on the previous map as site 31A, which was never a subject of feoffee grant. This site is known to have been the location of the Borough Court House and Gaol after the Revolution.

One year after the passage of the above-mentioned act, the Council entered an order "to assess each titheable person toward building a Common Hall and prison . . ." This was on 1 February 1753. The work on the prison was begun at once, and the building was thirty-two feet by sixteen feet, with

** Assistant Master.

*** Lower Division of the College.

three rooms and a "brick stack of chimneys."³⁹ It evidently did not take long to build, for Colonel Robert Tucker was paid for building it on 25 June 1753. It is believed this prison may have been built on the rear of site 31A, mentioned above.

Still nothing was done about building a Court House. The matter was agitated again in the Council on 9 April 1754, and on 24 June of the same year the following resolution was passed:

Resolved that it is the opinion of this Hall that a Court House be built, and John Hutchings, Archibald Campbell, James Holt and William Freeman be a committee to apply to Edward Travers [sic] to know his terms for his land or that they apply to any other person where they think a piece of land convenient to build said Court House on and that they report their proceedings to the next Hall.

Assessments for the building were again ordered on 3 January 1755, but no trace of a purchase of land by the Borough at this time has been found. The land which was under consideration was probably that belonging to Edward Champion Travis at the corner of Main and Church Streets which he sold to some one else, as will later appear. It is apparent that the Borough Court House—or "Town Hall," as it was called—was built after January, 1755, on the public land next to the County Court House at the head of the wide "street that leadeth down to the waterside" [present Commercial Place].⁴⁰ At some time prior to 1765 this street came to be called "The Parade."⁴¹ As before noted, its wide intersection with the Main Street was called "the Market Place" as early as 1683, and here market was held probably from the very beginning of Norfolk Town, certainly from the time of the Act of 1705 even though it was suspended. The latter act, it will be recalled, authorized two weekly market days (Tuesday and Saturday). The three market days authorized by the Borough Charter in 1736 were inconvenient and insufficient, and in response to a petition the Assembly passed a law in April, 1757, permitting the Borough authorities to appoint "such days for holding a Market . . . in every week as they think proper." They were also empowered "to levy . . . all such sum and sums of money as shall be necessary for building a house or houses and providing all things necessary for holding a Market" in the Borough.⁴² It is not known exactly when—after 1757—the Market House was built. Here, of course, were held also the annual fairs authorized in both 1705 and 1736.

The Grammar School in Norfolk, whose first trustees* date from 1728, did not have an active or formal organization until a few years after that time. The name of its first Master has not come down to us, though there is no doubt that there *was* one in the early or mid-1730's. The first individual

* Samuel Boush the younger, Samuel Smith, Nathaniel Newton.

we know of connected with the school (other than the trustees) was James Pasteur. Born in 1718, the son of a barber in Williamsburg, he soon showed an interest in "book learning," and about 1731 (then aged 13 years) he entered the Grammar School of the College of William and Mary. The family circumstances did not permit him to continue his studies beyond his sixteenth year, and he was then apprenticed in his father's trade. Upon arriving at his majority and becoming his own master, young Pasteur lost no time in returning to his "first love," and became Usher of the Grammar School in Norfolk: this is said to have been in 1739. We are told he continued in this position until the first Master died, when he (Pasteur) succeeded him.⁴³

The school had a lot, but no building until quite a number of years after it was in operation. We assume, as previously noted, that the earliest classes were held in the Parish Church and, after its completion in 1739, in the Borough Church. It soon became customary for the scholars to sit together in Church in "the school boys' gallery," as noted in the Vestry Book on 9 October 1750. Under the latter date also was noted the fact that it was

ordered that Mr. James Pasteur do have the Bricks and Timbers of the old church to build an House on the School Land of such Dimentions as shall be agreed upon betwixt he the said James Pasteur and those who shall grant him Liberty to build on the said Land . . .

Mr. Pasteur was a very busy man: clerk of the Vestry, clerk and sexton of the Parish Church, schoolmaster—and now he contemplated adding the function of builder. That he did not fulfill the latter function is evidenced in the Act of Assembly of February, 1752,⁴⁴ the last section of which reads as follows:

Section XI. And whereas at the time of the laying out of the aforesaid town [Norfolk] a lot or parcel of land was laid off and set apart for the use of a school . . . which said lot or parcel of ground is capable of being improved and built upon:

Be it enacted . . . that the Court of the said County and the mayor, recorder, aldermen and common councilmen of the said Borough shall have full powers . . . to build on or let the said lot or parcel of land for any term of years for the use and benefit of the said school and to provide and agree with an able master for the said school capable to teach the Greek and Latin Tongues, which said master, before he be received or admitted to keep school, shall undergo an examination before the masters of the College of William and Mary and the Minister of Elizabeth River Parish . . .

So the churchyard was not cleared and the schoolhouse was not built at this time. In spite of the vacancy implied above, Pasteur continued to serve as Master until near the end of 1753: in October of that year he was succeeded in his clerkship of the Vestry by George Chamberlaine and, armed with a

letter from his former teacher, Reverend William Stith,* repaired to London to be ordained. He received that rite and his license in December and returned to Virginia and Norfolk in January, 1754, to be a lecturer (assistant minister) and presumably to continue his duties as schoolmaster. In 1755 he left here to become minister of Bath Parish (Dinwiddie County), and returned to Norfolk County—as before noted—as first minister of Saint Bride's Parish shortly after its establishment in 1761.⁴⁵

The Reverend Mr. Pasteur was succeeded by Mr. Richard Collinson who, on 1 January 1756, was examined by the President and Masters of the College of William and Mary and "was thought capable of teaching the Grammar School at Norfolk."⁴⁶ Collinson, too, entered the Anglican ministry; he was licensed on 28 December 1762 and was presumably ordained about the same time.⁴⁷

It was noted above that, on 17 October 1760, the Vestry ordered "that Joseph Mitchell have the Bricks &c of the Old Church on condition that he clears the church yard of all the Rubish." This tells us that James Pasteur did not take advantage of a similar offer ten years earlier, and since we know that Mitchell built the Parish House in Norfolk in 1750 and the Eastern Shore Chapel in Princess Anne in 1754, it is not unlikely that he used the materials salvaged from the abandoned church building to build the schoolhouse. At any rate, it is known from what follows below that the first schoolhouse was built in Norfolk before March, 1762.

An entry in the Borough Register under date of 24 August 1761 indicated that a Mr. Buchan was being considered for the post as schoolmaster, provided he could furnish a certificate of his favorable examination by the President and Masters of the College, as provided by law. He was probably successor at this time to Collinson, who was then preparing for his trip to England for ordination. Mrs. Maxwell, whose memoirs are frequently more prolific than accurate, wrote on this subject: "Donald Campbell imported a school master from Scotland, by the name of Buchan, who opened a select school, and I was sent to him to learn the higher branches of English, French or Spanish."⁴⁸ It is interesting—if true—that the Grammar School in Norfolk was co-educational this early. It has not been possible to identify Donald Campbell: Alexander Campbell was Alderman in 1736; Dr. Archibald Campbell, possibly his son, physician to the poor in 1750, was Mayor in 1763. We judge Mr. Buchan to have been identical with Reverend Robert Buchan who was a licensed minister in Virginia in 1772 and later successively served Amherst and Overwharton Parishes.⁴⁹

Another significant law was passed in 1762, having to do with the management of the Norfolk Grammar School. After reciting the provisions of

* Former Master of the Grammar School of William and Mary College, and President of the College, 1752-5. Stith's letter was dated 18 August 1753. (See note 43, above.)

the law of 1752, previously detailed, this Act of March, 1762,⁵⁰ continued as follows:

And whereas, in pursuance of the said Act [of 1752], a School House *bath been built** on the said lot, but by reason of the variety of opinions frequently happening between the Justices of the said County and the Mayor, Recorder and Aldermen of the said Borough, in the choice of a master for the said School, and in other matters relative to the government thereof, the said School hath been greatly neglected, and the good intentions of the said Act in a great measure frustrated:—Be it therefore enacted . . . That from and after the passing of this Act, the sole and absolute right of nominating and appointing a master for the said School, and of establishing such Rules and ordinances for the good government and regulation of the said school as may be thought necessary, shall be, and the same is hereby vested in the Mayor, Recorder, and Aldermen of the Borough of Norfolk for the time being, any thing in the above in part recited Act to the contrary notwithstanding.

Two main facts stand out here: (1) the schoolhouse was completed by March, 1762, and (2) the control of the Grammar School was now vested solely in the Borough authorities whereas previously it had been managed jointly by County and Borough.

The Borough Register notes the appointment on 24 June 1762 of a committee to engage a schoolmaster, indicating an actual or prospective vacancy at that time. It is not known when Mr. Buchan departed, but his successor was named in the same source exactly one year later—24 June 1763—when it was "ordered that Robert Fry, Schoolmaster, take care of the church pump." From the fact that Lucretia Fry, daughter of Robert—she was then aged twenty-six—, was married to Joshua Wright here in 1769,⁵¹ we judge that Mr. Fry may still have been here then; however, nothing further is known of the Grammar School (which was to become the Norfolk Academy) before the fatal events of 1776. Here is its story in résumé to this point:

1681	Site selected (opposite churchyard)
1728	Trustees named
1739-55	James Pasteur, Usher and Master
1756-60	Richard Collinson, Master
1761-	Robert Buchan, Master
1762	First schoolhouse completed
1763-	Robert Fry, Master

In the preceding chapter we saw that there was, from 1673, a fort on the south side of the west end of Main Street, west of Fayette Street. Just when this fort fell into disuse is not clear. The last mention of it before the Borough Charter was in 1730, when it was designated for the location of a

* The italics are ours.

public warehouse. No further mention is made until the passing of an Act of Assembly in March, 1761,⁵² in which it is pointed out that

a certain piece or parcel of land in the said Borough of Norfolk, whereon a publick warehouse lately stood, commonly called the Fort Land, is daily wasting away by the washing of the river . . .

It was further stated that the land ought to be protected and that it would greatly benefit the shipping activities of the County and Borough if it were enlarged and secured and a wharf and storehouses were built there. To this end certain Trustees and Directors were appointed to put these things into effect, and certain persons, named in a schedule, agreed to advance the money necessary, in return for dividends from profits of operating the project; in case the land were sold, these persons would receive the exact amount of money advanced. The Trustees and Directors appointed were:

John Hutchings	William Bradley
Robert Tucker	John Tucker
Archibald Campbell	Goodrich Boush
James Holt	James Taylor
Paul Loyall	Archibald White
Thomas Newton	Robert Waller
Samuel Boush	John Hunter
William Aitchison	William Freeman
Daniel Rothery	

The schedule referred to, showing names of investors and amounts subscribed, was as follows:

Tucker and Bedford	£200	Josiah Smith	£50
Samuel Farmar	50	Archibald White	50
John Hutchings	50	John and James Ramsay	50
Thomas Talbot	50	William Orange	50
Anthony Walke Jr.	50	William Tabb	50
Thomas Newton	50	Archibald Campbell	50
Alexander Bruce	50	James Taylor	50
John Tucker	50	Paul Loyall	50
Robert Tucker	125	Samuel Boush	75
Thomas Thompson	50	Daniel and Matthew Rothery	100
William Aitchison	50	John Willoughby	100
Cornelius Calvert	25	Robert Waller	75
John Hutchings, Jr.	50	John Ridell	50
Edward Archer	50	William Bradley	50
John Hunter	50	William Freeman	100
James Holt	50	Goodrich Boush	50

This list furnishes, we believe, a representative cross-section of mercantile activities here before the Revolution. The justices of the Norfolk County

Court were given an option to buy the fort land of the trustees, failing which, the Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen and Common Council of the Borough of Norfolk had the option. The Act of March, 1762, changed this and excluded the County Justices, giving the sole option to the Borough authorities, since the persons mentioned in the above schedule refused to contribute the money as indicated, unless this were done.⁵³ In November, 1766, another act continued the Trustees and Directors in office, since it was stated that their duties had not yet been fulfilled. And there the matter rested until sometime after the Revolution.⁵⁴ This Fort Land, between the southwest angle of Main and Fayette Streets and Elizabeth River, was not then as extensive as it is now. Its line on the River probably began a few feet west of Boush Street on Main Street, passed south of the corner of Jackson and Kelly, and on to the corner of Fayette and Water Streets. It was later filled in to its present extent.

It was mentioned above that Josiah Smith was chosen Captain of Militia for the Borough in 1740. In addition, the County Court records show other Borough citizens who qualified in such offices. Some of them may have been officers at large for the County; for instance, Samuel Boush, who had been a Captain as early as 1700, qualified as Colonel of Militia on 20 October 1748. Others who were specifically tagged as "of the Borough of Norfolk" qualified as indicated here:

Capt. Joseph Hutchings	20 September	1753
Major Lemuel Willoughby	16 April	1761
Capt. William Orange	16 April	1761
Col. John. Hutchings	17 April	1761
Ens. Richard Scott	19 June	1761
Capt. Thomas Willoughby [V]	16 October	1766
Lieut. John Boush	18 March	1772
Capt. Nicholas Wonycutt	17 April	1772
Lieut. Edward Archer	21 May	1773 ⁵⁵

After 1736, the changes of ownership of the original town lots become too numerous to mention in detail in the limited space here available. However, we shall mention just a few: it is to be noted that these are within the old town boundary and we shall again refer* to the map at the end of Chapter XII. A part of the old Heslett lot (10) just west of the Court House had been purchased by Nathaniel Newton in 1715; his daughter Mary was married to Thomas Mason (d. 1731), son of the first George Mason, and she sold this site in 1740 to Jacob Johnson Wishard, mariner, who occupied it for a short time and sold it to John Phripp, later mayor. Wishard was still plying his trade out of this port as late as 1751, when he was recorded as

* With parenthetical numbers for the sites.

master and owner of the schooner *Providence* "now lying in Elizabeth River." He was son of James Wishard (d. 1718) of Princess Anne.⁵⁶ Another member of this family lived in Norfolk and followed the sea: William Wishard, son of Thomas (d. 1729), purchased a lot here from John Chesline in 1737. In 1745, there was recorded a bill of lading for the ship *Mary*, master William Wishard, sailing from Barbadoes with destination Hampton. William Wishard died in 1750, leaving his town lot to his two nephews William and Francis.⁵⁷

On 1 October 1736, there was recorded a deed of gift from Samuel Smith to Samuel Smith, Jr. (both said to be "merchants") for a lot (36) which had originally belonged to Thomas Nash [II] in 1697. This was on the south side of Main Street near its east end.⁵⁸

On 8 November 1737, Samuel Boush [II], who had acquired part of Peter Malbone's lot (2) next to the churchyard, sold it to Capt. Simon Hancock, and on 15 November 1738 Malbone sold the other part of the same lot to the elder Samuel Smith. This latter deed of 1738 marks the first occurrence of the name "Church Street" that this writer has seen, although another source indicates use of this name a year earlier.⁵⁹

On 20 July 1740, Henry Gristock deeded to his daughter Frances Tucker (wife of John) his lot (45) at the corner of the Main Street and the Back Street.* Almost exactly a year later (19 June 1741) Gristock received a feoffee grant for a very small area at this same corner. This is difficult to explain, for Gristock's original grant of 1722 had apparently extended precisely to the point of intersection of the two streets: By reading this 1741 description, we gather that a triangle, measuring nineteen feet on the Main Street and twenty feet on the Back Street, had in some way reverted to the status of public land—by passage of pedestrians?—and Gristock in this way renewed his claim to it. It was noted in the previous chapter that the last feoffee grant (with one exception) was made in 1729; this 1741 grant was the one exception. The feoffees on this grant were George Newton and John Taylor, who were also the commissioners appointed by the Governor in 1736 to administer the oath of office to Sir John Randolph as Recorder under the Charter. Henry Gristock died in July, 1745, and his wife Mary survived him until January 1751.⁶⁰

By deed of 14 June 1749, Samuel Boush, Jr. [III], sold to Edward Champion Travis a part of his grandfather's original home site (49) at the northeast corner of the Main Street and the Church Street, and measuring forty-five feet along each street. On 10 June 1762, Travis sold the same piece of land to Dr. John Ramsay, previously mentioned as at one time physician to the poor.⁶¹

As noted in the preceding chapter, John Ellegood was an early resident and

* Now East Street.

merchant of Norfolk Borough; churchwarden in 1735 and alderman in 1736, he acquired the lot (23) of Thomas and George Mason and the lot (22) of Solomon Wilson, on the latter of which he had his residence. His will, proved in November 1740, named three sons—William, Mason and Jacob—showed he had a stock of rum, dry goods and other merchandise, and owned a sea sloop.⁶² Nathaniel Portlock, member of an old County family, lived in the Borough. He died 15 March 1752 at the age of twenty-five and was buried in the churchyard. His will, proved six days later, named his wife Rebecca, sons Paul and Nathaniel, and daughters Phoebe and Elizabeth; the latter two died in infancy and were buried by their father.⁶³

Alexander Ross and Richard Scott were two members of the Committee of the Common Council appointed to thank Governor Dinwiddie for the Mace. Ross, son of John Ross of Dalquhing, Aberdeenshire, died 29 September 1760 at the age of forty-four. His tombstone in the churchyard bears a quaint inscription:

Praises on tombs are here but vainly spent.
For man's name is his best monument.

Susannah Scott, wife of Richard, was also buried in the churchyard; she died on 6 March 1752 at the age of twenty-four.

It will be recalled from the preceding chapter that Peter Malbone, tavern-keeper and builder of the Lynnhaven and Borough Churches, was married to Sarah, the sister of Matthew Godfrey. Godfrey's will (proved in 1717) told of Peter's son Matthew Malbone, possibly his (Godfrey's) godson. The will also indicated bequests to Peter, Reodolphus and John Malbone, but did not clarify the relationship of the last two. Reodolphus Malbone's will, proved in March, 1746/7, mentioned a brother Francis, and Mary wife of Matthew Kinner and daughter of Peter Malbone. To add to the confusion, one Margaret Malbone died according to her will which was proved in November, 1740; her four sons named Haire (John, Porten, James and Samuel) identify her first husband John Haire, the former County Sheriff, while the naming of her brother Samuel Boush as executor identifies her as daughter to the second Samuel Boush.⁶⁴ However, it is not apparent which Malbone was her husband. Incidentally, the name Malbone has an interesting history being originally Marylebone (pronounced today in English almost exactly like Malbone); one of the metropolitan boroughs of London is that of St. Marylebone, in its original form "Sainte Marie La Bonne."

Earlier we named Lieutenant Edward Archer, an officer of Colonial Militia in 1773. In the churchyard there is the grave of the children of Captain Edward and Mary Archer, all five of whom were buried there between 1735 and 1752. There is also the grave of Mary, wife of Captain Edward Archer, who died on 9 June 1757 at the age of forty-three. We

cannot explain the discrepancy in rank, particularly since one of Captain Archer's five children was Edward, who died in infancy in 1739.

In the churchyard is the grave of George Abyvon, five times Mayor of the Borough (1754, 1767, 1771, 1774, 1779); his tombstone is so deteriorated as to make it impossible to recognize a date on it. This is the mayor who, according to the much related story, was overcome with social dismay at the thought of having to dance with Lady Dunmore and had to call for assistance on the social graces, shining buckles and powdered wig of Colonel Edward Hack Moseley of Princess Anne. This took place in 1774, since the Countess of Dunmore had just arrived in March of that year.⁶⁵ Colonel Moseley was evidently much in demand socially; he was later to be dinner guest of Brigadier General Benedict Arnold in Portsmouth.⁶⁶

The brothers Daniel and Matthew Rothery were mentioned above in connection with the Fort Land. Daniel was married in 1760 to Anne Rothery (a cousin?) and Matthew in 1763 to Mary Orange, possibly the daughter of William Orange, another subscriber to the Fort Land fund. In the churchyard there is the grave of Matthew Rothery, merchant, who died on 8 March 1772; the name now survives only in Rothery's Lane, a narrow passage off the south side of Main Street opposite Atlantic Street.⁶⁷

John Yaxley of the Borough of Norfolk died in January 1748/49, leaving his "messuage and tenement*" in the occupation of John Terry" to his "good friend" Elizabeth Warren. In March of 1752—first year of the New Style Calendar in England—there was recorded the nuncupative** will of Mrs. Elizabeth Warren, which indicated bequest of "the two houses down the alley meaning the alley called Yaxley's alley to John Drury my eldest brother's son." John Drury "of the County and Borough of Norfolk" left a will proved in April, 1752, which noted a bequest to his wife Sarah of "the lands and premises which descended to me by the death of my late aunt Elizabeth Warren." There was also a son Thomas Drury. Like the Rotherys, Yaxley's name survives only in the name of a street: Yaxley's Alley, mentioned above and now called Yaxley's Lane, is parallel to Church Street a few feet east, and runs into Main Street.⁶⁸

There were three families and their holdings in the old town which require special mention: they were Talbots, Calverts and Taylors, and we shall begin with the last mentioned. The complicated connection among Taylors, Tuckers, Newtons, Hutchingses and Travises is as involved as that of the numerous progeny of the two daughters of Lemuel Mason mentioned in earlier chapters. We have told of John Taylor's place of origin and first

* Dwelling and adjacent land holdings (Common Law).

** An oral testament, spoken in the presence of witnesses, usually by a person *in extremis* and unable to execute a written will. This is distinct from a will signed by mark, which simply indicates inability to write (Common Law).

residence in Norfolk; he was one of the first Alderman in 1736, was Mayor twice—in 1739 and 1744—and died during his second term of office, on 26 October 1744 at the age of fifty-one. His tombstone is now in the churchyard, having been moved there from its original resting place in the private burial ground at his home site where the United States Customhouse now is; this was part of the original Hodges lots (18) in 1694. Taylor's will (proved in February, 1744/5) indicated he left a widow Margaret, two minor sons, James and John, and that he was engaged in a mercantile business with his brother Archibald Taylor.⁶⁹ The latter (or his son?) was married in 1758 to Louisa Richards. Lewis Hansford, later Mayor, was married in 1753 to Ann Taylor, possibly John's daughter. James Taylor (b. 1737) was married in 1761 to Alice, the daughter of Reverend Charles Smith, minister of Portsmouth Parish and formerly of Elizabeth River Parish. John Taylor the younger (b. 1739) was married in 1766 to Sarah Tucker, whose sister Martha married the second Thomas Newton in 1767.⁷⁰ These girls were daughters of County Lieutenant, Colonel Robert Tucker [II] who died in 1767. As will later appear, Sarah's son James Taylor (b. 1771) and Martha's daughter, Sarah Newton, were married, being first cousins. It will be recalled from the foregoing chapter, that the second George Newton inherited his father's lots (24, 25) as well as some other property outside the town boundary. He died in 1762 (will proved in July) leaving two sons, Thomas and Wilson. Thomas Newton (1713-1794)—the first of three of this name—mayor in 1747, vestryman in 1755, was married to Amy Hutchings, daughter of Colonel John Hutchings and his wife who was Amy Godfrey.⁷¹ The latter's most interesting tombstone can still be seen in the churchyard, giving her husband's name and the fact that she was daughter of John and Mary Godfrey. She died on 15 February 1763 in her seventieth year, which means she was born about 1693/4; thus her presence here takes us back to the very beginnings of Norfolk history (her father's first grant was in 1695/6) and hers is the only grave of such an early settler which has survived. The other son of George Newton was Wilson Newton who was mayor in 1750 and 1761; he did not survive his father by many months, but died in November, 1762, leaving a son George and several daughters.⁷² Susannah Hutchings, daughter of Joseph and granddaughter of Colonel John, was married to Colonel Edward Champion Travis (1721-1779), fourth generation of residents of Jamestown Island; their children were Colonel Champion Travis (married in 1772 to Elizabeth, daughter of Samuel Boush III), Susannah Hutchings Travis (married to William Armistead) and Captain Edward Travis of the Virginia Navy. A sister of Colonel Edward Champion Travis—Rebecca Elizabeth—was married to John Tucker, a merchant of Norfolk. He was twice mayor (1748, 1758), he died 29 November 1762 aged fifty-seven, and his grave

can be seen in the churchyard; his offspring were Henry, John, Travis, Frances, Rebecca Elizabeth and Jane.⁷³

The name of Calvert appeared on the scene in Norfolk in early eighteenth century. Cornelius Calvert of Lancashire came to Princess Anne, where he was married in 1719 to Mary, the daughter of Reverend Jonathan Saunders of Lynnhaven Parish. They soon moved to Norfolk, where Calvert acquired considerable property; his will (proved in June, 1747) identified the property with certainty and gave a complete surveyor's description of it. It was the site (42) formerly belonging to Colonel John Hutchings and was bounded by the Main Street, the Back Street and Dun-in-the-Mire Creek (which had by this time come to be called Newton's Creek); on the land were then located a residence, a kitchen, a storehouse and an oven. The property was divided among five sons: Maximilian, Cornelius, Thomas, Saunders and Joseph. Maximilian Calvert, twice Mayor (1765, 1769), inherited the residence which was about where the west end of Union Station now is. Two sons of his were at the College of William and Mary in 1771: their names were Jonathan and Maximilian, Jr. The latter's tombstone can be seen in the churchyard; he died in 1773 at the age of twenty.* On the stone may be seen the following:

His Affectionate Tutor
Josiah Johnson
Inscribes these monumental Lines:
Go, my dear Youth, obey the call of Heaven.
Thy sins were few and those I trust forgiven.
Yet oh! What some pain thy parents' woe.
God only gives the balm that struck the blow.

It is interesting that Reverend Josiah Johnson, a licensed minister in 1766, was Master of the Grammar School of the College of William and Mary from 1767 until his death in 1773. It appears evident that he was the "affectionate tutor" of young Maximilian at that time. The second Cornelius Calvert was married in 1749 to Elizabeth, daughter of Colonel John Thorowgood of Princess Anne; he was Mayor of Norfolk in 1768 and 1778. He had at least one son, Cornelius III, who was a minister of the Protestant Episcopal Church and served Lynnhaven Parish for a short time in 1800.⁷⁴

In the preceding chapter we told of the Talbots of Tanner's Creek Precinct, Norfolk County. Captain Thomas Talbot became owner of a site (8)* in the old town just east of the County Court House on the Main Street in the years just prior to the Revolution. He had a map of it prepared in 1765, which is now on display at the Norfolk Museum and gives considerable

* The birth date on the tombstone has been misread as 1733 instead of 1753.

* Formerly Fergus Thompson's in 1693.

detail on the property. Through it at right angles with Main Street, was laid out a twenty-six foot street—then and now called Talbot Street—at the north end of which was a narrow footbridge across the Back Creek to Boush's land. By Act of Assembly of 1769, it was recognized that Talbot had ceded his street to the Borough of Norfolk, and it became a public thoroughfare; it was the first street added since the original lay-out of the town (1680) and said to be the first paved street in Norfolk. According to a tradition of debatable authenticity, "many years before Talbot Street was opened" there was a graveyard on the east side of its north end next to the Creek; this would be where the Fire Department Headquarters is now located, but it has not been possible to confirm this statement in any other source. Upon Captain Talbot's death in 1777, his land in the Borough was divided between his two sons: Solomon Butt Talbot received the part west of Talbot Street and Henry Talbot, the part east of it. The further story of this family has been told in another place.⁷⁵

Having told of the developments within the area of the old town after 1736, we shall now go on with the story of the land added to the Borough from 1736 on. It will be recalled that the Charter of that year extended the limits to the Town Bridge: this was at the present corner of Church and Charlotte Street. It was also pointed out that this change took in parts of the Boush and Walke property which were then partially outside the Borough, and it was necessary to clarify further in the Council orders of 1750; at this time the line followed the south side of Charlotte Street from Church Street to the stone on the north side of Bute Street, thence by a parallel to Boush Street until it intersected Brooke Avenue (these localities are given as they are now named). A further adjustment took place when the Assembly in March, 1761, passed "An Act for enlarging and ascertaining the Limits of the Borough of Norfolk," in which it was pointed out that the owners of the lands adjacent to the Borough had laid out streets and lots in them on which many people had settled. In view of these circumstances, this act granted the petition that the boundary be extended to a line running north 59 degrees west from the head of Newton's Creek to the head of Smith's Creek, which line and the two creeks and Elizabeth River would constitute the Borough limits.⁷⁶ In running this line, the heads of the creeks were respectively taken to be (1) on Church Street just opposite the north side of Bute Street, and (2) at the northwest corner of Cumberland and Queen* Streets. Despite the fact that these points were heads of branches of the two creeks—and not of the creeks themselves—this was considered to be the Borough boundary until many years after the Revolution, as will later appear. Be that as it may, the lines as fixed by this 1761 law took into the Borough all of the Boush

* Now Brambleton Avenue.

and Walke tracts and a large part of the Smith property. We have previously given the story of these tracts in considerable detail, so we need now only to bring them up to date from their respective owners, Colonel Samuel Boush [I], Colonel Anthony Walke [II] and Mr. Samuel Smith.

We have seen how Boush acquired this large tract in the heart of old Norfolk in 1715. It is a strange circumstance that he left two wills,⁷⁷ the more recent of which was apparently not found until the other had been admitted to probate. By comparison of their respective dates:

	<i>First Will</i>	<i>Second Will</i>
Date	18 October 1733	10 June 1735
Probate	19 November 1736	16 February 1738/9

We note that the first was made three years and the second a year and a half before his death. The probate of the first will sets the date of his death in early November, 1736, and the second was not proved until over two years later; could it have only then come to light? There is little difference between the bequests of the two wills: while provision was made for his widow Alice and children Samuel [II], John and Anne, the bulk of his holdings, including the large tract with which we are here concerned, went to his grandson and godson, Samuel Boush [III]. The latter was son of Major (later Colonel) Samuel Boush [II], executor of the will. The elder Boush made provision in his will that his grandson be "learned and brought up in the knowledge of the Church of England." It will be recalled from the preceding chapter that the first Samuel Boush had laid off and sold—between 1728 and 1732—fourteen lots north of the churchyard, extending along the Church Street in a northerly direction, and of which three were beyond the Town Bridge (corner of Charlotte Street). There is no evidence of streets being laid out then or until 1749 when Cumberland Street is first mentioned (see below). The first complete plan and survey of the tract is the one now displayed in the Norfolk Museum, on which may be read the following:

Mr. Samuel Boush's Plan
June 29, 1762

Surveyed for Mr. Samuel Boush the above plan and Laid off the Same Into Lotts as appears in and by the Said Plan, the said Land Lying and being in the Borough of Norfolk adjoining to Smith's Land, the Church Street and a Creek Issuing out of Eliz^a River.

[signed] Gershom Nimmo Sur.^v

It seems evident from the above that, while some lots were laid off and sold as early as 1728 and at least one street had been laid out by 1749, the arrangement of lots and streets was not completed until 1762. The names

of the streets on this plan, we believe, are of particular interest because of the pattern of reference they form around the year of the survey, 1762:

Boush Street. Obviously for the family rather than an individual.

Granby Street. John Manners, Marquess of Granby, popular hero of Seven Years' War in 1763.

Brewer Street. The reference escapes us, though there was later such a family name here; there is a street so named in London near Piccadilly.

Catharine Street. Now Bank Street, named for the younger daughter of Samuel Boush [III], a child at this time.

Cumberland Street. William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, uncle of the King, victor at Culloden in 1746, died in 1765.

Charlotte Street. Princess Charlotte-Sophia of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, married to George III in 1761. It has been also suggested that Charlotte and Catharine Streets were named respectively for wife and daughter of Lord Dunmore, but he did not arrive in Virginia until 1771.

Freemason Street. To be discussed more fully below, named because of the lot purchased in 1764 and probably occupied by the Masonic Lodge before that.

Wolfe Street. For the victor at Quebec over Montcalm in 1759; later named Washington and now called Market Street.

Bute Street. John Stuart, Earl of Bute, prime minister in 1761-63.

The condition of this old parchment map is such that it is difficult to read the names of the streets, and questionable whether Bute Street, the north boundary of the tract, was a part of it or part of the Smith tract adjoining. A later, more legible copy of the map is on record in the Clerk's office of the Corporation Court and clearly shows Bute Street. On the latter copy, the short street touching the south end of the churchyard bears the letters "Sy—," possibly for Sycamore Street; it was later called Cove Street for the cove of the Back Creek which it led to, and has now been swallowed up in City Hall Avenue.⁷⁸

The will of the second Colonel Samuel Boush—first town clerk, school trustee and vestryman—was proved in November, 1759, giving the approximate date of his death. It shows him to have been father of Arthur, Nathaniel, Samuel [III], Goodrich, and Charles Sayer Boush, and two daughters; the mention of his brother-in-law, Captain Arthur Sayer, and the last-named son above, identifies his wife Frances as daughter of Charles Sayer of Princess Anne.⁷⁹ The will of the third Samuel Boush, while not written until 1779, gives some idea of his family before the Revolution.⁸⁰ He was father of John, Robert, William and Samuel [IV]—the latter not mentioned in the will—and of Elizabeth (married to Champion Travis in 1772) and Catharine (much later, 1787, married to William Nivison)⁸¹ William and Samuel Boush IV were at William and Mary College in 1771; Samuel died there on

25 April 1771, while William stayed until 1775 and went on to Edinburgh for his M.D. in 1778.⁸² From the distribution of lots in the will of Samuel Boush [III], it is evident that about one third of the lots on his plan had been sold, besides the Glebe Lots and the Freemason's Lot which will be mentioned below in detail. Of the other sons of the second Samuel Boush, Arthur married Ann Sweny in 1763, Charles S. in 1774 married Martha, the daughter of Charles Sweny (sister of Ann?), Nathaniel married Mary Tabb in 1779, and only Goodrich Boush left known male heirs; he was married to Mary Wilson in 1759 by whom he had Wilson, Samuel,* James and three daughters.⁸³

We referred earlier to an Act of Assembly of January, 1764, which authorized the Vestry of Elizabeth Parish to purchase four lots in the Borough of Norfolk for a Glebe. This was accomplished by deed of 12 October 1765, whereby Samuel Boush conveyed to the Minister and Vestry the four lots on his plan numbered 49, 50, 57 and 58; these lots formed a rectangle bounded by Charlotte, Cumberland and Catharine (Bank) Streets, its south boundary being the line now the north side of Grigsby Place.⁸⁴ On this site was built a glebe house or residence for the minister and other subsidiary buildings, and possibly other houses for rental income purposes. This site was much later to become the home of the Norfolk Academy and is still called nostalgically "the Academy Lot" by those of us who remember it as such.

Only one other site in the Boush property needs special mention: this is the Freemason's Lot, and its story entails more history of the Norfolk Lodge of Masons. Founded, as we have already pointed out, probably by warrant of 22 December 1733, this Lodge received a constitution dated 1 June 1741 according to Virginia Grand Lodge records, though not preserved in English Masonic annals. Nothing further is known of it for the next quarter century until (in 1764) it acquired a lot and a meeting place, the story of which is of sufficient interest to give in detail. On 19 January 1748/9 Samuel Boush [III] sold to Captain Thomas Willoughby [IV] two lots on Cumberland Street (its first mention), which can be identified from their description as on its east side with present Freemason Street separating them (lots 30 and 31), though the latter street was not mentioned as then being in existence.⁸⁵ One of these lots (31) changed hands several times: it was owned successively by Dr. David Purcell (1760) and by John Hunter, merchant (1761).⁸⁶ On 11 July 1764 it was conveyed by Hunter to "James Taylor, merchant and Grandmaster* of the society called Free-Masons [*sic*] belonging to the Royal Exchange Lodge."⁸⁷ This lot was at the southeast corner of Cumberland and Freemason Street, and gave the latter its name. The Lodge may even

* He was the fifth of this name, though not in the direct line.

* Not here intended in its modern sense, but simply chief executive officer of the Lodge.

have been there two years earlier since Freemason Street shows on Boush's plan of 1762, though some skeptics may find difficulty in reading it or suggest it was added later. Just how early it bore the name "Royal Exchange" is not known; this was traditionally its earlier meeting place, a tavern on the Main Street, before it acquired its own property. The lot soon came to be known as the Freemason's Lot, by which name it was still known after the Revolution. The "Mason's Hall," as it was called, was evidently quite a center of social activities as well. It was, in 1774, the scene of the grand ball given for the entertainment of Lord and Lady Dunmore and their family on the occasion of their visit to Norfolk, above mentioned. There is no truth in the myth that Freemason Street got its name because the Lodge met in somebody's house there; it is clear that the Masons owned a lot and built a Lodge on it. James Taylor, the Lodge's first known Master, has been mentioned elsewhere in these pages. He was mayor in 1766 and shortly thereafter forsook his calling as a merchant to become a physician. In those days preparation for the practice of medicine was frequently not accompanied by a formal degree but was accomplished by studying with an established doctor, as was done for many years also in the legal profession. We may guess that Dr. Taylor studied under Dr. John Ramsay, knowing of their later association and that Dr. Ramsay was practising here as early as 1756.

There was a second Masonic Lodge in Norfolk before the Revolution. On 8 August 1763, St. John's Lodge No. 117, Norfolk, was chartered by the Grand Lodge of Scotland. It apparently ceased to exist at the time of the Revolution though it was not removed from their roll until 1816.⁸⁸ Some historians have imagined that the first Lodge surrendered its English charter for one from the Scottish jurisdiction. With this we cannot agree; the name "Royal Exchange" was first recorded in 1764 (a year after the Scottish charter) presupposing a usage much earlier than that, and was still connected with it in Norfolk as late as 1794 after its official name had been made "Norfolk Lodge No. 1." The name of St. John is not known to have been used in connection with this lodge in any surviving record.

The second large tract taken into the Borough in 1736 and 1761 was the Walke property. We have previously identified it as belonging to the first Colonel Anthony Walke of Fairfield, Princess Anne, as early as 1721. He died on 8 November 1768, aged seventy-six,* leaving this property to his son who bore the same name; this is as far as the story can go at this point, as the land was not subdivided as sold off in lots until after the Revolution. The Walke property, as previously noted, was east of Church Street and extended to Tidewater Drive, and from Old Saint Vincent's Hospital to the Union Station.

* Grave stone in Old Donation Churchyard, moved there from Fairfield.

Finally, the third area added to the Borough at this time was that known as the Smith property. This, too, has been previously identified: it was the Parish Glebe of 1686, sold by the vestry to Samuel Smith in January 1734/5, plus another tract adjoining it to the east and extending to and beyond the Borough line at Church and Bute Streets. Thus the Smith property was contained between Boush's land and Glebe or Smith's Creek; the latter—now partially filled in—extended east from the present Atlantic City Bridge to include the Museum Plaza, Lee Park, the Center Theater and City Auditorium, the Gas Works and the National Guard Armory. Samuel Smith died in 1739, his will being proved on 21 December of that year,⁸⁹ and he left the Glebe land to his brother John Smith "eldest son of John Smith of London," the rest of the tract (from Cumberland Street to Church Street, north of Bute Street) and his town residence (19) to his cousin (probably nephew) Josiah Smith, and all the rest of his property—town lots (2, 5, 36), a tract on Southern Branch, a lot in Newtown, and a lot at Great Bridge adjoining Samuel Boush—to his "trusty and well beloved friend Samuel Smith alias Coverley." The executors named were Samuel Boush, Jr., Josiah Smith and Samuel Smith alias Coverley. When the will was proved it was noted that "Samuel Smith, Jr.," was sole executor, the other two "refusing ye Burthen." Smith's will gave same other interesting relationships: he had a cousin (niece?) Sarah Fowler of Yarmouth, Norfolk, a cousin (niece?) Sarah Happer (wife of Dr. William Happer), a kinsman (cousin?) Samuel Smith of Lowestoft, Suffolk, and cousins (nieces?) Mary and Margaret Landefield. We may wonder whether the latter were the young ladies "whose charms were all invisible," according to William Byrd in 1728! As has been noted elsewhere, the elder Samuel Smith was a school trustee (1728); the younger Samuel Smith was Alderman (1736), Mayor (1740) and removed to England in 1741, and Josiah Smith was Mayor for three terms (1741, 1753, 1756). In 1747, John Smith, "linnen draper in and of the City of London," conveyed to Josiah Smith his title to the Old Glebe, so the latter was then in control of all the Smith land.⁹⁰ Josiah Smith died in 1761, leaving this land to his son John Smith; he also had a daughter Sarah.⁹¹ In the will there was mention of a windmill, which can be located from later maps on what was called Windmill Point on Smith's Creek west of Boush Street about where Olney Road now crosses it. According to County marriage records John Smith was married to Miss Penelope Talbot in 1762.⁹²

The Smith property was platted and laid out in lots, the sale of which began in about 1765. Some of its streets were extensions of and named after streets in the Boush tract (Bute, Cumberland); others were given different names: York Street, Grafton Street (extension of Freemason west of its elbow), Amelia Street (two-block extension of Boush north of Bute), Queen Street (now Brambleton Avenue between Boush and Church Streets), Bote-

tourt, Dunmore, Yarmouth, Brown (now Browning), Dartmouth (now Brambleton Avenue, between Boush and Duke), Duke Street and its extension north of Bute which was called Princess Street, and finally James Street, two blocks long between Bute Street and present Olney Road corresponding with present Monticello Avenue—it did not then extend south of Bute Street, just as Granby did not extend north of the same. We shall here mention only three pre-Revolutionary sites of especial interest on Smith's land.

On 19 November 1768, John and Priscilla* Smith conveyed to Colonel (or Doctor) Alexander Gordon a lot on the north side of Bute Street between Duke and Yarmouth.⁹³ Shortly before or after that date, a house was built there and may have been the one which remained on the site until after the death of Aaron Milhado,** last descendant of Colonel Gordon, in 1951. Gordon was married in 1762 to Sarah Gordon (a cousin?) and will be recalled as commander of the "Norfolk Militia of Loyalists," who accompanied Dunmore to Great Bridge. The house, which was on the lot now designated as 250 West Bute Street, was a beautiful Colonial structure of Flemish bond with English basement, high stoop, two floors and a garret. The dormer windows of the latter were unusual, one double and one single. The wide panelled door—with its beautiful old brass knocker, knob and key-hole plate—opened over a stone sill that was worn down several inches by nearly two centuries of footsteps. It is with regret that we record the disappearance of this house, here where so few pre-Revolutionary relics remain.

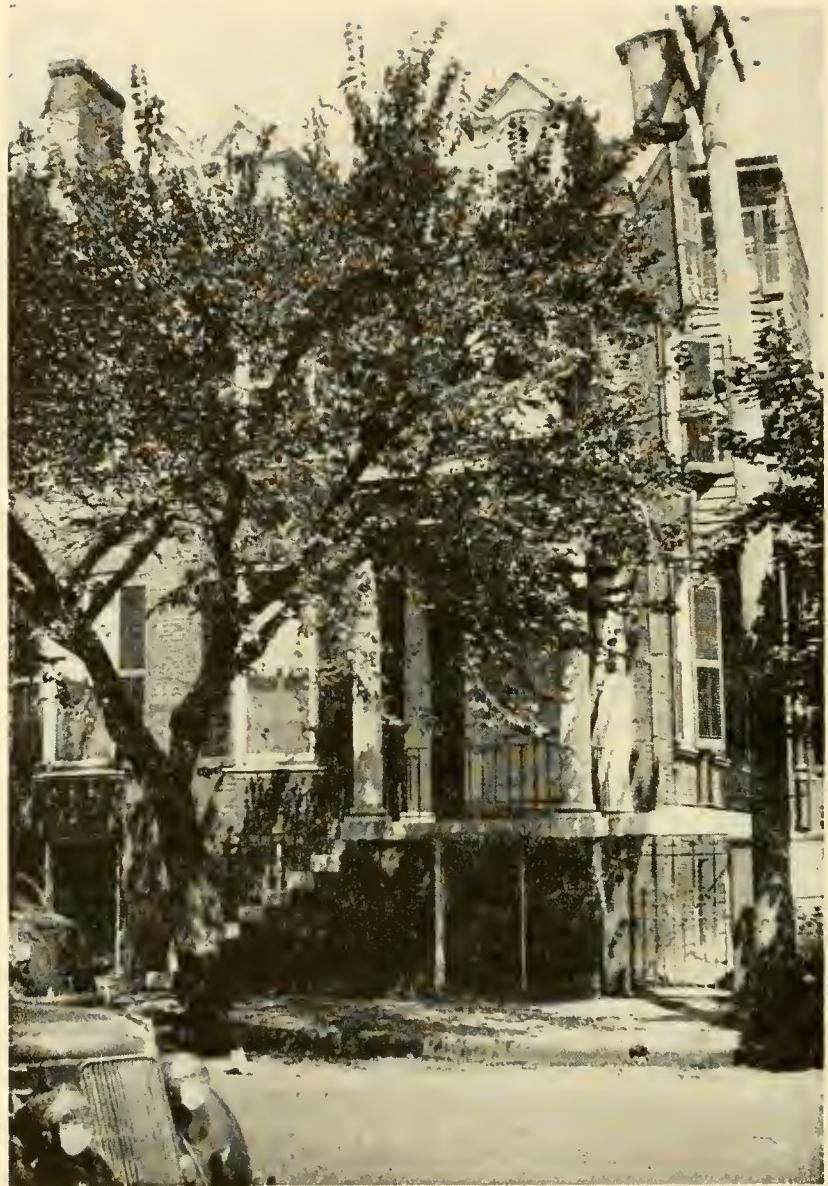
Also on Bute Street—at its eastern end near Church Street—there was another interesting house, 520 East Bute Street according to its modern designation. This house was of frame construction, with low stoop, two floors and garret. Its unusual feature was its single-stack chimney which rose from solid Flemish-bonded brick masonry that extended across the end of the living-room and almost to the second floor level. A "lean-to" type of kitchen wing in the rear had a shorter chimney on the same side. This house, too, was dismantled some years after the accompanying photograph was taken in 1938.

One other point of interest will complete this part of our story. An Act of Assembly, passed in 1772, authorized the building of a powder magazine in the Borough. On 17 February 1774, Charles Cooper and wife conveyed to the Borough of Norfolk a lot for that purpose. It was described as being on "Gun Powder Street" near Smith's Creek.⁹⁴ This street is known today as Magazine Lane, and the magazine was on its west side just south of where Olney Road intersects, a few feet west of Granby Street.

In concluding this chapter on Norfolk before the Revolution, we shall

* Was this a second wife? It will be recalled he married Penelope Talbot in 1762.

** A name of Portuguese origin, which should be pronounced "Meel-YAH-doo," but is here corrupted to "Miladdy."



(Rogers Dey Whichard)

NORFOLK—GORDON OR MILHADO HOUSE (1768)
(Dismantled a few years ago)

give a list of the gentlemen who served as Mayor of the Borough during this period. It must be remembered that each was an Alderman and took office, at his election by his fellow Aldermen, on the feast day of Saint John the Baptist—24 June. Exceptions to this rule for whatever reason will be noted; those who served more than one term are signalized by a parenthetical number.

1. Samuel Boush	15 Sept.	1736	Appointed by Charter; died in Nov. 1736
2. George Newton	18 Nov.	1736	
3. John Hutchings	24 June	1737	
4. Robert Tucker	—	1738	
5. John Taylor	—	1739	
6. Samuel Smith	—	1740	
7. Josiah Smith	—	1741	
8. George Newton (2)	—	1742	
9. John Hutchings (2)	—	1743	
10. John Taylor (2)	—	1744	died 26 Oct. 1744
11. John Phripp	14 Nov.	1744	served 19 mos.
12. Edward Pugh	24 June	1746	
13. Thomas Newton	—	1747	
14. John Tucker	—	1748	
15. Robert Tucker (2)	—	1749	
16. Durham Hall	—	1750	served 7 mos.
17. Wilson Newton	Jan.	1751	served 17 mos.
18. Christopher Perkins	24 June	1752	served 9 mos.
19. Josiah Smith (2)	March	1753	served 15 mos.
20. George Abyvon	24 June	1754	served 8 mos.
21. John Hutchings (3)	Feb.	1755	served 4 mos.
22. Richard Kelsick	24 June	1755	
23. Josiah Smith (3)	—	1756	
24. John Phripp (2)	—	1757	
25. John Tucker (2)	—	1758	
26. Robert Tucker (3)	—	1759	
27. Wilson Newton (2)	—	1760	
28. Christopher Perkins (2)	—	1761	
29. Paul Loyall	—	1762	
30. Archibald Campbell	—	1763	
31. Lewis Hansford	—	1764	
32. Maximilian Calvert	—	1765	
33. James Taylor	—	1766	
34. George Abyvon (2)	—	1767	
35. Cornelius Calvert	—	1768	
36. Maximilian Calvert (2)	—	1769	
37. Charles Thomas	—	1770	

38. George Abyvon (3)	—	1771
39. Paul Loyall (2)	—	1772
40. Charles Thomas (2)	—	1773
41. George Abyvon (4)	—	1774
42. Paul Loyall (3)	—	1775 ⁹⁵

The last-named served two terms, or rather there was no election until June, 1777, on account of the evacuation, as will later appear. Some words have been written—unnecessarily, it appears—as to whether the elder Samuel Boush should be considered the first Mayor. He was appointed to that office by the Borough Charter; it is true that he died before the first meeting of the Aldermen and did not, therefore, qualify for office by taking the oath as required by law. It seems to us the question is purely academic: Boush was named, in accordance with English usage, by the Governor acting for the Crown, and we see no reason to remove his name from its place of priority on the list simply because the accident of his death intervened.

The events leading up to the Revolution (1766-1775) will be treated in the following chapter.

NOTES ON CHAPTER XIII

N.B. See remark at beginning of Chapter I notes.

1. See Chapters X, XI and XII.
2. R. Goodwin, *Williamsburg*, pp. 338-344.
3. 4H138-141.
4. 4H234.
5. McIlwaine, *Journals House of Burgesses* 1727-40, p. 255.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 287.
7. McIlwaine, *Executive Journals Council*, IV, 377.
8. McIlwaine, *Journals House of Burgesses*, 1727-40, p. 306.
9. 4H541.
10. 10 Enc. Brit. 129.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 127.
12. 14 Enc. Brit. 9.
13. In City Hall, Plume St., Norfolk.
14. Forrest, *Norfolk*, pp. 53-54.
15. 15DAB361.
16. 20W(2)128.
17. Stanard, *Colonial Virginia Register*, pp. 111-209. *passim*.
18. 4 Enc. Brit. 268-272.
19. 8 Enc. Brit. 278.
20. Forrest, *op. cit.*, p. 65.
21. 7H433.
22. Kellam, *Princess Anne*, p. 180.
23. In 1935 the Bank published a booklet (reprinted in 1950) containing a description of the Mace and some of the data given here.
24. Robert C. Smith in *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*, 8 April 1956; Van Doren, *Benjamin Franklin*, pp. 170, 254, 290; 2W(2)208.
25. *Borough Church*, 1739, p. 22.
26. Kellam, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

27. E. L. Goodwin, *Colonial Church*, p. 302.
28. Now preserved in the Archives of St. Paul's Protestant Episcopal Church, Norfolk.
29. See Chapter XXIV.
30. Ingle "Local Institutions of Virginia," p. 56.
31. The diagram, which is drawn to scale, was suggested by a similar one for another church done by the late George Carrington Mason (18W(2)269 *et seq.*).
32. Kellam, *op. cit.*, p. 30.
33. 19W(1)195 *et seq.*
34. E. L. Goodwin, *op. cit.*, pp. 299-300.
35. 8W(2)101.
36. 8H14.
37. E. L. Goodwin, *op. cit.*, pp. 301, 262.
38. 6H264.
39. Wertenbaker, *Norfolk*, p. 11.
40. 57V409.
41. See Talbot's Map of that date on display in the Norfolk Museum.
42. 7H137.
43. 20W(2)524; E. L. Goodwin, *op. cit.*, p. 297.
44. 6H265.
45. E. L. Goodwin, *loc. cit.*
46. 1W(1)40.
47. E. L. Goodwin, *op. cit.*, p. 261.
48. Wertenbaker, *op. cit.*, p. 24.
49. E. L. Goodwin, *op. cit.*, p. 255.
50. 7H510.
51. 8W(2)107.
52. 7H435.
53. 7H510.
54. 8H269-270.
55. W. H. Stewart, *Norfolk County*, p. 34.
56. *Norfolk County Records*, Book I, pp. 106, 108; Book 15, p. 45.
57. *Ibid.*, Book 12, p. 263; Book 14, p. 104.
58. *Ibid.*, Book 12, p. 141.
59. *Ibid.*, Book 12, p. 293; Wertenbaker, *op. cit.*, p. 5 (note), quotes Book 12, p. 167.
60. *Norfolk County Records*, Book 12, p. 305, 306; Book H, p. 153, Book I, p. 196.
61. *Ibid.*, Book 14, p. 164; Book 20, p. 119.
62. *Ibid.*, Book I, p. 23.
63. *Ibid.*, p. 249; all quotations from tombstones herein were taken *in situ*.
64. *Ibid.*, Book 9, p. 591; Book H, p. 198; Book I, p. 24.
65. Wertenbaker, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-22; R. Goodwin, *op. cit.*, pp. 252-3.
66. Kellam, *op. cit.*, p. 131.
67. 8W(2)102, 104.
68. *Norfolk County Records*, Book H, p. 205; Book I, pp. 256, 260.
69. *Ibid.*, Deed Book H, p. 123.
70. 8W(2)101, 100, 103, 105-6.
71. *Norfolk County Records*, Will Book I, p. 86; 16W(2)38; in the latter reference, John Hutchings was erroneously named as Thomas.
72. *Norfolk County Records*, Will Book I, p. 90.
73. 18W(1)141-4.
74. 19W(2)400; *Norfolk County Records*, Book H, p. 201; W. A. Goodwin, *op. cit.*, p. 282; 1W(1)118.
75. 8H454-5; Forrest, *op. cit.*, p. 67; *Norfolk County Records*, Will Book 2, p. 84.
76. 7H433.
77. McIntosh, *Norfolk County Wills, 1710-1753*, p. 139; *Norfolk County Records*, Book I, p. 32.
78. *Norfolk Corporation Court Records*, Map Book A, p. 26.
79. *Norfolk County Records*, Will Book I, p. 37.
80. *Ibid.*, Will Book 2, p. 194.
81. 8W(2)102, 174.
82. 1W(2)117; information on William Boush's M.D. furnished me by Dr. Curtis Carroll Davis of Baltimore, biographer of Lewis Littlepage.

83. R. A. Stewart, *Virginia's Navy of the Revolution*, pp. 152-4; 8W(2)104, 110.
84. *Norfolk County Records*, Book 22, p. 196.
85. *Ibid.*, Book 14, p. 121.
86. *Ibid.*, Book 19, p. 63; Book 20, p. 23.
87. *Ibid.*, Book 22, p. 145.
88. This information was furnished by the Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of Scotland.
89. *Norfolk County Records*, Book I, p. 25.
90. *Ibid.*, Book 14, p. 107.
91. *Ibid.*, Will Book I, p. 53.
92. 8W(2)103.
93. H. G. Tilghman in *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*, 26 June 1940.
94. *Norfolk Ordinances, 1845*, pp. 20-22; *Norfolk County Records*, Deed Book 26, p. 188.
95. Burton, *History of Norfolk*, pp. 228-234.

Chapter XIV

The Borough of Norfolk

1775-1845

WHILE THE PRESENT chapter is designed to cover the period beginning with the outbreak of open hostilities in 1775, it has appeared impossible to divorce from the latter year the events and circumstances immediately preceding, in which the approaching War had its roots. For these reasons, we must go back a few years to begin the relation of the story which follows.

Although our Revolutionary struggle did not break out in earnest until 1775, seething undercurrents disturbed the deceptively calm surface of events throughout the thirteen colonies for nearly a dozen years before that. The liberal and revolutionary spirit, which had been fanned to a white heat in France by such men as Voltaire and Rousseau, had gained favor in certain quarters in England, and soon began to manifest itself in the American colonies; one of the earliest evidences of it was the organization of the Sons of Liberty in New York in 1764. The agitations and activities of this patriotic society are too well-known to need any detailed mention here.

These manifestations were a little later in Norfolk, and on Monday, 31 March 1766, in the County Court House on Main Street opposite the Market Place, a public meeting was called to organize a society of the "Sons of Liberty" similar to those which had sprung up in other colonies. This meeting was presided over by none other than the minister of Elizabeth River Parish and the Borough Church, the Rev. Thomas Davis, Sr.; its secretaries were James Holt and William Roscoe Wilson Curle,* both of whom were later to sit in the Convention of 1776 in St. John's Church in Richmond.

The purpose of this meeting of the Sons of Liberty in Norfolk was no secret: it was a protest against the notorious Stamp Act. The Society drew up and passed a most significant and interesting set of resolutions, the preamble of which referred in no uncertain terms to the "oppressive and unconstitutional Act of Parliament, commonly called the Stamp Act." The parties to these resolutions acknowledged themselves loyal subjects of His Majesty,

* Grandson of Roscoe Curle, in Hampton by 1688, and son of Wilson Curle also of Hampton.

King George III; they affirmed that they would by lawful means defend their privileges as British subjects "of being taxed only by Representatives of their own choosing; and being tryed by none but a Jury of their peers." Finally, a committee was named to publish these resolutions and to correspond "with the Associated Sons of, and Friends to, Liberty, in the other British Colonies in North America."

The names of the signers of these resolutions have been reproduced by many writers; however, our story would not be complete if they were omitted here. The following are the fifty-seven signatures which were affixed to this document:

Jas. Holt	Henry Tucker
Thos. Davis	Maxln. Calvert
Robt. Tucker	Edward Voss
Jas. Parker	Fras. Peart
Robt. Tucker, Jr.	Samuel Calvert
Jno. Hutchings, Jr.	Jas. Gibson
Lewis Hansford	Nicholas Winterton
Jno. Hutchings, Ja.	Griffin Peart
Paul Loyall	Jno. Wilson
Will. Roscoe [Wilson] Curle	Wm. Skinker
Anthy. Lawson	Thos. Butt
Jos. Hutchings	Wm. Gray
Thos. Newton, Sen.	Hudson Brown
Jno. Phripp, Jun.	John Taylor
Jno. Ramsay	Alexander Moseley
Jno. Gilchrist	Jno. Taylor, Jr.
Matthew Godfrey	William Calvert
Matthew Phripp	Willm. Aitcheson
Thos. Newton, Jr.	Edward Hack Moseley, Jr.
Saml. Boush (III)	Wm. Hancock
Richd. Knight	Robt. Brett
James Campbell	Stephen Tankard
John Lawrence	Thos. Willoughby
Joshua Nicholson	James Dunn
Nicholas Wonycutt	John Cramond
Matthw. Rothery	Alexr. Kincaid
Jacob Ellegood	George Muter
Cornelius Calvert	Chrisr. Calvert ¹
Edward Archer	

It is scarcely necessary to comment on these names in detail. The reader has become familiar with most of them in these pages, but there are a dozen or so which have disappeared from history, having left no other memorial. Not all were residents of the Borough, and some of these names can be

recognized as native to Norfolk and Princess Anne Counties. It is, of course, erroneous to suppose—as some have—that all of these individuals were fiery patriots. Their declarations, as has been noted, were moderate, and their loyalties in principle still with the Crown. In fact, some of them, as we know from other sources, never discarded those loyalties, though it is safe to say that the majority of the Norfolk Sons of Liberty became patriotic Americans.

The Stamp Act did not long survive. Soon after the news of its repeal was received, the Sons of Liberty had a Thanksgiving service in the Borough Church with a sermon by the Rev. Mr. Davis; this took place on Thursday, 22 May 1766. It will be recalled that a similar celebration took place at Saint Brides in June.²

It has been said that intrigues and activities concerning gunpowder played a primary role in the events leading up to hostilities, notably the removal of this important commodity from the magazine in Williamsburg by Dunmore in 1775. It may be no coincidence, therefore, that in accordance with the provisions of an Act of Assembly of 1772, a powder magazine was built in the Borough of Norfolk in 1774 on Gun Powder Street.³ Both the original name of this street and its later designation as Magazine Lane—the latter still in use today—derive from the presence of the powder magazine. It was built ostensibly for reasons of public safety; however, we cannot help but feel that it was also an attempt to keep this article of destruction less easily available in case of a possible uprising.

Another cause of irritation to the American colonists was the tax on tea. Protests against this unpopular levy took many forms, such as the Boston Tea Party in December of 1773 and the Edenton Tea Party in October of 1774. Of lesser fame but not less significant was the "Norfolk Tea Party," later than that in Boston but antedating Edenton's by two months. In August of 1774, the *Mary and John*, a merchantman, arrived in Norfolk harbor bearing in its cargo nine chests of tea. It has been said that the citizens of Norfolk disdained to hide their identity disguised as Indians, nor did they choose to hide behind the skirts of their womenfolk. They simply held a mass meeting protesting against the importation of this tea and made known their intention not to pay the tax on it; whereupon the shipment was returned to England without being landed.⁴

Parallel with the organization of the Sons of Liberty, the gunpowder intrigues, and the protests against the Stamp and Tea Acts in all the American colonies was the struggle for freedom of the press. Here again a reflexion of the broader movement is seen in Norfolk. It is a strange circumstance that no newspaper was established here until the very eve of the Revolution; or if there was, all record and memory thereof have faded. With the date-line of Thursday, 9 June 1774, appeared the first issue of a weekly paper entitled the *Virginia Gazette, or the Norfolk Intelligencer*, from the press of William

Duncan & Co., on the east side of the Parade (present Commercial Place) about halfway between Main Street and the ferry wharf, the latter being then where the intersection of Water Street now is. Early in 1775 we note that there was a new proprietor, John H. Holt & Co., who continued publication at the same stand. On 13 May 1775, in the *Virginia Gazette* of Williamsburg, Holt announced that he had bought out his partner, John Brown, who had gotten into trouble with the authorities. Editor Holt carried on without recorded difficulties for over four months, then he too, like Brown, got into trouble for his open opposition to Dunmore's policies. It seems that his last issue appeared on 20 September 1775. Why on a Wednesday instead of the usual Thursday we do not know, nor can we explain why it did not appear the following week. At any rate, on Saturday, 30 September 1775, Lord Dunmore sent a detachment of twelve soldiers and five sailors ashore to wreck the little print shop on the Parade, arrest two printers, and carry off the press and type. This equipment and probably the captured printers were used to publish several issues of the paper on board the Governor's ship, *Eilbeck*, possibly owned by a Tory of that name. And that was the end of the short free existence of the *Virginia Gazette, or the Norfolk Intelligencer*.⁵ On Thursday, 5 October 1775, Dunmore made the following report to H. M. Secretary of State:

The public prints of this dirty little Borough of Norfolk has for some time past been wholly employed in exciting, in the minds of all Ranks of People the spirit of sedition and Rebellion, by the grossest misrepresentation of facts, both public and private; that they might do no further mischief, I sent a small party on shore Saturday last [30 September] at noon and brought off their press, tipes, paper, ink, two of the printers and all the utensils [tools], and am now going to have a press for the king on board one of the ships I have lately taken into his Majesty's service for the reception of the remainder of the 14th Regiment whose arrival I look for with great impatience every hour.

On the day after the print shop raid—Sunday, 1 October 1775—a letter was written from Norfolk to Williamsburg telling of the affairs, and naming the ship *Eilbeck* as the one in question. We judge from its name it belonged to the firm of Eilbeck Ross & Co., earlier accused of importing goods at Norfolk contrary to the Continental Association. Jonathan Eilbeck and his family were among the Tories who left with Dunmore, and, in spite of the fact that his property was confiscated in 1781, returned to Norfolk after the War. He and his wife Mary died respectively in 1817 and 1829, and are buried in the Old Churchyard in Norfolk. It is further learned from the above-mentioned letter of 1 October 1775 that a bookbinder named Cummings was among the print shop employees captured; Cummings was allowed to

come ashore from time to time and reported that the stated intention of the British was to return all the printing equipment within three weeks after having a chance "to publish something in vindication of their own characters."⁶

One of the first uses Lord Dunmore put the confiscated press to was to print a combination martial-law-emancipation proclamation. Under the date line "on Board the ship *William*, off Norfolk," on 7 November 1775, His Lordship proclaimed martial law to be in effect, required all persons capable of bearing arms to join his forces or suffer execution and confiscation of lands for treason, and offered freedom to all servants and/or slaves who were willing and able to bear arms. It is interesting that this latter offer of freedom applied only to servants and slaves "appertaining to Rebels."⁷

November and December of 1775 saw the actual outbreak of hostilities in these parts. In November there was a skirmish at Kempe's Landing (now Kempsville) in which a small detachment of militia under Col. Anthony Lawson was forced to withdraw. In December occurred the first real battle of the Revolution hereabouts, that at Great Bridge in which Col. Woodford's Virginia Militia defeated the British regulars. We are told that on November 30, Dunmore burned 32 houses in Norfolk, for what reason is not clear, unless it may have been connected with his emancipation proclamation (above-mentioned). After the battle at Great Bridge, the Virginia troops came on into Norfolk, thwarting Dunmore's probable plans to use it as a base for future operations. Thus was Norfolk's doom sealed, for the Governor would certainly not let the "rebels" hold the borough when he could not do so himself.

Many and conflicting are the traditional accounts of the bombardment and burning of Norfolk on New Year's Day of 1776. The one which has had most circulation is that the British fleet in the harbor opened up on the borough with all guns, and that in a short space of time all was smoking ruins save the battered and blackened walls of the Borough Church. Nothing could be farther from the truth, and we shall see that not only was most of the destruction wrought by other than British hands, but also the church walls were not the only ones left standing when the smoke finally cleared away.

It seems certain that there were three British men-of-war in the harbor on that fateful day; they were the frigate *Liverpool*, and sloops-of-war *Otter* and *Kingfisher*. At about 4:00 P.M. on Monday, 1 January 1776, they opened fire on the Norfolk waterfront and immediately adjacent regions (this being probably their maximum range), inflicting considerable damage. They were hindered, however, by the marksmanship of the Virginia troops, some of whom held precarious positions in waterfront warehouses within musketshot of the ships. For this reason the British landed shore parties which set fire to as many of these warehouses as possible.

Several contemporary eye-witness accounts of the occurrence—not unprejudiced, it must be admitted—found their way into London newspapers during the months of March and April, 1776. A letter written on Christmas Day, 1775, from the *William* "off Norfolk, Virginia," told of the Battle of Great Bridge and how the British were obliged to abandon their fort and Norfolk and take shelter in their ships. It was then estimated that there were 2000 patriots under arms in the Borough and "they having stopt all supplies to the ships, it is imagined the ships of war will destroy the town in a few days. The Liverpool, King Fisher, and Otter, are now laying before the town for that purpose. Lord Dunmore has done every thing for the cause of his King and Country which man could do; and had a thousand troops arrived two months since, he would have had Virginia totally reduced to obedience by this time." This account went on to relate that a subsequent letter told of the firing of Norfolk and Portsmouth* by Lord Dunmore because of the annoyance they gave the warships. It was said the "Provincials set fire to every house, the owner of which was supposed to be well affected to government. Upwards of three hundred houses were burnt down in the fine town of Norfolk."⁸

On 9 January 1776, a midshipman on board H.M.S. *Otter* (commanded by Capt. Squires) wrote

The detested town of Norfolk is no more! its destruction happened on new year's day! About four o'clock in the afternoon the signal was given from the Liverpool, when a dreadful cannonading began from the three ships, which lasted till it was too hot for the rebels to stand on their wharfs. Our boats now landed and set fire to the town in several places. It burnt fiercely all night, and the next day; nor are the flames yet extinguished; but no more of Norfolk remains than about twelve houses, which have escaped the flames.⁹

On 2 January 1776, Col. Robert Howe wrote the Virginia Convention, "the cannonade continued till near ten at night, without intermission; it then abated a little, and continued till two this morning."¹⁰

A letter dated "off the ruins of Norfolk" on 11 January 1776 stated the value of property destroyed was several thousand pounds sterling, and the next day a Virginia merchant wrote to his London correspondent that parties from the ships went ashore and set fire to several wharves which spread and burned a great part of the town, and that the "rebels" burned what was left.¹¹

An issue of the *Virginia Gazette or Norfolk Intelligencer* of 18 January 1776, printed on board the Governor's own ship *Dunmore* (ex-*Eilbeck*), has the effect of an official report. It was here stated that Captain Bellew of the *Liverpool*, soon after his arrival, demanded under flag of truce whether His

* Mention of the latter was, of course, erroneous.

Majesty's ships would be supplied. The answer being negative, it became necessary to destroy that part of the town next the water from which the ships were being fired on. Previous notice having been given for the benefit of women and children, firing began at four in the afternoon, and men were landed from boats to set fire to the houses next the water. Since there was a moderate off-shore breeze, it was anticipated that only the waterfront area would be destroyed; ". . . but the Rebels cruelly and unnecessarily compleated the Destruction of the whole Town, by setting Fire to the Houses in the Streets back, which were before safe from the flames." Among the important things destroyed, according to this report, was a distillery, "a Work of great Value and publick Utility [!!!] with a large Stock of Rum and Molasses." It was further related that "the Ardor of the Men could not be repressed, and notwithstanding all possible Care taken to prevent them, a few Boats went on Shore . . ."¹²

Finally, on 20 February 1776, a letter was written from Norfolk to a merchant in Liverpool, which told that on the 6th of that month, at 4 A.M. "every House from Mr. Farmer's Plantation (?), Tan-Works, Windmills, Church, &c were set on Fire. . . ."¹³

A Commission of Investigation was sent to Norfolk by the Virginia government in 1777 to determine the liability for the burning; this was just over a year after the events had occurred. Its report showed that only 51 houses had been burned by January 2, 1776, and that 32 of those were destroyed by Dunmore in the previous November, as already mentioned.¹⁴ Another version of this report of 10 October 1777, on record in the Journal of the House of Delegates for 1835, stated that 54 houses had been burned by January 2, without attempting to specify when. Both versions agree that 863 houses were burned by Virginia troops between the bombardment and January 15, and 416 more were burned by order of the Virginia Convention in February 1776 "to deprive Dunmore of shelter."¹⁵ Thus the Borough of Norfolk and its residents lost more than 1300 houses in these first few months of the War, and the spot was left desolate for the time being.

We believe the true facts about the destruction of Norfolk in 1776 emerge from the above reports, prejudiced though some of them may be. John Murray, fourth Earl of Dunmore and Viscount Fincastle, has certainly gone down in history as one of the most unpopular colonial governors of Virginia and it is not unnatural that the people of the colony, especially those of Norfolk, feel about him as they do. However, it must be admitted that he was here at a difficult time, and it is permitted to wonder whether a Dinwiddie, a Fauquier or a Botetourt could or would have acted differently. Norfolk was (and is) an important strategic spot, and each side was forced to prevent the other from making use of it. It is a remarkable fact that we still preserve the name of Dunmore Street; some say it was so named because the governor embarked

from its foot, when he said his final farewell to these shores, which may or may not be true.

Let us imagine that we are wandering amid the blackened ruins of the borough in February or March, 1776. We should see the walls of the Borough Church, its interior and roof gutted by fire, its masonry scarred at one corner by a cannonball, which lay partially embedded in the earth nearby where it had fallen. Near the Parade we should see a combination dairy and pigeon house on Bacon's Lane. Forrest tells us this was the only building left whole "in the immediate bounds of the Borough." It appears that this lane, no longer in existence, ran south from Main Street a few doors east of the Parade (Commercial Place). And on Main Street at the head of the Parade, remarkable to relate, the walls of the County Court House and Jail were still standing. We may guess that these were gutted by fire like the church was, but we know that their walls survived, from the account of another fire to be mentioned later. We should see also the old house on the north side of Bute Street near Church Street. There was also the Gordon (Milhado) house, built in 1768 on the north side of Bute between Duke and Yarmouth Streets. A few doors to the west of the Milhado house, there is today a frame house whose brick basement, done in Flemish bond, has a distinctly pre-Revolutionary look—but of this we cannot be sure. Over on the other side of Smith's Creek we could see the Llewelyn house, built in 1761 and still standing though considerably altered, but that was outside the boundary of the borough at the time in question. Thus it can be seen that the prospect was desolate enough, but the old church walls were not so lonely as some would have us believe.

In reference to the old court house mentioned above, one might be permitted to wonder who the unsung hero was who saved the precious court record books going back to 1637—without them we would be hard pressed to see clearly into our past. Tradition says the silver mace, Dinwiddie's gift, was carried away and concealed at Kempe's Landing; it may be that the record books were spared in the same way.

The cannonball referred to above is supposed to have been fired from a gun of the *Liverpool*. Forrest, writing in 1853, said it had just been found, and that the damage to the wall could then still be seen in the form of a crack and a portion of the masonry slightly displaced. Bishop Meade, writing in 1857, said that all the combustible material of the church building was consumed by fire, but that the walls resisted both fire and cannonballs. He continued:

There is still to be seen a considerable indentation in the corner of one of them made by a ball from the Frigate Liverpool and the ball itself may also be seen in the vestry-room. . . . The communion plate was taken by the enemy

and carried to Scotland. Some tidings of it have recently been received, and hopes are entertained of its recovery.¹⁶

As all know well, the ball was later cemented into the crack and a marker added reading "Fired by Lord Dunmore, Jan. 1, 1776." This has been misleading to some literal-minded people, who believe it lodged in the brick wall in its present position. There is another cannonball on display in the parish house museum, which was found during some later grave excavations in the churchyard. It is known, of course, that the church silver was returned but this writer has never heard or read any traditional account of the circumstances.

It was not long before those who had been driven away by the fire began to return to their devastated property. We can see this by a glance at the succession of mayors at this time. It will be recalled that the Charter of 1736 required the Aldermen to elect one of their number as mayor yearly on 24 June. Paul Loyall, mayor at the time of the bombardment, apparently held office longer than his allotted time, for no mayor was elected in June, 1776. Then we see that Dr. James Taylor was mayor in 1777, although when he was elected is not clear. From then on the election took place yearly as before, with one exception: Thomas Newton, Jr., elected 24 June 1780, held office for 17 months, as no election was held until November, 1781, "because of the invasion." This refers to the sojourn of Brigadier General Benedict Arnold in these parts with headquarters in Portsmouth. Thus, within a year or more after the destruction of Norfolk, its officers began again to perpetuate their succession in order to keep the Charter active.

According to Forrest, the first house rebuilt after the big fire was that of William Goodchild, and an interesting if somewhat fanciful story is related about this gentleman. Fearing for the safety of his possessions, he had converted as many of them as possible into hard cash. This he buried in a trunk beneath the floor of his house, and as soon as the work of destruction was over, he returned and salvaged his hoard. He purchased another lot and built a small house—the first to rise from the ashes of devastation—at the northwest corner of the Main Street and Mitchell Lane. This lane is not now identifiable but was said to run through to the cove of the Back Creek where later was Cove Street (now that part of City Hall Avenue between Church and Bank Streets); it is to be assumed, therefore, that Goodchild's house was on the north side of the Main Street somewhere between Church and Talbot Streets. It is said that, after a few years of success, Goodchild retired from business and built another house "in the fields" on the north side of Moseley Street a short distance east of Church Street. Later, concludes Forrest, it was used as a house of reception for persons with contagious diseases, and was therefore called the "pest-house."¹⁷

Of course, this is the kind of story that William S. Forrest would seize

upon and embroider to the fullest extent; however, in this case there must have been some element of truth. There is no doubt that there was such a person as William Goodchild; his marriage to one Sarah Childers, spinster, in 1779 is on record.¹⁸ Also a Borough ordinance, passed in 1822 regarding the care of Poor House, Work House "and the house and lot called Goodchild's," provided that the poor, the vagrants and the sick should be kept separate, the latter being assigned to Goodchild's which was to be called the Infirmary.¹⁹ What was formerly Moseley Street is now that part of Olney Road between Church and Chapel Streets, and there still standing until a short time ago a short distance east of Church Street* was a brick house with gambrel roof, broad inside chimneys and Flemish bond brickwork, of the late 18th century style of so many houses in this neighborhood. While this house fulfills requirements for identification as Goodchild's both as to its age and location, we must point out that it had come to be called traditionally "the Newton Farmhouse." The reason for this is obvious, since it stood on the former Wilson Newton tract,** inherited by the latter's son George Newton in 1762 as mentioned in a previous chapter.²⁰

While Norfolk was knocked out of the fight early in the war, its people took an active part in the struggle for liberty. As is to be expected in this seaport town, such activity was more directly concerned with the Navy than with the Army, and we shall here tell a little about each of these branches. Virginia had a small but well-organized and—to a limited extent—effective Navy, details concerning which were thoroughly covered in a little volume published a few years ago.²¹ The Virginia Convention set up a five-man Board of Naval Commissioners in May, 1776, three of whom had close Norfolk connections. Two of these were "native sons" John Hutchings, Jr., and Thomas Newton, Jr.; the third was Champion Travis, of the well-known Jamestown family, who had married Elizabeth, the daughter of Samuel Boush III in 1772. Below is a list of some other names on the roster of this Virginia Navy, who were natives of or had later alliances in Norfolk:

John Archer, brother of Edward; Lieut., sloop *Scorpion*, schooner *Liberty*, 1777; d. 1793.

Charles Sayer Boush, son of Samuel II; Lieut. of Marines, galleys *Norfolk Revenge* and *Caswell*, 1777; d. 1809.

Goodrich Boush, brother of above; Captain, galley *Washington*, 1777; d. 1779.

Robert Boush, son of Samuel III; Commander of Naval Stores and Superintendent of Naval Rigging, 1779; Paymaster Virginia State Line.

Wilson Boush, son of Goodrich (above); Midshipman.

* The northwest corner of Olney Road and Pulaski Street.

** Bounded roughly by Church Street, Bute Street (extended), Landing Street and Vermont Street.

John Calvert, Captain, sloop *Defiance*, 1776; galley, *Norfolk Revenge*, 1776-8; d. 1809, buried in old churchyard in Norfolk.

George Chamberlayne of Warwick, Lieut., galleys *Henry* and *Manly*, and brig *Mosquito*, 1777; Captain, pilot boat *Molly*, 1778; Lieut., schooner *Liberty*, 1779-80; his son George lived in Norfolk, where he married Elizabeth Calvert Taylor.

William Cunningham, Captain, schooner *Liberty*; d. 1795; heirs were Philemon, William and Elizabeth Gatewood.

Cary Hansford and Jonathan Calvert, Surgeon's Mates on the *Dragon*, 1778; students of medicine with Doctors James Taylor and John Ramsay of Norfolk; Dr. Cary H. Hansford was later described as "Alderman and eminent physician," serving as Mayor in 1785 and 1791; he died in 1801 (aged 42) and is buried in the churchyard; he was possibly son of Lewis Hansford, also alderman and mayor (1764).

James Maxwell, his tombstone in the churchyard relates that he came to Norfolk from Northumberland (England) in 1767, was Superintendent of Navy Yard, Commissioner of Navy, Captain of an Armed Ship; died in 1795 at age 62; his widow married Dr. John K. Read, who came to Norfolk from Philadelphia in 1796.

Benjamin Pollard, Lieut. of Marines, later Captain, 1776; married Abigail Taylor, 1784; Mayor of Norfolk, 1787; d. 1807; heirs, son Benjamin and daughter Margaret, wife of George Loyall. Mrs. Abigail Pollard's grave (she died in 1795) lies in the churchyard close to those of John Taylor (d. 1744) and his two sons, John and Dr. James Taylor.

Celey Saunders,* Captain galley *Lewis*, 1776-7; *Tempest*, 1779; his grandson John Loyall Saunders was a Captain, U.S.N., married Martha Bland Selden in 1834, and their daughter Elizabeth Selden Saunders was wife of Col. Walter H. Taylor.

Stephen Wright, Ensign under Capt. John Archer, later under Capt. Wright Wescott, his guardian; d. 1851, buried in Cedar Grove Cemetery.

While there were many Norfolkians in the Army—both Continental Line, Virginia State Troops, and Militia—we shall mention only two here. Lieut. Col. Thomas Mathews, Artillery, was in command of Fort Nelson (where Naval Hospital now stands) as long as it was held by the patriots. Of Cornet William Graves, Virginia State Legion, very little is known except that he served from July, 1780, to the end of the War; there was also a Lieut. William Graves, State Navy, but no indication they were identical.

On 13 May, 1783, there was formed the Society of the Cincinnati, whose purpose was to keep alive wartime friendships and for other patriotic and charitable reasons.²² Eligible for membership were officers of the Continental Army and Navy, plus State Troops in Continental Service, but not those of

* It may be just a coincidence, but a marriage license was issued in Elizabeth City County on 9 November 1696 to Charles Ceeley and Elizabeth Saunders. (2 W (1) 211).

Militia in purely local service. It would be impossible to list here all the famous names who were members of this Society, but we shall mention just a few: Washington, Alexander Hamilton, Charles and Thomas Pinckney were its first Presidents-General in that order; other Army officer members were Henry Knox, James Monroe and "Lighthorse Harry" Lee. Representative of the Navy members were John Paul Jones, John Barry and Richard Dale. Of our French allies, Lafayette, Rochambeau, deGrasse and L'Enfant were members. This organization has had continuous existence through the hereditary rule: right to membership is passed on to a single descendant of each original member by the principle of English common law of primogeniture. The Society derived its name from the Roman general, Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus, who was called from peaceful pursuits to lead his country's armies against an invader. In like manner, the American citizen soldiers, after successfully defending their land and rights, returned to their peacetime occupations.

Only three individuals in Norfolk, that we can be certain of, were original members of the Cincinnati: they were Captain of Marines Benjamin Pollard, Comet William Graves and Lieut. Col. Thomas Mathews, all mentioned above. Mathews continued his connection with the Army after the War, and was Commanding General of the 9th Brigade with the rank of Brigadier General. General Mathews died on 20 February 1812, when the Brigade command devolved upon its next senior officer, Col. John Cropper, Jr., of Accomack, also an original member of the Cincinnati.²³

Another organization which had its beginning in war time—though of an entirely different nature from the Cincinnati—was the Phi Beta Kappa Society, founded at the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg on 5 December 1776.²⁴ This was the first so-called "Greek-letter" fraternity, and started a vogue which was continued to this day: that of naming certain collegiate fraternal organizations after the initial letters of a secret Greek motto (incidentally no longer secret in the case of Phi Beta Kappa). This society's purposes originally were fraternal and literary, but nowadays the secret fraternal feature has been dropped, and its invitations to membership are bestowed almost solely for undergraduate excellence in scholarship. Of the fifty members initiated before the fraternity disbanded for the time being in 1781 because of unsettled war conditions, only one has a connection with Norfolk: his name was John Nivison. Son of Rev. John Nivison, minister of Meherrin Parish, 1754-8 (then Brunswick, later Greensville, County),²⁵ he was elected to membership in Phi Beta Kappa in February, 1778, and continued active in it until shortly before it disbanded. He was elected Clerk (secretary) in January, 1779, and served as President pro-tem at one meeting in October of the same year. Nivison's mother (*née* Anne Tazewell) as a widow married Rev. Arthur Emmerson, Jr., also a minister of Meherrin Parish

(1773-6),²⁶ and he thus was connected with a well-known family of Portsmouth. John Nivison had some very distinguished "fraternity brothers" during his connection with the Phi Beta Kappa: for instance, Bushrod Washington, favorite nephew of the General and heir to Mount Vernon; John Marshall, later Chief Justice of the Supreme Court; William Madison, brother of the President; George Braxton, son of a signer of the Declaration of Independence; Thomas Lee, son of another signer; and Richard Bland Lee, uncle of Robert E. Lee.

John Nivison probably first lived in this neighborhood when his stepfather became minister of Portsmouth Parish in 1785. At any rate he became a prominent lawyer and served as Norfolk Borough Recorder for some years before his death in 1820. He and his wife Sarah are buried in the churchyard; their daughter Anne was the wife of Littleton Waller Tazewell, Senator and Governor, and had a son appropriately named John Nivison Tazewell.

It has been said that much of the rebuilding of Norfolk after its destruction was done by the Tories who, returning encouraged by Arnold's occupation of Portsmouth in 1780-81, thought they would have a clear field for resettlement. Arnold's departure, however, proved their hopes to be vain, and it is to be noted that, in 1781-3, two houses and seven warehouses of Neil Jamison's, a house of Jonathan Eilbeck's, and three belonging to William Chisholm were confiscated by the Virginia government.²⁷ It is obvious therefore, that reconstruction was not long delayed. One clear indication of this, we believe, is the fact that there was no break in the continuity of local government, as will be seen from the list of Mayors given at the end of this chapter; only in 1776 was there no election of mayor. Also the election of 1781 was delayed from June until November because of the British occupation, but from then on election was held every June as required by the charter.

Two Borough directories of 1801 and 1806²⁸—the only ones surviving from early 19th century—and the Nicholson map of 1802²⁹ give the best picture of the extent of Norfolk's recovery during the two decades following peace with England in 1783. On this map can be seen the borough line laid out (incorrectly, as mentioned in the preceding chapter) in 1761, from the corner of Queen Street (Brambleton Avenue) and Cumberland Street to the corner of Bute and Church Streets; this was soon to be corrected as will below appear. Here also are seen the streets of the Boush and Smith tracts, laid out in 1762 and 1765 respectively, and the streets of the Walke tract. Col. Anthony Walke (II) died in 1782, and his land was inherited by three sons, Anthony (III), William and Edward Hack Walke; the tract—on the east side of Church St. just north of the old town, was laid out shortly thereafter, probably about 1785. Its streets were Fenchurch, parallel to Church, and the First, Second and Third Cross Streets (now respectively Chapel, Reilly and

Walke Streets) and, perpendicular to the latter from south to north, Bermuda, Marsh (later Cove, now City Hall Avenue), Holt, Mariner and Falkland Streets. The designation "Plume's Rope Walk," where Old Saint Vincent's Hospital later was, tells us that land was then owned by William Plume, an Irishman who had formerly gone by the name of Moran; this also refers to the old method of making rope, whereby a man would walk backwards away from a revolving wheel to which hempen fiber was attached, drawing out and twisting the strands into a rope. The "walk" averaged 300 to 400 yards long.³⁰ Another one—Newton's Rope Walk—was shown on the map on a narrow point between the two branches of Smith's Creek, the site now bounded by High Street, Olney Road, Boush Street and Granby Street; this was part of Thomas Newton's land.

In addition to the many lanes and alleys branching off both sides of Main Street, the Nicholson map shows some other new streets. For instance, there was Water Street, laid out in 1782³¹ and also called "Wide Water Street" to distinguish it from Little Water Street (later Elizabeth St. and now a back alley called Upton St.) branching off Market Square (Commercial Place) to the west; Commerce Street, laid out in 1792 and deeded to the Borough by William Eyre in 1798;³² and Bank Street, laid out by 1796 by Robert Farmer, called "Farmer's Lane" in 1797, "the lane named Bank Street" in 1800, and deeded to the Borough by Robert Farmer in 1805, then described as "an 18-foot strip of land running from Main Street near the Market House to a bridge across the Back Street to Catharine Street."³³ The latter goes now by the name of Bank Street, which originally was only the part between Main Street and present City Hall Avenue. It will be recalled that the former "Fort Land" (south side west end of Main Street) had been vested in certain trustees in 1761. In 1792, their survivors—then called Trustees of the Town Point Company's Land—had streets laid out and a survey made, and conveyed the tract to the Mayor, Recorder and Aldermen of the Borough of Norfolk.³⁴ The principal streets in this survey were Kelly and Water Streets (parallel to Main Street) and Fayette, Washington and Mathews Street crossing them. All of these still bear the same names except one: Washington is now Jackson Street.

A final word about the Nicholson Map: It showed the location of a number of public buildings which are of interest. In addition to the Old Church Yard, there were Episcopal, Roman, Methodist and Presbyterian Churches, the Academy and the Borough Court House and Gaol, all of which will be considered in detail below. Likewise there was the U.S. Bank,* branch of the well-known nationwide institution, a large brick house at the southwest corner of present Granby Street and College Place, later the

* No. 2 Granby Street in the 1806 Directory.

residence of the Thomas Newton family. There was the Work House (Poor House), south side of Queen Street (Brambleton Avenue) where Granby Street now intersects. There was the Custom House, north side west of the end of Main Street opposite Washington (Jackson) Street, and just recently (October, 1949) dismantled.^{**} There was the Market House at the intersection of Main Street and Market Street (later Market Square, now Commercial Place). There was the Public Powder Magazine, mentioned in the previous chapter, on Magazine Lane (formerly Gun Powder Street), rebuilt in 1783.³⁵ Finally, a number of wharves had been built off the south side of Water Street, the names of which will give a cross-section of mercantile activity in 1802. Starting at Fayette Street and moving from west to east, they were

- Pennock's
- Moore & McLeare's
- Warren's
- Holt & Woodside's
- Commerce (foot of Commerce St.)
- Rothery's
- Marsden's
- Maxwell's
- Campbell's
- County Wharf (County ferry terminal)
- Newton's
- Moore & McLeare's, again
- Loyall's
- Jno. Calvert's (foot of Church St.)
- Cornelius Calvert's
- Lee's (foot of Read's Lane)
- (a long gap)
- Hutchings'
- Frost's (east end of Water Street)

Reference has been made to the northern boundary of the Borough and how it had been incorrectly laid out. The first step toward correcting it was the Act of Assembly passed in 1804,³⁶ providing that the land of Thomas Newton (II) be made a part of the Borough, with the statement that "the same is now laid off into lots and streets." This was the tract on the west side of Church Street extending north of the Smith property (about the corner of present Nicholson Street) to the corner of present Cincinnatus Street. Three years later (1807), there was passed "An Act for ascertaining the

** Entries in the 1801 Directory:

Custom House, No. 1 Main Street.
William Davies, Collector of the
Customs, No. 2 Main Street.

Northern Boundary of Norfolk Borough."³⁷ Under this law, a commission was appointed to run the line (with the aid of a surveyor) in accordance with the former Act of 1761; it was thus determined that the heads of Smith's and Newton's Creeks were respectively at the corner of Church and Cincinnatus Streets and at a point on Princess Anne Road about 112 feet east of Landing Street. Stone landmarks were there erected and the straight line joining these two points—together with the two creeks and the Elizabeth River—remained the Borough line for 80 years until further annexation occurred, as will be told in the following chapter. By this survey of 1807, another important tract was added to the Borough: this was the Charles Sayer Boush tract of 20 acres at the southeast corner of Princess Anne Road and Church Street (Tanner's Creek Road). It had been platted and laid out into streets and lots in 1775.³⁸

The following interesting comparative census figures are given³⁹ for this period:

	1790	1800	<i>Increase</i>
Norfolk	2959	6926	3967
Richmond	3761	5737	1976

A description of Norfolk in 1806 referred to the disaster of 1 January 1776 and pointed out that not twelve houses had been rebuilt by the end of 1783, but that 700 to 800 houses had been built by 1796. "At present (1806)—it continues—notwithstanding great fires in 1799 and 1804, which consumed the most extensive commercial part of the town, there are about 1200 houses, and this number is fast increasing in good buildings mostly brick; the suburbs have nearly 200 buildings."⁴⁰

In those days before the knowledge of fireproof construction, the fire problem was much more serious than today and was one which vexed the people from earliest times. It will be recalled that wooden chimneys were forbidden in 1732; shortly thereafter (1736) a fine was assessed against householders "whose chimney shall blaise out." The Borough of Norfolk had at least two fire engines before 1753 and ordered another from London in 1763.⁴¹ It is traditional that these small pieces of equipment—like the priceless Mace and County and Borough records—were removed to Kempsville for safe keeping before the holocaust of 1 January 1776, and were returned in 1783. It is recorded that new equipment was also purchased about the same time.⁴² The first organized fire-fighting company—still on a "volunteer" basis—was not established until 1788. In February of that year were recorded the "Articles of Norfolk Fire Co. No. 1, agreeable to Act of Assembly of 7 January 1788."⁴³ Herein were provisions for election of officers (president, treasurer, clerk and captain of the engine), regulations concerning equipment (each member to provide an axe, two 2½-gallon leather buckets,

and a hat with white-painted crown and owner's initials), provision for aid to widows of deceased members, and proposals for a subscription to raise money for one fire engine, three fire hooks and three large ladders. The membership was limited to 43, and the names of the "charter" members (in the number of 41), subscribed to the above Articles, were these:

Thos. Newton Jr.	John Hodges
Edw. Owens	Jas. Dowdall
Jno Ingram	Jas. Alleson
Geo. Kelly	Jno. Begg
D[aniel] Rothery	Elex. Gow
Jno. Lightfoot	F. Williams
Robt. Hayes	Jno. Woodside
Edw. Archer	Robt. Taylor
Robt. Farmer	Wm. Cuthbert
Jno. Maclean	Samuel Farmer
Donald Campbell	Jno. Livingston
Jas. Maxwell	Samuel Barckley
Jno. Read	Jas. Hunter
Gilbert Robinson	Hugh Allen
Jas. Caton	Wm. Bargate
Jno. Lawrence	Thos. Newton Sr.
M[oses] Myers	P. LeBailey
Henry P. Morfit	Simon Asher
David Miller	Philemon Gatewood
Samuel Burke	Alex Cowan
Jas. Douglas	

It is of passing interest that only four of the above were subscribers to the Fort Land project in 1761: Daniel Rothery, Edward Archer, Samuel Farmer and Thomas Newton, Sr.

Despite these precautions the fire problem continued to be acute and Norfolk suffered severely as a result of it. In addition to the fires of 1799 and 1804 already mentioned, there were eight fires of major proportions before 1845. On 25 March 1814, the market house and fourteen tenements on Market Square were consumed. In February, 1824, the old court house and jail were burned; they were at the head of Market Square and had been converted into stores after their partial destruction in January, 1776. More details on these buildings will be given in connection with the court house below. On 9 March 1827 occurred one of the most disastrous fires of this period; it started between one and two A.M. in the frame workshop of a coachmaker and wheelwright at the southeast corner of Main and Church Streets. The brisk March wind being south by west, sparks were blown up Church Street, where the damage was greatest: Christ Church (just opposite

the Old Church and to be mentioned later) was destroyed as was also the block on Mariner between Fenchurch and Church Streets, known as Murray's Row. The residence of Walter Herron, formerly that of William Plume at the corner of Wood Street, was set on fire but apparently not destroyed. Nor do we know the extent of damage to the Norfolk Academy; it could hardly have escaped unscathed, being next door to Christ Church to the south. In all, 60 houses were destroyed by this fire, and on the following day an Ordinance was passed prohibiting new wooden buildings south of Freemason Street. On 4 November 1833, 20 old frame buildings on Main Street east



(Courtesy Norfolk Chamber of Commerce)

NORFOLK—MYERS HOUSE (1791)

of Market Square were burned. In March, 1837, six or eight brick buildings south of the same corner were consumed, and two years later just to the south of Newton's Wharf, a fire broke out in the auction store of Nash & Co. In 1842 and 1843, large fires destroyed considerable property in the vicinity of Little Water Street, Holt's and Woodside's Lanes: twelve buildings in the former year and twenty-five in the latter.⁴⁴

Only a handful of houses still stand, which were built in the immediate post-Revolutionary War period. Actually there are five important late 18th and early 19th Century houses preserved, and four others—of like age—which have been dismantled within the last quarter century. The John Boush (or Tazewell) house was built in 1783-4 on a large lot at what is now

the northwest intersection of Granby and Tazewell Streets. Boush was mayor in 1791, and was a great grandson of Samuel Boush, the first mayor. The house was inherited by John's brother, Robert Boush, who sold it to his sister-in-law's second husband Conway Whittle, Sr. The latter lived there from 1801 until his death in 1818; it was then purchased by Littleton Waller Tazewell, U. S. Senator and Governor of Virginia. This house was dismantled half a century ago and rebuilt at 6225 Powhatan Avenue, Edge-water, where it can still be seen today.

Completed about the same time (1791) and both on Freemason Street—though several blocks apart—were and are the Myers and Taylor houses. The former was built by a prosperous merchant, Moses Myers, and was owned successively by his children, Frederick, Georgianna and Myer. An outstanding example of Federal period architecture, this house was occupied almost continuously by descendants of the builder until it was acquired in the 1930's by the Colonial House, Incorporated, for the purpose of preserving both building and contents intact. The people of Norfolk are fortunate that this lovely house is now public property in the custody of the Norfolk Museum. It contains priceless original antiques and Sully and Stuart portraits. The pair of duelling pistols used in the encounter between Commodores Barron and Decatur have now been transferred to the Musum proper, as has also a remarkable collection of well-preserved early 19th Century costumes. The Taylor (or Whittle) house, purchased by Richard Taylor a decade after its erection, is still occupied by his descendants. His daughter Sarah Alexina married Richard Lucien Page, Lieut., U.S.N., Capt., C.S.N., and Brig. Gen., C.S.A., and their daughter married Capt. William C. Whittle, C.S.N. The house was birthplace of Lieut. Col. Walter H. Taylor,* C.S.A., Adjutant General, Army of Northern Virginia. We sincerely hope it can be kept intact with its beautiful antiques and mementoes of yesteryear, for later generations to see. Not far away is the Allmand (or Archer) house at 327 Duke Street; built in late 18th Century, it was purchased by Harrison Allmand in 1802. The latter's granddaughter was married to William Archer, who also lived here. The house is said to contain interesting portraits and furniture, including an original Duncan Phyfe table. Last in this group of still-standing houses is the "country house" built by Dr. William B. Selden in 1807 at the corner of Botetourt and Freemason Streets, a large and commodious residence on a beautiful site, one of the few pieces of waterfront in the old part of Norfolk which has not been put to commercial use. Until a few years ago this house was occupied by the late C. Wiley Grandy, a descendant of its builder.⁴⁵

There were, of course, innumerable residences in Norfolk which have fallen in the march of progress and new construction, but only four come

* The second of this name.

to mind which are of sufficient interest to record here, and which survived long enough to be remembered by the present generation. The oldest—and probably most interesting—of these was known as the Whitehead house, though it had an existence of nearly thirty years before being owned by any one of that name. It was contemporary with the Myers and Taylor-Whittle houses and was the only one of that period which could be dated with certainty, bearing the inscription "17 July 1791" on the stone coping just above the first storey to the west of the front entrance; it was located on the southeast corner of Freemason and Catharine (Bank) Streets, fronting on the former and just across the latter from the Myers house. Owned successively by William Nivison, Patrick Parker and John McPhail, the house finally came into the possession of the latter's half sister, Elizabeth McPherson. This lady was twice married and mother of two prominent Norfolkians: her husbands were Rev. Benjamin P. Grigsby and Dr. Nathan Colgate Whitehead, and her sons were Hugh Blair Grigsby and John B. Whitehead. All of these connections enter prominently into the story of the Presbyterian Church, which will be given later. The Whitehead house was rather larger than its contemporaries, having five bays across its facade on Freemason Street; the central one on the first storey was the entrance doorway under a portico five steps high and supported by pillars and pilasters of the Corinthian order. The roof slanted on all sides, with two dormers on the front and one on each end, that on the east end being between two high-stack chimneys. In its earlier state, the mellow Flemish-bond brickwork of the old house was pleasantly clothed with ivy, but at the time of its demolition in 1933 all trace of the vines had disappeared and it was painted yellow with white trim.⁴⁸

Also of regretted memory—though not quite so old—is the house which formerly stood at 317 Boush Street (west side midway of the block south of Freemason); it was built about 1798, owned later by Jacob Vickery, and more recently best known by the name of a latter 19th Century owner, John Newport Greene. This Vickery-Greene house was of the same general style of the Myers and Taylor-Whittle houses, but was of frame and painted yellow with green blinds at both doors and windows. It is unfortunate that this house could not be preserved but it was dismantled a few years ago as a result of the testamentary directions of one of its last owners. Next door to the south, at 311 Boush Street, was the home of Robert Boush (mentioned above), built in 1800 and better known as the residence of the late C. Whittle Sams, grandson of Conway Whittle, Jr., who also lived there at one time. This massive brick residence, with its high stoop reached by a double flight of steps to a landing and single flight the rest of the way, was dismantled in 1950, fifteen years after Mr. Sams' death. Both Sams and Greene properties are now devoted to automobile parking lots. Finally, we should mention the old house on the north side of Bermuda Street, built

during the first decade of the 19th Century and later (1833) acquired by John D. Gordan. Members of the latter's family lived there for many years, and the old house was still standing in 1940—though then terribly deteriorated from non-use—at which time it was scheduled for early demolition.⁴⁷

It will be recalled, from previous chapters, that of the buildings on the old court house lot on Main Street—County Court House and Jail, and Borough Court House or Town Hall—only the latter was repaired and put



(Rogers Dey Whitchard)

NORFOLK—520 EAST BUTE STREET
(Dismantled a few years ago)

back in service for public use after the bombardment and fire of 1 January, 1776. As early as 1777, the County was renting the house of Edmund Allmand in Norfolk for use as a Court House, and in 1785 the County Court was sitting in the refurbished Borough Court House. Thereafter, and until 1792—when the new County Court House was completed at Washington Point—private residences in and out of Norfolk were used for Court and Jail.⁴⁸

A new Borough Court House (or Town Hall) was completed early in 1790, and in that and the following year the old court house lot was sold to private interests. The new Town Hall was on the southwest side of the southeast end of Main Street about where Nebraska Street now intersects. Actually, the public land on which it was built fronted about sixty feet on Main Street, forty-three feet of which were on the northwest side of Nebraska Street where the Union Mission now is, and the remaining seventeen feet overlapped the street. The building was set slightly back from the street, and

the "gaol" was in the rear, all of which is shown on Nicholson's map of 1802. The Court House continued here until after Norfolk received its new charter in 1845, as will be related in the next chapter. The old county court house lot was divided into three parcels, and on 11 May 1790 the west half "on which the Court House stood" was sold to Robert Taylor, merchant, (father of General Robert B. Taylor) and the east quarter "on which the prison stood" was sold to Baylor Hill, whose name survives in the block-long street that now runs east and west through the tract. The remaining quarter—between the other two parcels—went to John Calvert on 15 July 1791.⁴⁹ The remains of the Court House and Jail were repaired and put in service as stores. They were destroyed by fire in February, 1824 (as noted above), at which time all the property in question was owned by the Taylor heirs. This tract covered approximately that now occupied by the Main Street store of the W. G. Swartz Company.

It should be noted at this point that some changes took place in local government after the Revolution. In 1782 a petition was addressed to the General Assembly requesting "that the Court of Hustings of the Borough of Norfolk be a Court of Record and take cognizance of criminal matters." When these provisions were put in force in 1784,⁵⁰ this was the beginning of Norfolk's existence as an independent municipality and shortly thereafter other laws were passed designed to strengthen that separation and independence from the County. For example, in 1788, it became unlawful for a person to be at the same time Justice of a County Court and member of a Hustings (Municipal) Court; in the same year the freeholders in a municipality were declared incapable of voting for a Delegate to represent the County. In 1790, the Court of Hustings was empowered to impanel Grand Juries and the Borough inhabitants were relieved of the responsibility of serving on County Grand Juries.⁵¹ Thus the idea of a "free town or borough"—contemplated first in the repealed law of 1705—finally became a reality, though complete independence was not to come until 1845. It will be recalled that the statement was made earlier, there were only two municipal corporations in Virginia prior to 1776: Williamsburg in 1722 and Norfolk in 1736. Both were incorporated towns and their governments were identical though the former was called a "city" (simply because it was the capital, and had borne that title since 1699 as an unincorporated town) and the latter was called a "borough," a term then synonymous with "incorporated town," as is clearly shown by the language of the 1705 Act. Similarly, when Richmond was first incorporated in 1782—and then called "city" because it had become the capital two years earlier—its government was in no essential way different from that of the Borough of Norfolk, or of the newly incorporated towns of Petersburg (1784) and York (1786), all of whose hustings courts were courts of record and criminal jurisdiction in almost as ample form as were the county

courts. After the suspension of the Act of 1705, the title "borough" was borne only by Norfolk during the Colonial period, but thereafter was occasionally used in our laws: for example, the "borough of Winchester" was referred to in 1799, the "town and borough court of Petersburg" in 1808, and all incorporated towns were called boroughs in an act of 1829. The towns of Morgantown (1838), Fairmont (1843) and Beverly (1848)—all now in West Virginia—were referred to as boroughs in the years mentioned; it is of passing interest that the town of Wheeling (established by law 1795, incorporated 1806), now likewise in West Virginia, was titled "city" though there was no logical reason therefor as in the case of Williamsburg and Richmond. The matter of the development of municipal government in Virginia was thoroughly discussed in a recently published series of articles, to which the reader is referred for details.⁵²

Other early changes in local government and administration reflected the democratic and revolutionary spirit of the times. Under the Charter of 1736, Norfolk's government was a self-perpetuating closed corporation: the Governor, acting in the name of the Crown, appointed Mayor, Recorder and eight Aldermen, and the latter elected the sixteen Common Councilmen; thereafter the Mayor was elected annually from among the Alderman, replacement of Aldermen was made from the Common Council, and replacement of the latter by Aldermen and Common Council, was made from among the freeholders* of the Borough. It is clear that this was exactly what it was intended to be—an autocratic government in which the rank and file of citizens had little say. The first major change came in an Act of 1787, whereby the right to elect the sixteen Common Councilmen was vested in the freeholders, and the Common Council was given the sole right of taxation and appropriation and the passage of other "by-laws" or ordinances; at the same time the Common Council was empowered to elect its own President from among its members, whereas it had formerly been presided over by the Mayor. In 1803, the Borough was divided into eight wards and thereafter Councilmen were elected two to a ward by ward residents from among their own number. In 1832, the right to elect the Mayor was vested in the freeholders, and the choice of candidates was no longer restricted to the Aldermen. In 1839, the number of Common Councilmen elected by the freeholders was increased to 26, who were to choose from their number eight Aldermen and a Recorder.⁵³ Thus gradually did Norfolk's municipal government take on a more democratic complexion.

As Norfolk was rising from its ashes of 1776, one of its first considerations was the rebuilding of its Free or Public School, as it then came to be called. Late in 1785, the Aldermen and Common Council appointed three gentlemen (all members of the latter body) to be commissioners for rebuild-

* Owners of house and lot, or £50 estate, or tradesman of five years' standing.

ing the School: they were Richard E. Lee, William Plume and Benjamin Pollard. In the following February, money was provided for the project, in March the contract was let, and it is to be assumed the building was erected shortly thereafter. It was two stories high, sixty by twenty-two feet, and on the original school site just across Church Street from the old church. In October, 1786, Reverend Walker Maury, newly appointed minister of the parish, became master of the school; at the same time a committee of Aldermen—consisting of Dr. Cary H. Hansford, Dr. James Taylor, Mr. Robert Taylor and Mr. George Kelly—was named to draw up a set of rules and regulations. This code was completed and recorded in March, 1787; this was the first time a real proper name, the Norfolk Academy, was connected with the institution, and the rules laid down had to do with curriculum, divisions, tuition fees, deportment and optional religious instruction.⁵⁴

In December, 1788, the Reverend Alexander Whitehead was named principal master of the Academy, Mr. Maury having died two months earlier. In 1791, certain physical improvements were authorized: a fifteen-foot porch on the street side, the length of the school building to be paved with brick or flagstone, and a pine pale fence around the whole lot. On 23 November 1792, Reverend James Whitehead became principal master in place of the other Mr. Whitehead who had resigned. James Whitehead had been one of the parish ministers since 1789, after a short period of supply by Alexander Whitehead.⁵⁵

On 25 October 1796, two important decisions were made in the Aldermen's meeting, which were to affect the Academy seriously. In the first place it appeared that the location was no longer suitable, and the General Assembly was petitioned for power to sell the old site in favor of another more convenient one. This proposed move was not effected for another half century. In the second place, the body requested Mr. Whitehead's resignation because of the interference of his "parochial duties" and because of some doubt as to the legality of his appointment. Mr. Whitehead refused to resign and refused to recognize the right of the Mayor, Recorder and Aldermen* to discharge him. Even though it obtained a legal opinion as to the validity of such right, the body refused to prosecute the case further. This controversy took place in late 1796 and in 1797;⁵⁶ it may well have been a phase of another controversy which was going on at the same time, as will later be suggested in considering the history of the Episcopal Church. A directory entry of 1801 shows the following: "Norfolk Academy, Rev. James Whitehead, Principal, 103 Church St." The Nicholson map of 1802 clearly shows its location. In the latter year, in addition to Mr. Whitehead, there was a Latin teacher (Mr. Maguire) and a French teacher (Mr. Beraule).

* They had been given exclusive control of the School in Norfolk by Act of 1762, then passed by Virginia's Colonial Assembly.

On 19 January 1804, the Trustees of the Norfolk Academy were incorporated by Act of the General Assembly.⁵⁷ Appointed and named in such capacity in the Act were the following:

Thomas Newton, Jr.	Littleton W. Tazewell
John Nivison	Philip Barraud
Thomas Blanchard	Alexander Jordan
Theodoric Armistead	Richard H. Lee
Robert Brough	Arthur Lee
John E. Holt	

At this time the Norfolk Academy may be said to have ceased to be a "free" or "public" school as it originally was, and being placed under the control of a board of trustees—in place of the Mayor, Recorder and Aldermen—became a private school. It is significant that the Act which accomplished this contained a clause which gave the trustees specifically the power to appoint teachers and staff and at their pleasure "to remove or displace" them. It is further significant that, within the year (1804), the Reverend James Whitehead ceased to be the principal of the Academy.

In 1806, pursuing the idea which originated ten years earlier, the Trustees of the Academy purchased from the Overseers of the Poor the former parish glebe bounded by Catharine (Bank), Charlotte and Cumberland Streets and the present Grigsby Place. It was not until May, 1840, however, that the cornerstone was laid for the new building, which still stands on the spot and now houses the city's Juvenile and Domestic Relations Court. A beautiful example of the Greek revival of the nineteenth century, it was designed by the famous Philadelphia architect, Thomas U. Walter, well known for his work on the dome and wings of our National Capitol, and also designer of the nearby Freemason Street Baptist Church and the Norfolk City Hall and Court House, as will later appear.

Little is known about the operation of the Academy during those intervening years. In 1816, there were more than one hundred scholars and a Mr. Edmonds was master. After 1830, the school went into a decline, and in order to counteract this lack of interest it was proposed in 1836 to sell the old site and building on Church Street and erect a new building. This intention was carried out as detailed above and the school "took a new lease on life." Its first principal after the revival was John P. Scott. In 1840, it went under the name "Norfolk Military Academy," since military training had then been added to the curriculum.⁵⁸

The history of the Masonic Fraternity in Norfolk during the half-century following the Revolution is the history of the only Lodge then in existence here. We know of no recorded or traditional story of reconstruction of the Lodge Hall on Freemason Street, which must have suffered the fate of most

of the other buildings here on 1 January 1776. Minutes of the Masonic Convention held in Williamsburg in 1777 (to be mentioned below) inform us that Dr. James Taylor was then still Master of the Norfolk Lodge. By deed of 19 April 1794, the old Freemason's Lot* was conveyed by him to William Willoughby, and two years later—on 23 July 1796—Taylor conveyed to Thomas Willock "master of the Society of Freemasons of Lodge Number One," a lot on the east side of Church Street between Bermuda Street and Cove Street (now City Hall Avenue). This gives the name of the second known Master of the Lodge; a lodge hall was not built on this site until ten years later, its cornerstone being laid on 3 October 1806, according to the copper plate preserved from the box placed in the cornerstone at that time. The Directory of 1801 lists "Norfolk Lodge No. 1, 108 Church Street." A third Master of the Lodge was Reverend James Whitehead, so serving at some time prior to the end of 1804, according to the inscription on the Past Master's Jewel presented to him on 27 December of that year.⁵⁹

Since the Norfolk Lodge was the oldest in Virginia, it is natural that its representatives took a prominent part in the organization of the Grand Lodge of Virginia. The Convention for that purpose (mentioned above) first met in Williamsburg on 6 May 1777, and Matthew Phripp, representative of the Norfolk Lodge, was chosen its first president; among the letters from member lodges read to this body was one signed by James Taylor as master of the Norfolk Lodge. At the fifth session of this Convention, held on 30 October 1778 for the purpose of installing the Honorable John Blair as first Grand Master of Virginia, Dr. James Taylor represented Norfolk and was an officer of the Convention. Taylor was Deputy Grand Master for two years (1787-1789) and was succeeded in that office for one year by Brig. Gen. Thomas Mathews of Norfolk. In 1790, General Mathews was elected Grand Master, an office which he held for three years; during the first two years of his term (1790-1792) the Deputy Grand Master was Dr. John K. Read, later a Mayor of Norfolk. From 1809 to 1813, Robert Brough of Norfolk was Deputy Grand Master; he then served two years as Grand Master. Dr. James Taylor died in 1814 in his seventy-eighth year; his tombstone, bearing a large Masonic emblem, may still be seen in the old churchyard in Norfolk. It should be mentioned in passing that, while the Virginia Grand Lodge was formed in 1777-8 and the ranks of the member lodges were settled by 1786, due to unsettled post-war conditions, the charter of the Norfolk Lodge was not issued until 29 October 1790, at which time the body became known officially as "Norfolk Lodge No. 1, A.F. and A.M."⁶⁰

The Norfolk Chamber of Commerce—first of several such associations formed by business interests here—was organized at a meeting on 2 May 1801 at the Exchange Coffee House on west Main Street; its stated purpose was

* Southeast corner Freemason and Cumberland Streets.

that of aiding trade and the adjustment of mercantile differences. The names of the forty-seven original parties to this organization will be of interest in present-day local commercial circles:

Robert Taylor	Henry Benbridge
William Pennock	William Vaughan
Robert Gibson	James MacKinder
Alexander Wilson	Edward Johnston
Christopher Fry	Francis Smith
James Taylor, Jr.	Harrison Allmand
William Plume	Thomas Willock
James Young	Wright Southgate
..... Soulage	John Thorburn
John Cowper	John Proudfit
Luke Wheeler	Martin Fisk
John Granberry	James Tucker
Thomas Newton	Thomas Hamilton
Alexander Maclure	Warren Ashley
Louis E. Durant	James Douglas
John Brown	Alexander Cowan
Francis S. Taylor	William Raincock
Phinehas Dana	William Hartshorne, Jr.
Nathan MacGill	Samuel Kerr
James Herron	Daniel Stone
Moses Myers	William Cuthbert
Thomas Higinbotham	Edward Archer
James Bennett	Theodoric Armistead ⁶¹
Robert Dickson	

After the Revolution, Norfolk church history becomes somewhat more complicated owing to several interrelated factors: (a) the revolutionary principle of religious freedom, (b) the removal of support from the former Established Church, and (c) the rise of other denominations. It is not the province of this discussion to go into any great detail as to ecclesiastical history, but a few facts on the subject need to be underlined in order that the situation in Norfolk may be understood. The church in Virginia—the former Established Church, that is—found itself in a very difficult position after the War. The adoption of the Virginia Constitution and Bill of Rights in 1776 firmly established the principle of religious freedom, and brought about the repeal of all former laws against non-conformists and the abolition of taxation (the parish levy) in support of church and clergy. Thus cut off from its former fountainhead of authority (the Church of England), stripped of the financial aid it had formerly had, and still unable legally to manage its own affairs, it passed nine of the darkest years of its history. Finally in 1785, the Protestant Episcopal Church was established in

Virginia by clergy and lay members adhering to the Anglican communion—though subscribing to the democratic and patriotic principles on which the new Republic was founded—and thus complete ecclesiastical as well as political independence was achieved. At this time all former laws in control of the erstwhile Established Church were repealed, and the vestries were relieved of the only civil function which remained to them, that of the care of the poor, which was turned over to the Overseers of the Poor then created in each locality.⁶²

But the difficulties were not yet over. In 1789 the church's glebe lands were ordered confiscated, and in 1802 all property of the Episcopal Church acquired before 5 July 1776 was ordered seized. In the case of the glebes, this action would seem to be justified; they were in most cases public land before being earmarked for church use. In many instances the glebe lands were turned over to the Overseers of the Poor for support of the work they were carrying on. There are some instances reported of colonial church silver being seized and sold; these were certainly unjustified as most communion silver that we know of came from private donors.⁶³ As for the old church buildings themselves and the churchyards and burying grounds surrounding them, this writer knows of no cases in this immediate neighborhood where they were interfered with by civil authorities, or put to other use unless first abandoned by their former holders. With these few introductory remarks, we can pass on to the post-War church history in Norfolk with a better understanding.

In May, 1785, at the first Convention of the Virginia Protestant Episcopal Church in Richmond, the Borough Church of Norfolk was represented by Dr. James Taylor and Mr. George Kelly, both former mayors of the Borough; no clerical delegate from Norfolk was then present. Shortly thereafter the parishioners of Norfolk looked toward putting back in service their old church building, and the Vestry was authorized by law in October, 1785, to raise a maximum of £700—by lottery, of all things!—for the purpose of rebuilding the Borough Church. In 1786, Reverend Walker Maury became parish minister; he served here until his death from yellow fever two years later (1788) when he was succeeded in both parish and Academy by Reverend Alexander Whitehead, as before noted.⁶⁴ Though the latter remained as schoolmaster until late in 1792, he was parish minister only a short time, for we learn that early in 1789 the Norfolk Borough Episcopal Church had two ministers.

In that year there arrived in Norfolk the Reverend Messrs. William Bland and James Whitehead, both claiming to be the church's new minister, though on what basis it is difficult to determine. There must have been a disagreement in the church prior to this, for we are told by one who lived here then that each minister had his separate churchwardens and vestry on whose elec-

tion he based his claim to the incumbency. We might look for a reason in the lives of the two men: Reverend William Bland came of a well-known Virginia family, was student at the College of William and Mary (1758-63), was ordained and licensed by the Bishop of London (1767), married a young lady whose father, uncle and grandfather were Colonial Anglican ministers, and was minister of James City Parish (1767-1777) in which charge he followed his father-in-law, Reverend William Yates. Mr. Bland represented Warwick Parish in the Convention of 1785, Elizabeth City Parish in that of 1786; he claimed to represent the Norfolk church in 1789 and 1790 but was not upheld by the Convention. He has been called intemperate, but this by one known to be of stern puritanical views on that subject; he has been called a Tory, but was Chaplain to the First Virginia Regiment of Militia in 1775-6, part of his incumbency in James City.⁶⁵ Of Mr. Whitehead, on the other hand, we know practically nothing before he arrived in Norfolk. He represented the Episcopal Church in Norfolk in the Conventions from 1789 to 1791, but not again until 1805—his last year here before going to Baltimore in 1806.⁶⁶ In evaluating this situation, it is pointed out that Dr. James Taylor was a prominent Episcopal layman and Mason, and that the Reverend Mr. Whitehead was also a prominent Mason; it is also significant that Thomas Newton, Jr., whose grandfather and great-grandfather had served on the Parish Vestry, was a subscriber to the new Presbyterian Church founded in 1800 (as noted later herein) and a member of the Norfolk Academy Board of Trustees who removed Mr. Whitehead as schoolmaster in 1804. It is further to be noted that the latter's absence from Church Conventions from 1792 through 1804 exactly coincides with his tenure as principal master of the Academy.

The eye-witness to these events—previously referred to—stated sixty years later that he arrived in Norfolk in 1790 or 1791, at which time the controversy was in progress.⁶⁷ He said that Mr. Whitehead and his supporters, who comprised perhaps nine-tenths of the congregation, were very moderate in their pretensions and gave in "for sake of peace" by moving out of the old building, which both groups had been using at different times. It is difficult to understand at this distance how such a small minority could have imposed its will short of the threat of violence and armed force, nor was there moderation in the conduct of the minister in his capacity as schoolmaster in 1796-7. At any rate the Whitehead party worshipped for a while in the new Borough Court House on east Main Street, and on 24 June 1800 (Saint John Baptist Day) laid the cornerstone of a new church building which they then named Christ Church. As later writers pointed out it was an Episcopal Church in all respects save one: the ministers and other officers were elected annually by the pew-holders.⁶⁸ The Borough Directory of 1801 carries these two entries:

St. John's Old Episcopal Church, Church St.
St John's New Episcopal Church, Church St.

In no other place has this writer seen such a name applied to either church. Christ Church was built on the north end (106 feet) of the Old Academy Lot on Church Street, coinciding with and exactly opposite to the north end of the old churchyard. The site was leased from the Borough of Norfolk. The building was destroyed by fire in March of 1827, as before mentioned, and in 1828 a new building was completed on a lot at the northwest corner of Freemason and Cumberland Streets; the latter building still stands, though much the worse for wear and alteration.⁶⁹ After Mr. Whitehead's departure for Baltimore in 1806, the following ministers served Christ Church for the period covered by the present chapter:

Thomas Davis*	1806
Robert Syme	1808
Robert Brown	1815
Samuel Low, Jr.	1816
Enoch Lowe	1821
..... Wickes	1823
George A. Smith	1825
Henry W. Ducachet	1826
Bishop William Meade	1834-6 (supplied)
..... Parks	1836
Upton Beal	1841 ⁷⁰

The Reverend Mr. Bland and his partisans "held the fort" in the old Church until his death in 1803, after which his congregation was scattered. It was not until 1831 that a movement was initiated to put the old building back into permanent service. On 24 April 1832, an organization meeting was held with Mr. George Newton as Chairman and Mr. Charles Skinner as Secretary. On Monday, 7 May 1832, the newly-reconditioned church was consecrated under the name of Saint Paul's by the Rt. Reverend Richard Channing Moore, D.D., Second Bishop of Virginia. The following vestry was chosen at the time of reorganization:

William H. Thompson, Treasurer
Richard B. Maury, Secretary
George Rowland
Alpheus Forbes
A. Alexander Galt

* Formerly minister of Elizabeth River Parish (1773-6) and of Fairfax Parish and Christ Church, Alexandria (1792-1806). In the latter capacity, he officiated at the funerals of both General and Mrs. Washington.

Of these, Mr. Maury and Mr. Galt were churchwardens. The ministers who served this church in its early years were:

Ebenezer Boyden	1833
Bishop William Meade	1836 (supplied)
Thomas Atkinson	1837
J. P. D. Wilmer	1838 (temporary)
Benjamin M. Miller	1839
Leonidas T. Smith	1845 (temporary)
David Caldwell	1845 ⁷¹

Those who interpret the establishment of Saint Paul's Church as a revival of the congregation formerly led by Reverend William Bland have one strong indication in their favor: the presence in the organization of Mr. George Newton, brother of Thomas, who joined the Presbyterians in 1800. The Old Church—now known affectionately as Old Saint Paul's—in spite of an added modern parish house and tower, generally conserves its colonial air and the churchyard with its beautiful trees and mouldering tombs is a spot of quiet charm in the midst of bustling traffic and thoroughfares.

It has been frequently pointed out that the other religious denominations were strengthened by the division in the Episcopal church. None, perhaps, was so greatly affected as the Presbyterian. The Reverend Benjamin Porter Grigsby—previously mentioned—was here temporarily as early as 1793 to minister to the members of that faith, though no formal organization was made until later. A preliminary meeting was held in April, 1800, and about a year later, Mr. Grigsby returned by request to be minister to the congregation; in 1801 or early 1802 a site was selected at the northwest corner of Catharine (Bank) and Charlotte Streets and a church was built at once. It was certainly completed before October, 1802, for it is clearly shown on the Nicholson map of that time. The lists of subscribers to the building fund and purchasers of pews contained the names of over a hundred males; it should be enlightening to mention just a few of them. We should naturally expect to find a liberal sprinkling of good Scotch names, such as William McKinder and John McPhail (the ruling elders), Tildsley Graham, John Hamilton, George McIntosh, Hugh McPherson, Finlay Ferguson, Daniel McPherson and Alexander McClure; but we might be somewhat surprised to find the following: Thomas Newton, Moses Myers, Robert Boush, Francis S. Taylor, John Taylor, Conway Whittle and William B. Lamb. The church was of simple Georgian style in Flemish-bonded brickwork, with two tiers of windows and entrance doorways on both streets, the principal one being on Catharine; both doors and windows had green slatted blinds and from the roof rose a low but graceful lantern-cupola of hexagonal shape and containing a bell, a circumstance which soon caused it to be called "the Bell Church." The building is still standing today and occupied by another con-

gregation, as will be below noted; it is not recognizable from the above description in its present Gothic disguise.

The Reverend Mr. Grigsby died of yellow fever in 1810 and he is buried in Trinity Churchyard, Portsmouth. The congregation experienced a schism along the "Old School-New School" line, and a majority of the Old School party withdrew in 1836 to form a new church. They erected a fine house of worship almost on the original foundation of the first Christ Church on Church Street, which was dedicated by the pastor, the Reverend William S. Plummer, on 20 November 1836. The remaining part of the congregation survived only a few years and the "Old School" Church soon became known as the First Presbyterian Church.⁷²

The Methodist Church in Norfolk had some small beginnings in the years immediately preceding the Revolution. It is said that Reverend Robert Williams preached here in 1772 before he went on to Portsmouth to establish the ancestor of the still-flourishing Monumental Methodist Church in our sister city. It is also said that the well-known Bishop Francis Asbury was here in 1775, but was unable to gain sufficient financial support in that troublous year to build a church. He was back shortly after the War, however, and in 1793 purchased of William Walke a lot on Fenchurch Street that touched the rear of the Academy Lot at its northern end; it is not known that a church was built here, but it is traditional that the Methodists worshipped in a barn-like structure on the lot for the next seven years. In February, 1800, a lot was purchased* near the south end of Cumberland Street, the rear of which touched the back wall of the old churchyard. This was the beginning of the Cumberland Street Methodist Church. In 1832 the modest building, which had served there for three decades, was taken down and a much more imposing edifice was put up and dedicated in March, 1833. The pastor at that time was the Reverend Dr. William A. Smith, later President of the Randolph-Macon College.⁷³

Another branch of Methodism was represented in Norfolk a little later, when the Methodist Protestant Church was organized in 1828. In 1833, Dr. John French (then its pastor) bought a forty-year-old theatre building on the east side of Fenchurch near Main Street, and put it in service as a church for his congregation.⁷⁴

The limited amount of religious freedom granted to non-conformists by the Act of Toleration in 1689 did not, of course, extend to adherents of the Roman Church. It was not until the adoption of the Virginia Constitution of 1776 that complete freedom of worship was achieved. The first Roman Catholics to settle in Norfolk came in 1791; they were a group of French refugees from the anti-Catholic persecutions then prevalent in France under

* The trustees were James G. Martin, John Stratton, Gasper Hunter, John George, David Wright, Richard L. Green and John B. Lambert.

the rising tide of Revolution. In the group were several priests including the Abbé Jean Dubois. In 1794 a lot* was purchased by this "Roman Catholic Society of Norfolk Borough" at the southeast corner of Chapel and Holt Streets, and a wooden chapel was built there facing Chapel Street, which was so named on that account. It was clearly shown on Nicholson's survey of 1802. In 1793 the Catholic colony in Norfolk was increased by the arrival of French refugees from the slave insurrection in Santo Domingo, and thereafter many French names appeared on our streets, in the marriage records and in the graveyards. The simple frame chapel was replaced by a more permanent building in 1842; in that year a new church was consecrated under the name of Saint Patrick's, built in simple Grecian style with six columns of the Doric order and facing the Holt Street side of the lot.* At that time Father A. L. Hitselberger was parish priest. Two of the most prominent Catholics of this early period were Walter Herron and his wife, Ann Plume Herron. They were living at Plumesville, the estate of her father, William Plume (d. 1807), at the corner of Church and Wood Streets, previously mentioned. The lot on which the first Catholic chapel was built early became a burying ground and, while many of the old graves and stones were later removed therefrom, Mr. and Mrs. Herron's tombstones are among the few still to be seen there. He died in 1838 and she in 1833.⁷⁵

It has been said that the Baptists were the last of the major protestant denominations to arrive in Norfolk, and the last to build a church. Their early history is clothed in uncertainty because of contradictory traditions, claims and counterclaims to priority and loss of original records. It is not the purpose of the present discussion to solve any problems, but to state the known facts as simply as possible. There were Baptists in Norfolk shortly after the Revolution, and they comprised both white and colored people, with the latter probably more numerous. They were members of the Portsmouth Baptist Church,** and when first organized in 1800 probably considered themselves a branch of that body. It does not appear that the Norfolk Baptists constituted a separate Church until 1805, in which year they were first represented independently in the Virginia Portsmouth Baptist Association, having previously been jointly represented with the Portsmouth Church. The Norfolk Church's first Association representative in 1805 was Captain Peter Lugg of the Norfolk Artillery Company, an ordained Baptist minister. After the Old Episcopal Church was abandoned following the death of its last minister in 1803, the Baptists were allowed to use the old building for their services. Their first important pastor was Reverend James Mitchell, an Englishman

* Now occupied by Saint Mary's (see Chapter XV).

* Still standing as Parish Hall and Auditorium, having been restored after a fire of 1856 (see Chapter XV).

** Now Court Street Baptist Church.

who came here about 1806; his wife, Mrs. Mary Mitchell (d. 1807), is buried in the old churchyard. Associated with Mr. Mitchell as a sort of assistant preacher was a young man named George Patterson. It was soon decided that the congregation ought to have a home of its own and, on 22 November 1815, the "Trustees of the Baptist Society of Norfolk Borough" * purchased a lot on Cumberland Street a few doors north of the new Methodist Church and adjoining in the rear the north end of the old churchyard on its west side. A building was completed on the site before the end of 1816 and was presumably occupied by the Baptist congregation in that year. In the following year, however, the church was divided along racial lines and the Reverend George Patterson, former associate pastor, became minister of the white portion of the congregation, and the colored members—with Mr. Mitchell, their pastor, and his family, the only white persons among them—resumed worshipping in the Old Episcopal Church building. This occurred—again presumably—in September, 1817, when a formal organization was perfected in the new building; the church soon came to be known as the Cumberland Street Baptist Church to distinguish it from the Cumberland Street Methodist Church nearby.⁷⁶

Not long thereafter the colored congregation assumed the name First Baptist Church, and later steps were taken to provide it with a permanent home; this became more urgently necessary as there was a movement on foot to restore the Old Church into service as an Episcopal Church, as above noted. So in March of 1830, a site was purchased on the north side of Bute Street by a group of trustees consisting of Captain Peter Lugg, Reverend James Mitchell, Elkanah Ballance, Timothy Mason and John Riggins; it was stated in the deed that they were acting for ten individuals* "and other contributors, all free men of colour," and further that the lot was intended "for the exclusive, use, benefit and advantage of the free coloured people who now are and so long as they continue to be members composing the First Baptist Church of the Borough [of Norfolk], and of such other free coloured people as hereafter from time to time shall be admitted to the said communion and become members of the said First Baptist Church and shall continue in communion and membership according to the church covenant, plan of decorum and the established usages, rules, ordinances and regulations peculiar to Particular Baptists." The reason for this form of conveyance was that negroes had then not yet obtained in Virginia their complete civil rights, including that of owning real estate. Beginning in 1837, there arose subjects of disagreement between Mr. Mitchell's congregation and the Portsmouth

* Consisting of the Rev. Messrs. Mitchell and Patterson together with William M. Fauquier, William Pendred, Absolom Stevens and Charles K. Mallory.

* Aaron Rogers, Samuel Lewis, Moses Jordan, Randall Dillard, Peter Pointer, William Cooper, James Bly, David Carey, Thomas Knight and Thomas Ruffin; the lot is now designated as 418 East Bute Street.

Association, concerning matters of Baptist doctrine and polity. By 1840, the rift had become so great that the Association withdrew fellowship from Mitchell's church, and even went so far as to recognize a seceding portion of that congregation as the First Baptist Church (Colored). It should be explained here that the Virginia Portsmouth Baptist Association, like all such Baptist bodies, can only advise, suggest and recommend, and is not—in the words of its own Constitution—either an ecclesiastical legislature or a court of appeals, every individual Baptist Church being completely autonomous and independent. The seceding party of negroes organized themselves with the Reverend Robert Gordon as their pastor in the old Presbyterian (Bell) Church, then recently abandoned, and the successors of the remaining party still occupy the Bute Street lot; they are now known respectively as the Bank Street Baptist Church and the First Baptist Church.⁷⁷

Norfolk underwent considerable physical change during this half-century following the Revolution. Gradually the commercial section became confined to the central and western sections of Main Street and lower Church Street, while East Main was purely residential as were also the areas north of the two creeks (present City Hall Avenue). However, no new territory was added beyond the 1807 boundary (previously mentioned), which was a little north of what is now the corner of Church Street and Princess Anne Road. Provisions were made for paving the streets in 1807, and for street lamps in 1811; about the same time an ordinance was passed concerning the "Watch" which consisted of citizens appointed to see to the peace and security of the streets, but only during other than daylight hours. In 1818 a stone bridge was built from the foot of Granby Street to Concord Street, south of the Back Creek; the latter street still exists as a lane a little east of Granby Street, which at that time had not been extended south of the Creek. And finally, a beginning was made toward eliminating the unsightly and odorous mud flats of that creek, by filling it in. Between 1833 and 1839, this was accomplished east of the Bank Street bridge and the area now bounded by City Hall Avenue, Bank, Williams and Court Streets was fenced in, planted with shade trees and designated a public square.⁷⁸

In Norfolk in the early nineteenth century, as in many seaports, the terror of yellow fever was a constant menace to peace of mind as well as to health and life. In the years following the Revolution, no less than four visitations of this dread disease in epidemic proportions were recorded. In 1795, five hundred persons fell victim to its scourge; in 1802 it returned again and is said to have taken twenty to forty lives a day for over seven weeks, a possible exaggeration. In 1821, nearly two hundred died of the disease, and in 1826 an unspecified number perished. Two things were especially noted in all these returns: (a) that the epidemics nearly always started in a waterfront area, and (b) usually beginning in early or mid-

summer, no relief was had until the first frost. As bad as were the above attacks, none compared in horror to the one which occurred just after mid-century, as will later be related.⁷⁹

Early in the nineteenth century, it became obvious that the Old Churchyard was insufficient as a burying ground for the Borough. Even before this the practise had arisen of burying the dead in private vaults and lots in town, and this too seemed contrary to the public good. An ordinance was passed in 1824 restricting private burying grounds, and announcing the intention of closing the Churchyard to future burials, and of opening a New Burial Ground. Under authority of an Act of Assembly of 1825, a second ordinance of 1826 established the New Burial Ground and specified its bounds. It was at the north end of Cumberland Street on the south side of Smith's Creek, and adjoined a site which had already been used for the burial of the "Citizen Soldiers from other parts of our State, who died in the service of their country at or near this Borough during the late war." These burying grounds, plus some adjoining lands later added, comprise what we know today as Cedar Grove Cemetery. In 1827, it was ordained that no deceased person could be buried in the "Old Burying Ground"—the Churchyard—unless a close relative were already interred there, and in 1835 the "Old Burying Ground attached to St. Paul's Church" was closed to all burials. Exceptions have been made to this latter rule in a few special cases.⁸⁰

Transportation in the Tidewater area, prior to the coming of the railroad, was confined almost entirely to the water routes, and what little overland traffic there was—by freight wagons for goods and by stage for passengers—was simply a means of reaching the nearest route traveled by a water carrier. For this area was (and is) so honeycombed by rivers and their branches and tributary creeks that there are very few places from which a water lane cannot be conveniently reached. In fact, where there was no water route, man made one, as has been seen in connection with the Dismal Swamp Canal which joined the Elizabeth River with the rivers and sounds of North Carolina. In 1814 the first vessel from the Roanoke arrived in Norfolk, and within a few years the "new-fangled" idea of steam navigation took hold. In 1815, the *Eagle*, the first steamer to run between Norfolk and Baltimore, was put in service, and in the following year the *Powhatan* began the Norfolk-to-Richmond run. In 1828, the considerably enlarged and improved Dismal Swamp Canal could accommodate the light-draft steamers of the Virginia and North Carolina Transportation Company, and in 1836 there were at least ten steamers plying between Norfolk, Richmond, Baltimore, and other nearby points. In 1832 the first steam ferry boats were put on the historic link between Norfolk and Portsmouth. In 1840 the Baltimore Steam Packet Company was established and began its service between Baltimore and Norfolk which is still in existence today. An indication of the amount of

traffic there was on the Elizabeth River at that time may be had from the fact that the Borough Council passed an ordinance in 1835 to control the speed of steamers in the harbor above Hospital Point to fourteen revolutions per minute; this meant less than four and one-half seconds for the big side-paddle-wheels to make a complete turn.⁸¹

As to ocean steam navigation lines, Norfolk still had a while to wait. In spite of the fact that the South sent the first steam-driven vessel across the ocean—the *Savannah*—in 1817, other seaports than ours reaped the benefits of this experience. It was reported that a French concern was seeking an American port terminus in 1837 for a steamship line, and was considering Norfolk. However, business interests here were unable to persuade our Legislature to grant a charter, and there the matter rested.⁸²

At the same time—or shortly after—the “new-fangled” steam power idea was applied to navigation, it gave rise to a new concept of land transportation, the railroad. The first such service to this area came not to Norfolk but to Portsmouth; however, since Norfolk was interested in it, brief mention should be made of it here. The movement started in 1833, and in 1834 the Portsmouth and Roanoke Railroad* was chartered. This was an attempt to counteract the harm to Tidewater trade which might be done by the new railroad from Petersburg to the Roanoke River near Weldon, begun in 1829 and completed that far by 1836. Norfolk interests subscribed heavily to the Portsmouth line, and by the end of 1834 it was completed to Suffolk. By 1837 it was complete to Weldon and put into full service. However, the line was not destined to last long in this phase of its existence; blunders of management, a series of disasters and the continued opposition of the inland Virginia towns caused it to suspend operations in 1845.⁸³

The history of the Press in Norfolk began, as we have seen, on the very eve of the Revolution in 1774 with the *Virginia Gazette or the Norfolk Intelligencer*. As the Borough was rising from its ashes, the press, too, was revived and in 1787 the *Norfolk and Portsmouth Journal* began a very brief run. In the following year, the *Norfolk and Portsmouth Chronicle* launched a career that lasted only eighteen months, and the *Norfolk Advertiser* was established and ran until 1793. In 1792, the *American Gazette* was founded but lasted only four years. The first newspaper of any importance and stability in these parts was the *Norfolk and Portsmouth Herald and General Advertiser*; founded in 1794, it was to have a long and useful existence of sixty-seven years. In 1819, Thomas G. Broughton became associated with it, and as its editor he was to make his mark in local journalistic circles. He it was who brought out a Borough Centennial number in 1836, which included a history of the local press from which much of the present material was

* Also called Portsmouth and Weldon R.R., later Seaboard & Roanoke; this was the germ of the present great Seaboard Air Line system.

drawn. He also described the anniversary parade with the "venerable Thomas Newton," recorder, as standard bearer, flanked by Deputy Sergeant William Wilson Lamb carrying the Mace and Clerk of the Court John Williams carrying the original charter. Parenthetically, it might be said that fortunate though we may be to have preserved the Mace intact, what a pity that the Charter has disappeared from the scene. The *Herald* started as a tri-weekly and did not become a daily until 1840. The *Norfolk Gazette and Public Ledger* began a brief career in 1804, but the *Herald's* only real rival was the *American Beacon and Norfolk and Portsmouth Daily Advertiser*. Founded in 1815, it was—as its name indicates—Norfolk's first daily paper. In 1834 the well-known Hugh Blair Grigsby acquired an interest in the *Beacon* and guided its destinies until 1840.⁸⁴

In addition to Grigsby and others mentioned here and there in this chapter, Norfolk had some other early residents who attained more-than-local prominence. Space restricts us to mentioning only a few of them here, such as the Newtons, Tazewell, Wirt and Sully. Of these, only the first named can claim the title of "native sons," as the others had their origin elsewhere. Descendants of a family (mentioned frequently on other pages) which had been in Norfolk Town since 1694, the two Thomas Newtons here referred to were both known as "Junior," as there were actually three by that name. The first Thomas Newton, Jr. (1742-1807) held many public offices: Burgess (1765-1775), member of Convention, Committee of Safety and Naval Board, Colonel of Militia, Circuit Court* Judge, Mayor and Recorder of the Borough, member of the House of Delegates and State Senator. His son, Thomas Newton, Jr., (1768-1847) likewise had a brilliant public career: he was a member of the House of Delegates for three years, and from 1801 to 1833, United States Congressman from this district. Both Thomas Newtons carried on a brisk correspondence with Jefferson and Madison—and the elder one with Washington also—and their letters are preserved in the Library of Congress.⁸⁵

As mentioned earlier, Littleton Waller Tazewell (1774-1860) was son of Henry Tazewell of Williamsburg; he came to Norfolk in 1802, and lived here continuously until his death, with the exception of his periods of public office. He served as United States Senator beginning in 1824 and was in 1834 elected Governor of Virginia, an office he held for only two years. He was for many years a highly respected and venerated member of the Norfolk bar.⁸⁶

The other two Norfolk residents above mentioned—Wirt and Sully—stayed here only a few years each. William Wirt (1772-1834), essayist, lawyer, statesman, was a Marylander by birth and lived elsewhere in Virginia

* Then the Court of Oyer and Terminer of Norfolk, Princess Anne, Nansemond and Isle of Wight Counties.

before coming to Norfolk in 1803. His *Letters of the British Spy* were published in that same year, and W. S. Forrest took exception to what he considered an unjust and erroneous statement in that collection, where Wirt referred to the "annual visits of the yellow fever" to Norfolk. Wirt left Norfolk in July, 1806, and became Attorney General of the United States in 1817.⁸⁷ Thomas Sully (1783-1872), famous miniaturist and portrait painter, came to Norfolk with his elder brother and teacher, Lawrence Sully, in about 1800, and for the next three years they divided their time between here and Richmond. He kept a careful detailed record of his work as to date, size of painting, sitter and price, from which many interesting facts may be learned. He did his "first attempt from life" in Norfolk in May, 1801 (a miniature of his brother Chester), and his "first attempt in oil colours" the following year, a twelve by ten portrait of William Armistead of Richmond. In 1803, he did a miniature of "Mr. Davis [Davies], collector of the Port of Norfolk," and four twelve by ten portraits of "R. Taylor, his wife, & 2 children." These are the only Norfolk residents that have been identified with any certainty. Others were Mrs. Tomé, Madame Solage, Mr. White, "glass merchant," and Lawyer Nemo [Nimmo?]. In 1803 upon the death of Lawrence, Sully went north and worked in both New York and Philadelphia.⁸⁸

Norfolk also had some famous visitors at this time. The visit in 1804 of Thomas Moore, the Irish poet, is noticed in another place. In October, 1824, General the Marquess of Lafayette—accompanied by his son George Washington Lafayette—was entertained here while on his farewell tour of the United States. He stayed in Mrs. Hansford's boarding house at the northwest corner of Main and East Streets, later the residence of Hugh Blair Grigsby. Both the General and his son, who were active in the Masonic Fraternity, were made honorary members of the Norfolk Lodge, and their signatures can be seen in the archives of that lodge. Another famous Frenchman and distinguished exile was here in 1837; this was the future Emperor of France, Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, and he stayed at French's Hotel (later the National), then just opened. This venerable building still stands on the southeast corner of Main and Church Streets, and is now devoted to commercial uses. In 1844, the Honorable Henry Clay was entertained at a banquet and reception in Ashland Hall on Talbot Street—on the site of the present Headquarters of the Fire Department.⁸⁹

Just a word about military organizations in the Borough of Norfolk. At the time of the memorial services on the occasion of Washington's death, held in 1800, the following were represented:

Norfolk Cavalry, Capt. John Nivison
Norfolk Volunteers, Capt. Moses Myers
Light Infantry, Capt. Samuel Smith

Norfolk Artillery, Capt. Peter Lugg
 Ancient Artillery, Capt. W. P. Pollard

As we have seen Norfolk was included in the Ninth Brigade of Virginia Militia, and in 1812 its command was temporarily in the hands of Colonel John Cropper, Jr., of Accomack, as a result of the death of Brigadier General Thomas Mathews of Norfolk. Later the same year Robert B. Taylor of Norfolk was appointed Brigadier General of this command, having previously been a Colonel of Cavalry; in 1822 he was appointed commander of the Fourth Division, Virginia Militia, with the rank of Major General, which he resigned in 1831 to become Judge of the Circuit and Superior Court of Law and Chancery of the First Circuit and First District of Virginia. One of the component parts of the Ninth Brigade was the 54th Regiment, traditionally a Norfolk Regiment for many years. In 1812, its Colonel was William Sharp, and later it was commanded by Colonel N. C. King, who was a partner in the drug business with Thomas D. Toy. In 1844, at the visit of Henry Clay, the following were represented:

Norfolk Light Artillery Blues, Capt. R. W. Bowden
 Junior Volunteers, Capt. Finlay F. Ferguson
 Norfolk Riflemen, Capt. Dunstan
 Virginia Guards, Capt. Lloyd Williams

Of all these organizations mentioned above, only the Norfolk Light Artillery Blues is still in existence. It was founded on 22 February 1828, and Miles King, Jr., was its first Captain.⁸⁹

As with the preceding chapter, we shall conclude by giving a list of the gentlemen who served as Mayor of the Borough during this period, a continuation of the list given at the end of the last chapter:

42. Paul Loyall (3)	24 June 1775	
43. Dr. James Taylor (2)	— 1777	
44. Cornelius Calvert (2)	— 1778	
45. George Abyvon (5)	— 1779	
46. Thomas Newton, Jr.	— 1780	Served 17 months on account of invasion.
47. Paul Loyall (4)	Nov. 1781	Served 7 mos.
48. Dr. James Taylor (3)	24 June 1782	
49. George Kelly	— 1783	
50. Robert Taylor	— 1784	
51. Dr. Cary H. Hansford	— 1785	
52. Thomas Newton, Jr. (2)	— 1786	
53. Benjamin Pollard	— 1787	
54. George Kelly (2)	— 1788	Last Mayor to preside over Common Council.
55. Robert Taylor (2)	— 1789	

56. Dr. James Taylor (4)	— 1790	
57. John Boush	— 1791	Served 4 mos.
58. Dr. Cary H. Hansford (2)	Oct. 1791	" 8 mos.
59. Thomas Newton, Jr. (3)	24 June 1792	" 10 mos.
60. Robert Taylor (3)	Apr. 1793	
61. Thomas Newton, Jr. (4)	Apr. 1794	Served 2 mos.
62. Dr. John Ramsay	24 June 1794	
63. Seth Foster	— 1795	
64. Samuel Moseley	24 June 1796	
65. George Loyall	— 1797	
66. Baylor Hill	— 1798	
67. Dr. John K. Read	— 1799	
68. Seth Foster (2)	— 1800	Served 11 mos.
69. John Cowper	May 1801	" 13 mos.
70. William Vaughan	24 June 1802	
71. Thomas H. Parker	— 1803	
72. Col. Miles King, Sr.	— 1804	
73. Luke Wheeler	— 1805	
74. Thomas H. Parker (2)	— 1806	
75. Richard E. Lee	— 1807	
76. John E. Holt	— 1808	
77. Col. Miles King, Sr. (2)	— 1809	
78. William B. Lamb	— 1810	
79. Col. Miles King, Sr. (3)	— 1811	
80. William B. Lamb (2)	— 1812	
81. Col. Miles King, Sr. (4)	— 1813	Served 11 mos. d. May 1814.
82. William B. Lamb (3)	— 1814	
83. John E. Holt (2)	— 1815	
84. William B. Lamb (4)	— 1816	Served 8 mos.
85. John E. Holt (3)	Feb. 1817	" 4 mos.
86. James Taylor	23 June 1817	" 1 day.
87. John E. Holt (4)	24 June 1817	
88. John Tabb	23 June 1818	" 1 day.
89. John E. Holt (5)	24 June 1818	
90. Wright Southgate	23 June 1819	" 1 day.
91. John E. Holt (6)	24 June 1819	
92. Wright Southgate (2)	24 June 1820	" 2 days.
93. John E. Holt (7)	26 June 1820	
94. George W. Camp	24 June 1821	" 3 days.
95. John E. Holt (8)	27 June 1821	
96. John Tabb (2)	24 June 1822	" 4 days.
97. John E. Holt (9)	28 June 1822	
98. William B. Lamb (5)	(?) June 1823	" a few days.
99. John E. Holt (10)	(?) June 1823	

100.	William A. Armistead	(?) June 1824	"	a few days.
101.	John E. Holt (11)	(?) June 1824	"	
102.	John Tabb (3)	24 June 1825	"	3 days.
103.	John E. Holt (12)	27 June 1825	"	
104.	Isaac Talbot	24 June 1826	"	5 days.
105.	John E. Holt (13)	29 June 1826	"	
106.	Daniel C. Barraud	24 June 1827	"	3 days.
107.	John E. Holt (14)	27 June 1827	"	
108.	George T. Kennon	24 June 1828	"	4 days.
109.	John E. Holt (15)	28 June 1828	"	
110.	Thomas Williamson	24 June 1829	"	2 days.
111.	John E. Holt (16)	26 June 1829	"	
112.	Giles B. Cook	24 June 1830	"	10 days.
113.	John E. Holt (17)	4 July 1830	"	
114.	Wright Southgate (3)	24 June 1831	"	11 days.
115.	John E. Holt (18)	5 July 1831	"	
116.	John E. Holt (19)	24 June 1832	d. 12 Oct.	1832
117.	Capt. Miles King, Jr.	Oct. 1832		
118.	W. D. Delaney	24 June 1843 ⁸¹	First Mayor elected by people.	

One unusual circumstance must be mentioned: the number of times John E. Holt served successively as mayor. Under the Charter of 1736, the Mayor could not succeed himself, but in Holt's case this provision was circumvented by electing another person who would resign within a few days, after which Holt was repeatedly re-elected. Thus having had one full term in 1808-9, Holt was elected again in 1815 and to all practical intents served continuously until his death in 1832. Apparently Mr. Holt was not unwilling and the Aldermen had no objection.

In the following chapter will be told how Norfolk ceased to be a Borough and became an independent City in 1845.

NOTES ON CHAPTER XIV

N.B. See remark at beginning of Chapter I notes.

1. Forrest, *Norfolk*, pp. 68-70; see also Squires in *Norfolk Ledger-Dispatch*, 31 May 1935.
2. Wertenbaker, *Norfolk*, p. 54; see also note 35, Chapter XI, *supra*.
3. See note 94, Chapter XIII, *supra*.
4. Wertenbaker, *op. cit.*, p. 55; see also Squires, *loc. cit.*
5. Wertenbaker, *op. cit.*, pp. 55, 58; Squires, *Through the Years in Norfolk*, p. 23.
6. 13 W(2) 223; Wertenbaker, *op. cit.*, pp. 55, 68, 81, 102; R. A. Stewart, *Virginia's Navy*, p. 104.
7. 13 W(2) 224.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 219, quoted from the *London Chronicle* of 5 March 1776; this and the following accounts were contributed by H. S. Parsons, Chief of Periodical Division, Library of Congress, in 1933.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 220, quoted from the *London Chronicle*, 5 March 1776.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 222.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 221, quoted from *The Daily Advertiser* (London), 8 March 1776.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 222, quoted from the same, 16 April 1776.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 221, quoted from the same.
14. Wertenbaker, *op. cit.*, p. 70.
15. R. A. Stewart, *op. cit.*, p. 7; 57V248.
16. Forrest, *op. cit.*, p. 61; Meade, *Old Churches . . . of Virginia*, I, 277.
17. Forrest, *op. cit.*, p. 89.
18. 8 W(2) 110.
19. *Norfolk Ordinances (1845)*, p. 223.
20. *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*, 23 January 1955; See also Note 72, Chapter XIII, *supra*.
21. R. A. Stewart, *Virginia's Navy of the Revolution* (see bibliography); what follows on the Virginia Navy is taken from this book (*passim*) unless otherwise specifically mentioned.
22. Hume, *Sesquicentennial History of the Cincinnati*, *passim*; what follows on the Cincinnati is taken from this work unless specifically otherwise mentioned.
23. 10 C 119-120.
24. 4 W(1) 213-254; what follows on the ΦBK Society is taken from this article (*passim*).
25. E. L. Goodwin, *Colonial Church*, p. 296.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 267.
27. Wertenbaker, *op. cit.*, p. 81.
28. Published by C. H. Simmons (see bibliography).
29. Drawn by George Nicholson, Norfolk County Surveyor, 22 October 1802; original hanging in a frame in the Clerk's Office of the Corporation Court, Norfolk.
30. 23 Enc. Brit. 714.
31. *Norfolk Borough Register*, 16 October 1782.
32. *Norfolk Borough Records*, Deed Book 13, p. 94.
33. *Ibid.*, Deed Book 4, pp. 101, 165; Deed Book 6, p. 496; Deed Book 9, p. 424.
34. *Ibid.*, Deed Book 2, pp. 208-11; Map Book A, p. 31.
35. *Norfolk Borough Register*, 24 June 1783.
36. *Norfolk Ordinances (1845)*, p. 49.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 36; Forrest, *op. cit.*, p. 51.
38. *Norfolk Borough Records*, Map Book A, p. 32.
39. *Simmons Directory of 1801*.
40. *Simmons Directory of 1806*.
41. See Chapter XII, note 66, *supra*; Wertenbaker, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-13; J. B. Clark, *Fire Problem in Colonial Virginia*, p. 247.
42. C. P. Donnel, Jr., in *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*, 1 November 1936, Wertenbaker, *op. cit.*, p. 81.
43. *Norfolk Borough Records*, Deed Book 1, p. 126.
44. Forrest, *op. cit.*, pp. 141, 172, 173, 197, 208, 211, 215, 216.
45. H. G. Tilghman in *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*, 26 June 1940; see also bronze plaques placed by the City on the Taylor-Whittle and Selden houses, and on the original site of the Boush-Tazewell house on Tazewell Street.
46. *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*, 18 June 1933 (story based on data furnished by Rogers Dey Whichard); see also G. H. Tucker, *ibid.*, 2 July 1933.
47. H. G. Tilghman, *loc. cit.*
48. 57 V 409-411.
49. Forrest, *op. cit.*, p. 200; *Norfolk County Records*, Deed Book 32, p. 43; Deed Book 33, p. 297.
50. *Norfolk Borough Register*, 16 October 1782; 11 H 386; *Norfolk Borough Records*, Deed Book 1, p. 1, 10 July 1784; Will Book 1, p. 1, 20 December 1784.
51. *Norfolk Ordinances (1845)*, pp. 23-25.
52. H. Ragland Eubank, "Virginia Towns and Cities" (see bibliography).
53. *Norfolk Ordinances (1845)*, pp. 22-23, 47, 56, 59.
54. 3 W(1) 3-8.
55. *Norfolk Borough Register*, see under respective dates: December, 1788; July-August, 1791; November, 1792.
56. Wertenbaker, *op. cit.*, p. 151.
57. *Norfolk Ordinances (1845)*, pp. 31-32; 19 W(2) 421-2.
58. Wertenbaker, *op. cit.*, pp. 151-3; Forrest, *op. cit.*, pp. 212-3.
59. *Norfolk Borough Records*, Deed Book 3, p. 59; Deed Book 4, p. 85; *Directory of 1801*; 3 N102; Georgianna Taliaferro in *Norfolk-Virginian-Pilot*, 30 October 1949.

60. The information herein contained concerning the proceedings of the Virginia Grand Lodge is, it must be admitted, second-hand, but was quoted to me by a reliable source from the writings of Dr. John Dove, Grand Secretary from 1835 to 1876 and then custodian of Virginia Masonic Archives.
61. Forrest, *op. cit.*, pp. 108-9.
62. E. L. Goodwin, *Colonial Church*, pp. 105-123.
63. *Historic Church Silver*, Introduction (pages unnumbered).
64. Meade, *op. cit.*, I, 272-3; 12 H228; E. L. Goodwin, *Colonial Church*, pp. 411-2; 19 W(2) 421.
65. Meade, *loc. cit.*; E. L. Goodwin, *op. cit.*, p. 251; Brydon, *New Light on the Church*, p. 28.
66. Meade, *loc. cit.*
67. Meade, *op. cit.*, I, 273-4: the informant was Mr. John Southgate, a member of the then new Presbyterian Church (1800), who wrote a letter telling of these events prior to 1857, when Bishop Meade wrote his book.
68. Meade, *loc. cit.*, footnote; Forrest, *op. cit.*, p. 63, footnote.
69. *Norfolk Borough Records*, Deed Book 9, p. 285; Deed Book 18, p. 311; Forrest, *op. cit.*, pp. 177-8.
70. Meade, *op. cit.*, I, 274-6; E. L. Goodwin, *op. cit.*, p. 263.
71. Meade, *op. cit.*, I, 277; *Saint Paul's Church*, 1832, pp. 26-39.
72. Squires in *Norfolk Ledger-Dispatch*, 18 November 1938.
73. *Norfolk Borough Records*, Deed Book 3, p. 32; Deed Book 6, p. 121; Forrest, *op. cit.*, pp. 196, 248.
74. Forrest, *op. cit.*, p. 190; 2N102.
75. *Saint Mary's Parish*, pp. 13-14, 39; *Norfolk Borough Records*, Deed Book 3, p. 114; Wertenbaker, *op. cit.*, p. 97; Forrest, *op. cit.*, p. 215; *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*, 27 November 1938.
76. Adamson, *Court Street Baptist*, *passim*; Reuben Jones, *Portsmouth Association*, pp. 24-32, 149; Semple, *History of Baptists*, *passim*; *Norfolk Borough Records*, Deed Book 13, p. 426.
77. Reuben Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 224-5, 151; *Norfolk Borough Records*, Deed Book 19, p. 270.
78. *Norfolk Ordinances* (1845), pp. 34, 38, 190, 112, 131-2; Forrest, *op. cit.*, p. 211.
79. Wertenbaker, *op. cit.*, pp. 206-9; Forrest, *op. cit.*, pp. 159, 333-4.
80. *Norfolk Ordinances* (1845), pp. 54, 165-173, 226-7; *St. Paul's Church*, 1832, p. 61. In the latter source it was stated that four exceptions had been made, but examination of tombstone inscriptions shows there were seven burials after 1835.
81. Wertenbaker, *op. cit.*, pp. 172-6, 180, 188; Forrest, *op. cit.*, pp. 161; *Norfolk Ordinances* (1845), pp. 245-6.
82. Forrest, *op. cit.*, p. 210.
83. Wertenbaker, *op. cit.*, pp. 185-9; Forrest, *op. cit.*, pp. 196-9; *Norfolk Ordinances* (1845), pp. 127-131.
84. Wertenbaker, *op. cit.*, pp. 153-5; Forrest, *op. cit.*, pp. 99-100; *Norfolk and Portsmouth Herald*, 19 September 1836, latter quoted in *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*, 1 November 1936, both as to Centennial Celebration and Press History.
85. James A. Padgett (ed.) in 16 W(2) 38-39, 192-3.
86. 18 DAB 355.
87. Jay B. Hubbell in 23 W(2) 136-152.
88. 18 DAB 202-5; Sully's "Account of Pictures Painted," photostats of MS volume kindly furnished by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
89. Forrest, *op. cit.*, pp. 167, 209, 218; Al T. Lewis in *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*, 26 June 1940.
90. Forrest, *op. cit.*, pp. 105, 218; 10C126, 176-7, 502, 572-3; Burton, *Norfolk*, p. 35; J. C. Emmerson, Jr., in *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*, 26 June 1940.
91. Burton, *op. cit.*, pp. 228-334; this source says Delaney was first mayor elected by people, but the enabling act was passed in February, 1832 (*Norfolk Ordinances* (1845), p. 56.), so it may have been King. Similarly there is some doubt as to whether Kelly was last mayor to preside over Common Council, as that enabling act was passed 1787 (*Norfolk Ordinances* (1845), p. 22) and his second term did not begin until June, 1788.

Chapter XV

The City of Norfolk

1845-1900

BY ACT OF the General Assembly passed on 13 February 1845, Norfolk ceased to be a Borough and became a City. It should be pointed out at once that this was purely a change in terminology and not in any way a drastic alteration of internal polity. It has already been seen that, passing from unincorporated establishment in 1680 to incorporated status in 1736, Norfolk's administrative and judicial machinery underwent a definite change in 1784 when the Hustings Court became a court of record for wills and deeds and was permitted to try criminal cases to a limited extent. A little later this Court came to have, in the municipality, the same powers as a County Court, and the Borough was completely independent of the County. Hence, the Act of 13 February 1845 was not a Charter, as it has frequently been called; it was not even an act of incorporation, but simply a law making certain alterations in name and in executive, legislative and judicial details of municipal government. Examination of some of the salient provisions of that law will clarify this statement.¹

Its very first section provides "that the name and style of the Corporation of the Borough of Norfolk" be henceforth "City of Norfolk," and goes on to state that the rights of the citizens were not to be affected by this "alteration in the name and style of the said Corporation." Similarly the name of the Hustings Court of the Borough of Norfolk was changed to the Hustings Court of the City of Norfolk; it is to be regretted that we have discarded the Anglo-Saxon name for this ancient institution, while our sister city of Portsmouth is to be commended for holding to it. The most radical change contained in the Act of 1845, however, concerned the legislative functions. Under the Charter of 1736, the Mayor, Recorder and Alderman—in addition to composing the Hustings Court—also were the upper chamber which, together with the Common Council, formed the municipal law-giving body. Under the Act of 1845, the Hustings Court was divorced from the legislative branch, which itself was enlarged and reorganized into a bicameral body. This was effected in the following manner: every three years, thirty-seven citizens were elected collectively as Council, Recorder and Aldermen; they

at their first meeting chose from their number a Recorder and eight Aldermen to constitute, with the Mayor (elected by the people), the Hustings Court, and to serve for three years; the remaining twenty-eight, re-elected annually, chose eleven of their number to be the Select Council and those not so chosen (seventeen in number) were the Common Council. All powers of corporate legislation were vested in the Select and Common Councils, and all action concerning such legislation had to originate in the Common Council. Thus at this time, the separation of governmental functions was not completely accomplished: the legislative was separated from the executive and judicial, but the two latter were still unsegregated since the Mayor presided over the Hustings Court. Finally, it was provided in this Act that, at the next election of a Delegate to the General Assembly, each voter should be asked by the judge of election, "Are you for or against the amendments to the Charter?" A majority of the qualified voters then voting was required to put the law in force, but the important point is that the wording of the above question proves beyond a shadow of doubt that the 1736 Charter was still considered in force as amended by later laws, including the one of 1845.

A short time after the foregoing changes took place, it was decided that the city needed a new civic center in place of the inconveniently-located Town Hall and Gaol of 1790 on east Main Street. The site chosen for the new center of government was the public square completed in 1839 by the filling of the upper part of the Back Creek, and the new building was designed to face Bank Street between Williams Street and Cove Street (City Hall Avenue). Its corner stone was laid on 14 August 1847 in the presence of a large assembly of citizens, including military, naval and fraternal representatives, the local clergy and city officials; the two principal addresses on this occasion were made by Mr. J. C. McCabe, a prominent Mason, and Father Hitselberger of Saint Patrick's Roman Catholic Church. "Wednesday, May 29, 1850, the Worshipful Court of the city of Norfolk convened on this day, for the first time, in the courtroom of the new City Hall." Thus briefly is related the dedication of the new building. It is still standing today, a massive pile faced with granite, presenting toward the west a portico supported by six columns of Tuscan order, and surmounted by a dome thirty-two feet in diameter, the summit of which is one hundred ten feet from ground level. The building was, as has been implied, both City Hall and Court House, and housed Mayor's and Sheriff's offices and Council Chambers, as well as local and Federal Courts and jury rooms. The architect was William R. Singleton (formerly of Portsmouth) but it was indicated that he had considerable help from Thomas U. Walter, the famous Philadelphia architect who was well known in Norfolk. Behind the Court House were Clerk's and Register's offices and just to the east—on the other side of Avon (now Court) Street—was the City Jail, completed in 1852 on the same site where Police Headquarters and



(Courtesy Norfolk Chamber of Commerce)

NORFOLK—OLD CITY HALL AND COURT HOUSE
ERECTED 1847-1850

Jail are still located today—the latter was the former location of the Avon Theatre, built in 1839 and destroyed by fire in 1850; the theatre was so named in remembrance of the immortal Bard's home and the silver plate from its cornerstone is still preserved in the Norfolk Museum. In later days Avon and Wolfe Streets acquired a rather unsavoury reputation, on account of the "professional ladies" who resided in that neighborhood, so much so that the street names could not be mentioned in polite society and had to be changed to Court and Washington (now Market) respectively!¹²

In early December, 1846, a meeting was held in Norfolk in regard to the war then in progress in Mexico. A company was formed from among the young men of this city and the two adjacent counties of Norfolk and Princess Anne, and O. E. Edwards was elected captain of it. Having been refused by the Governors of both this and the "Old North" state, they were accepted by the United States Government, and Edwards was commissioned Captain in a regiment of voltigeurs.* Upon arrival in Mexico, he was assigned to command of a howitzer battery, and he and his company performed creditably on several occasions during the campaign.³

The City Gas Company, having been chartered nine years earlier, finally began operation in October, 1849, when streets and buildings in the city were illuminated for the first time. The gas works were located on Brigg's Point at the southwest corner of Mariner and Walke Streets. This location was not found convenient, and in 1853 the operation was transferred to the new buildings then completed on James Street near Armistead's Bridge*; that is, on Monticello Avenue near the corner of Ninth Street.⁴

In early March, 1847, the Cumberland Street Methodist Church was destroyed by fire: this was their second building on the site near Cove Street (City Hall Avenue), erected in 1833. It was promptly replaced by a new building, dedicated in January of 1849 by the minister Reverend J. E. Edwards; this was a tasteful structure designed and built by William Callis in Greek proportions with an open vestibule supported by two Doric columns. This building is still standing and recently occupied by a Jewish congregation, but will have been dismantled by the time these lines reach press. There was some disagreement among the congregation as to whether the church should be rebuilt on the same site, and those favoring a move withdrew to form a separate congregation; in October, 1848, they purchased the lot at the northeast corner of Granby and Freemason Streets and called themselves the Granby Street Methodist Church. Their building, completed on this site in November, 1850, was also of Grecian style with a portico fronting on Freemason Street and supported by four fluted pillars of the Ionic order, and

* Picked infantry (Webster), what would today be called Commandos.

* From this point Armistead's Bridge Road, now partially eliminated, wound west and north to join Lambert's Point Road south of 38th Street.

a slender and graceful spire rising one hundred and eleven feet from ground level. The building was designed by J. J. Husband and built by William Callis; the stonemason was R. Dalrymple, whose signature may be seen on many gravestones in the oldest cemeteries here, and who was largely responsible for the early stone curbing of our streets, very little of which survives. The Granby Street Methodist Church was dedicated early in December, 1850, by the Reverend J. E. Edwards, its first pastor, just then transferred by the Conference from the Cumberland Street Church; he was succeeded in 1852 by Reverend David S. Doggett.⁵

In the middle or late 1847, a subject of dissension arose among the congregation of the Cumberland Street Baptist Church; in this case it was not the location but the then pastor which was the subject of controversy. The reverend gentleman, it seems, made the mistake of becoming engaged to two different ladies and when he had to choose in favor of one of them, naturally the other felt slighted. In any case, when the question arose as to whether to retain his services and a majority voted in the affirmative, those opposed (seventy-seven in number) withdrew to form a new church. In February, 1848, a lot was purchased by Thomas D. Toy and William Dey at the north-east corner of Freemason and Catharine Streets; the new church was organized in May, 1848, and was called the Freemason Street Baptist Church. Besides the two gentlemen named above, others active in its affairs in various capacities were John Ridley, Lewis Salusbury, Richard B. Wright and J. Hardy Hendren. The services of Thomas U. Walter, architect, were secured, the cornerstone was laid in August, 1848, and the completed building was dedicated on 30 May 1850. It was a beautiful building in perpendicular Gothic style and was stuccoed and painted to look like brownstone. It still stands today, the only one of the old Norfolk churches—except Saint Paul's—which still stands on its original site, going by its original name, and occupied by the successors of its original congregation.⁶

Meanwhile the ranks of the Baptists continued to be split along the racial lines referred to in the preceding chapter. Reverend James Mitchell was unsuccessful in his attempts to secure the Portsmouth Baptist Association's recognition of his congregation of colored people worshipping at the Bute Street site. It will be recalled the Association had recognized the church at the corner of Bank and Charlotte Streets as the First Baptist Church (Colored) in 1840; Association records indicate that the Bute Street congregation no longer held together after Elder Mitchell's death in 1849, and that a new organization was formed in that year named Bute Street Baptist Church (Colored) and admitted to the Association at once. The Church's own historians, on the other hand, claim that there was no break in the continuity of its existence either in 1849 or 1817 (as previously referred to). It was not until Norfolk was occupied by hostile forces in 1862 that the Negro churches

were removed from the influence of the Portsmouth Association and formed an association of their own. Thereafter, they settled their differences in favor of the Bute Street Church, which then called itself "First Baptist Church" with no racial qualification, while the other one took the name Bank Street Baptist Church. The former continued to worship in the old frame building on Bute Street until 1859, when a new building was completed and dedicated on the same lot. This second structure was destined to survive less than twenty years, as will appear below.⁷

On 2 April 1851, Archibald Briggs, Andrew Harris, William S. Camp and Elisha Gamage organized the Merchants' and Mechanics' Savings Bank, which has the distinction of being the only Norfolk bank—and one of few in the South—to survive the War of 1861-65. According to Burton, this bank was "revived" three years later (1854) with Dr. Francis L. Higgins as President; its first cashier was Otway B. Barraud who died during the yellow fever epidemic of 1855 (see below), when he was succeeded by W. H. Wales. It has been said that this bank survived when others failed, because its funds were chiefly invested in real estate mortgages, rather than more movable assets, when the Yankees arrived in 1862.⁸

The second* Masonic Lodge in Norfolk was chartered on 13 December 1854; its name was Atlantic Lodge No. 2, A.F. & A.M., this number being bestowed because an older Lodge had surrendered it. The principal organizers and officers of Atlantic Lodge were Dr. George L. Upshur, Master, and James Y. Leigh and William A. Graves, Senior and Junior Wardens, respectively.⁹

The necessity for a rail connection with North Carolina became more acute as time passed on after the failure of the first attempt in 1845. It was therefore decided in 1849 to try again for the link with the Raleigh and Gaston Railroad at Gaston, its terminus on Roanoke River not far from Weldon. Accordingly, the Seaboard and Roanoke Railroad was organized and acquired the right-of-way of the defunct Portsmouth and Weldon Railroad, and the re-building operations began almost immediately. This time good solid inverted-T iron rails were substituted for the iron-capped wooden rails which had formerly given so much trouble, and by November, 1850, trains were running to Suffolk; exactly a year later the first train ran all the way from Portsmouth to Weldon, covering the eighty miles in three and a half hours, an unheard of average speed of nearly twenty-three miles an hour! Meanwhile the Wilmington and Weldon had been completed; soon the Weldon-Gaston gap was closed, and passengers and freight began to pour into Portsmouth and thence (by ferry and barge) to Norfolk from these southern points.¹⁰

Meanwhile a movement was started to provide Norfolk with a rail con-

* The third, if we count St. John's Lodge of the Scottish jurisdiction, which ceased to exist at the time of the Revolution.

nexion to the West, which materialized in the form of the Norfolk and Petersburg Rail Road, chartered in 1852, to which the city subscribed a large block of stock. The company was organized in 1853 with Dr. Francis Mallory, President, George W. Camp, Treasurer, and William Mahone, Chief Engineer. To the latter goes the credit for the design and lay-out of the roadbed, which provided a passenger and freight terminal in Norfolk proper at the east end where Main and Wide Water Streets meet; a track down the middle of the latter facilitated transfer of freight to the river wharfs. From the depot, the tracks crossed Newton's Creek to Bramble's Point, then the Eastern and Southern Branches, and went southwest to Suffolk (where it crossed the Seaboard and Roanoke), thence in a northwesterly direction in an almost straight line to Petersburg. By July, 1858, trains were running from Norfolk to Petersburg but it was too late for the line to develop any sizeable traffic before the war began in 1861. In 1860, Mahone became both President and Chief Engineer; however, he was soon completely occupied with military matters in the Brigade which he headed and which bore his name, as will appear below.¹¹

Norfolk acquired other links with the outside world in these pre-War years. In 1852 and 1860 respectively were established steamship lines to New York and Boston. The opening of the Albemarle and Chesapeake Canal in 1859 has been mentioned before.¹²

The city's increase in importance as a seaport by 1850 made necessary a more commodious building to house the Custom House. At the same time the Federal Government planned to provide quarters for other government activities such as the Post Office. The Custom House, having first been at the west end of Main Street before 1801, was then moved in 1819 to a site on Wide Water Street, just east of Market Square, while the Post Office was at the corner of Main and Commerce Streets. In 1850, an appropriation of fifty-thousand dollars was made for a new Federal Building, and this was doubled two years later. Also in 1852, a site was chosen on the south side of Main Street just at the head of Granby, and plans were drawn by the government architect, A. B. Young. The contract was let in 1853 and the new building was opened in December, 1857, with the Post Office on the ground level and the Custom House above. It still houses the Customs Service activities, and is a handsome building of granite with a high flight of steps to a portico supported by six massive Corinthian columns.¹³

A fearful calamity befell the City just after mid-century: a most severe visit—*pessima ultimaque*—of the dread plague of yellow fever, one which made all former occurrences of the disease here pale into insignificance. Its presence in Norfolk has been blamed on the arrival of the S. S. *Ben Franklin*, bound from the West Indies to New York, but there is some room for doubt and the disease may have had its origin before the arrival of that ill-fated

vessel. At any rate, the ship was allowed to go to Page and Allen's shipyard at Gosport on 19 June 1855 after about two weeks' quarantine, and was soon found to be infected. A case was recognized in Gosport, and about mid-July in Barry's Row, a Norfolk tenement area at Union Street and Market Square. It was first called "Upshur Fever" after the doctor—later a victim himself—among whose patients it first occurred; he first told of its presence on 30 July, and his critics, with typical human inconsistency and desire to lay blame on some one, berated him both for keeping the news to himself that long and for revealing it as soon as he did. It was not long before the fever assumed epidemic proportions and raged uncontrolled in the City. As many people as could sought refuge elsewhere, until some nearby places closed their doors to them. At the height of the attack, early September, eighty to one hundred persons died daily, and coffins and rough boxes piled up in the cemeteries too fast to be buried. The whole of the Main Street area was deserted and the Post Office was temporarily moved from Commerce Street to the Academy building. Isolation points were established at Oak Grove and Lambert's Point. Many victims rest in unmarked graveyards like the one at the northwest corner of present Hampton Boulevard and Princess Anne Road. Typical of memorials to the victims is the Colley monument in the family graveyard near the south end of Colley Avenue. It was estimated that in all two thousand people died, about one-third the total population. Ten practicing physicians contracted the fever with fatal results, including Dr. Thomas Nash, Dr. George L. Upshur, Dr. Richard B. Tunstall and Dr. Henry Selden. Twelve were severely attacked by it but recovered, including Dr. William Selden, Dr. Robert B. Tunstall and Dr. Herbert M. Nash. Of forty-five volunteers who came here from other cities, twenty-five died. Of the local clergy who stayed at their posts, six fell, including Reverend William M. Jackson of Saint Paul's, Reverend Anthony Dibrell of Granby Street Methodist, and Reverend William C. Bagnall of Cumberland Street Baptist. Two of the most selfless laborers among the afflicted, dangerously but not fatally ill, were Father Michael O'Keefe of Saint Patrick's and Reverend George D. Armstrong of the Presbyterian Church. Many prominent citizens died in the epidemic, including bankers, merchants, editors and politicians. One of the most lamented was Hunter Woodis, Mayor of the City; he was replaced temporarily by Senior Alderman, Dr. Nathan Colgate Whitehead, ruling elder of the Presbyterian Church, and in November, Ezra T. Summers was elected to succeed to the office. The shining light in all of this dark period was the beloved Dr. George D. Armstrong of the Presbyterian Church who labored tirelessly among both his own and those of other congregations, nursing, comforting, consoling. We are greatly indebted to him for his eye-witness account of those fatal few months of our history.¹⁴

From the travail of the epidemic of 1855 a great institution was born: the Hospital of Saint Vincent de Paul. We must go back a few years for the story

of its background. It will be recalled that William Plume, an Irishman, settled in Norfolk (probably before 1785) on an estate at the corner of Church and Wood Streets which he called "Plumesville." His daughter, Ann, was married to Walter Herron of Wexford, another Irish gentleman who arrived here in 1798 and became William Plume's partner in business. Upon Plume's death in 1807, Anne Plume Herron inherited his estate and residence above mentioned. After she died in 1833, her husband, Walter Herron, adopted a niece named Behan, who, assuming his surname, became known as Ann Plume Behan Herron.* She in turn inherited the residence when her foster father died in 1838, and her brother, Dr. James H. Behan came to live with her in the big house on Wood Street. When the yellow fever broke out in 1855, Ann P. B. Herron threw open her doors to the afflicted and cared for them until she succumbed to the disease herself. She had expressed the desire—during the epidemic—of turning her residence over to the Sisters of Charity of Saint Vincent de Paul to be used as a hospital, but made no legal arrangements for the transfer. Her brother undertook to see that her wishes were carried out; on 3 March 1856, the Hospital of Saint Vincent de Paul was incorporated, and two years later—on 12 May 1858—Dr. Behan deeded the property to the Hospital. Considerably enlarged, once burned and rebuilt, frequently improved and modernized, the old Plume-Herron residence continued to serve its purpose until 1944, as will appear in the next chapter.¹⁵

Closely related to the story of the Hospital is the history of the Catholic parish at this time. On 6 December 1856, Saint Patrick's Church was almost completely destroyed by fire, only three walls (including the façade) remaining erect. Among the treasures lost in the fire were two oil paintings: (a) "The Assumption," gift of Amélie, Queen Consort of Louis-Philippe, King of the French (1830-1848), probably through the connections of one of the early French priests of the parish, and (b) "The Crucifixion," gift of Miss Anne P. B. Herron. One relic which was saved now adorns the interior of the new church; this is a massive crucifix carved in Bavaria from a single piece of pine, eleven feet high. The corner-stone of the new building—facing Chapel Street, which got its name from the first chapel of 1794—was laid in March, 1857, and under the name of the Church of Saint Mary of the Immaculate Conception was dedicated in October, 1858. "Saint Mary's," as it is familiarly and affectionately known to people here of all sects, is a beautiful example of neo-Gothic architecture with a gracefully-decorated spire, a clock, pointed-arch windows and ornamental pinnacles on the *bas-côtés*. Many of the old tombstones on this site were removed to the Catholic cemetery on Tanner's Creek Road (Granby Street)—newly purchased in 1854—but a few still remain on the Holt Street side of the church, including those of Walter and Anne Plume Herron, previously mentioned. The fire-ravaged remains of Saint

* Evidently previously named for the aunt.

Patrick's were restored, including its columned façade, and the building is now used as a Parish Hall and Auditorium, facing Holt Street to the east or rear of the newer Church.¹⁶

It has been seen that the Norfolk Academy was practically alone in the field of organized education in Norfolk's early days. Very little is known about the Academy between 1845 and 1861. John B. Strange was principal (headmaster) in 1849, according to a notation this writer's grandfather made in one of his textbooks. According to Colonel William Couper, historian of V.M.I., Strange was the first cadet to go on guard duty when the Institute opened its doors in 1839 and was a casualty of the War of 1861. As noted in the preceding chapter, the Academy had military training at this time; there is a painting of the grandfather mentioned above in a uniform jacket with three rows of brass buttons, and he used to tell of drilling in the mornings from six to eight. A daughter of Captain W. W. Old has a brass button from his Academy uniform (c. 1854). Organized public education did not come until well after mid-nineteenth century: an Act of the General Assembly authorized free public schools in 1845, but things progressed very slowly and it was not until 1855 that a definite announcement was made concerning the School Commissioners' determination to establish the public school system. Then the yellow fever intervened and caused further delay; finally in August, 1856 plans were laid to divide the city into four districts and build schools in each of them, on Boush Street, Charlotte Street, Holt Street and Queen Street (Brambleton Avenue). This was the beginning of the Norfolk public schools, and only one of the buildings then erected still stands; it is on the southwest corner of Brambleton Avenue and Bank Street and at this writing has been abandoned to the tender mercies of weather, vagrants and vandals.¹⁷

Another calamity struck this community following close on the heels of the epidemic of 1855, much wider in scope and different in nature: this was the War for Southern Independence. The most significant events of that conflict in these parts—the artillery duel at Seawell's Point, the encounter between the *Virginia* (*Merrimac*) and *Monitor*, and the destruction of the Gosport Navy Yard—have been treated elsewhere. The story of Norfolk's participation in the War of 1861-1865, because of its early evacuation by Confederate forces, consists chiefly in an account of the military organizations which were formed here, and of the years under the iron fist of military rule and reconstruction.

The first Confederate flag flown in Norfolk was displayed from a house on Wolfe Street near Catherine Street;* it bore seven stars arranged in a circle with the letters "VA." in the center. This was in early April, 1861, two weeks before Virginia seceded, and about the same time there was much activity of preparation among the local military companies: Woodis Riflemen

* That is, on Market Street near Bank.

(Captain William Lamb), United Artillery (Captain Thomas Kevill), Independent Grays (Captain R. C. Taylor). George Loyall, United States Navy Agent for the port, sent in his resignation. The first steps were taken toward organizing a Virginia armed force in the form of the Old Dominion State Guard, under Colonel (later General) William Mahone. Troops began to arrive from other places in Virginia as well as from farther away, and soon there were units from Richmond, Petersburg, Lynchburg, North Carolina, Georgia and Louisiana. In May, 1861, confirmation was made of the appointment of Major General R. E. Lee, commander-in-chief of State Forces, and several other officers of general and field grade, including Brigadier Generals Gwynne and Magruder. At the time of the Battle of Seawell's Point (mentioned elsewhere), there were detachments of the Norfolk Light Artillery Blues, the Junior Volunteers, the Woodis Riflemen, and the Columbus (Georgia) Light Guard. General Gwynne, succeeding General W. B. Taliaferro as commander of the Norfolk area, was present at Seawell's Point, accompanied by his aide, Major William E. Taylor of Norfolk. One of the Georgia officers wrote home on 23 May 1863 that he was occupying the room in which the "British Spy" (pseudonym of William Wirt) stayed, where Tom Moore wrote his poems, where Lafayette was entertained and where G. P. R. James* wrote most of his romances; the young man stated further that the writing desk he was using had been the property of Lord Dunmore. The house in question, as we have seen, was on the northwest corner of Main and East Streets.¹⁸

Late in May, General Gwynne left to take command of North Carolina state forces and was succeeded in Norfolk by General Benjamin Huger. In June, the Blues (Captain Jacob Vickery) were mustered into the Army of Virginia, and the Lee Artillery (Captain James Y. Leigh) was organized with headquarters in the Blues' Armory on Talbot Street. Many of the Virginia and Georgia troops composing the Norfolk garrison were encamped on the land of Mr. William H. Talbot (in what is now Talbot Park), and the spot came to be known as Camp Talbot. In August, Captain William Lamb having been promoted to the rank of Major, Lieutenant Robert B. Taylor was elected to succeed him as Captain of the Woodis Riflemen. In December, Captain Vickery of the Blues was forced to resign for reasons of health and Lieutenant Charles R. Grandy was elected captain in his stead. The old 54th Virginia, which had seen service in 1812, was still active in Norfolk, commanded by Colonel E. C. Robinson. One of its companies was doing guard duty on the waterfront as late as 7 March 1862, the day before the beginning of the *Virginia-Monitor* encounter. This was Company B, whose officers were Captain John T. Hall and Lieutenants Thomas P. Warren and George W. Dey.

* An obscure imitator of Scott; one time British consul in Norfolk.

One of the batteries of the C.S.S. *Virginia* was manned by Captain Thomas Kevill and thirty volunteers of the United Artillery Company.¹⁹

A short time before the evacuation of Norfolk, Mahone's Brigade was formed, and many Norfolk companies became part of it. The Junior Volunteers became Company H, 12th Virginia Regiment. The 6th Virginia was



(Courtesy Norfolk Museum of Arts and Sciences, Norfolk)

FLAG OF SEABOARD RIFLES, CO. F, 6TH VA. RGT.,
MAHONE'S BRIGADE, ARMY OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA
(Presented by Mrs. Lydia Roper, granddaughter of Col. George Rogers, 6th Va. Rgt.)

almost wholly a Norfolk regiment; its officers were Colonel George T. Rogers, Lieutenant Colonel Harry Williamson, Major Robert B. Taylor and Adjutant, Lieutenant Alexander Tunstall. Among the companies assigned to it were the Independent Grays (Company H) and Woodis Riflemen (Company C). All of the Artillery Companies previously mentioned were attached to various commands of the Army of Northern Virginia. Other Norfolk soldiers were scattered far and wide with other commands and we can mention only a few here: Lieutenant Colonel Walter H. Taylor, Adjutant General, Army of Northern Virginia; Dr. William Selden, Surgeon, General Staff; Dr. Herbert M. Nash, Chief Surgeon, Artillery, Third Corps; Captain W. W. Old, Assistant Adjutant General, Johnson's and Ewell's staffs; Captain William M. Jones, Assistant Quartermaster, Magruder's Brigade, Reverend Craw-

ford H. Toy, Chaplain, 53rd Georgia Regiment, Semmes' Brigade; Lieutenant C. A. Nash, the Jackson Grays (Company A, 61st Virginia Regiment).²⁰

With Fort Monroe, Yorktown, Roanoke and Hatteras in Federal hands, it became apparent that Norfolk could not be held against superior pressure; hence, the Confederate commander, General Huger, prepared to abandon all posts, spike all cannon, and destroy what military supplies could not be removed. On 10 May 1862, six thousand Federal troops under Major General John E. Wool were transported from Fort Monroe to Ocean View, whence they marched on Norfolk following the course of present Granby Street. Finding the Tanner's Creek Bridge burned, they retraced their steps to present Ward's Corner and followed Seawell's Point Road to what is now Fox Hall, and present Waterworks Road into the City. When about a mile from the outskirts, Wool was met by Mayor William W. Lamb and other officials under a flag of truce, with the information that Confederate forces had departed and with the request for respect of civil rights and private property. General Wool promised that such rights would be respected, and appointed Brigadier General Egbert L. Viele as military governor of the area. Wool's promises were disregarded and under Viele and his successor Brigadier General Benjamin F. Butler—still known as "Beast Butler" in these parts—Norfolk knew the iron hand of military rule. Butler especially was harsh in his management of the territory; he put the City Gas and Light Works in the hands of his friends, and he seized the funds of the Howard Association, which was still supporting orphans of the yellow fever epidemic of 1855. The worst tragedy of a tragic period, however, was the execution of a prominent and beloved citizen. Dr. David M. Wright, a survivor of 1855, very rashly and unwisely drew a pistol and fatally wounded the white lieutenant commanding a company of Negro soldiers, who had been behaving obnoxiously toward white citizens on the street. For this act, Dr. Wright was tried by a military tribunal, was found guilty of murder and was hanged. For five years after the surrender of Lee in 1865, the city administration was almost entirely in the hands of "Radicals," carpet-baggers, freedmen and the like; it was not until 1870 that the Conservative Democratic element regained a majority of elective offices.²¹ A highlight of this period when reconstruction was almost over was the visit to the city of Virginia's beloved military leader, Robert E. Lee. Nearing the end of a Southern tour, the president of Washington College passed through Augusta and Wilmington, and arrived in Portsmouth by the Seaboard and Roanoke on Saturday, 30 April 1870. He was greeted enthusiastically by admirers and former comrades in arms, including his former adjutant, Colonel Walter H. Taylor, and another veteran, Dr. William Selden, at whose home the Confederate leader was to stay. On Sunday, May 1st, he attended services in old Christ Church, and departed from

the city the following Thursday. This was one of the General's last public appearances and he died less than six months later.²²

Hostilities were scarcely over when the railroads began to repair their lines and restore service. Trains were moving by early 1866 over both Norfolk &



(Courtesy Norfolk Chamber of Commerce)

NORFOLK—ORIGINAL HOME (1876)
AT 236 E. MAIN STREET OF BANK OF COMMERCE,
NOW A PART OF
THE NATIONAL BANK OF COMMERCE

Petersburg and Seaboard & Roanoke lines, the former in February and the latter in April, and on account of these connections Norfolk began to emerge as a great cotton port. In 1870, the Norfolk & Petersburg was merged with the South Side Rail Road (Petersburg to Lynchburg) and the East Tennessee & Virginia (Lynchburg to Bristol) under the grandiose title of Atlantic, Mississippi & Ohio with William Mahone as president. A temporary setback occurred in 1873 because of the financial panic at that time, but in 1876 the line was reorganized under its present familiar name of Norfolk & Western

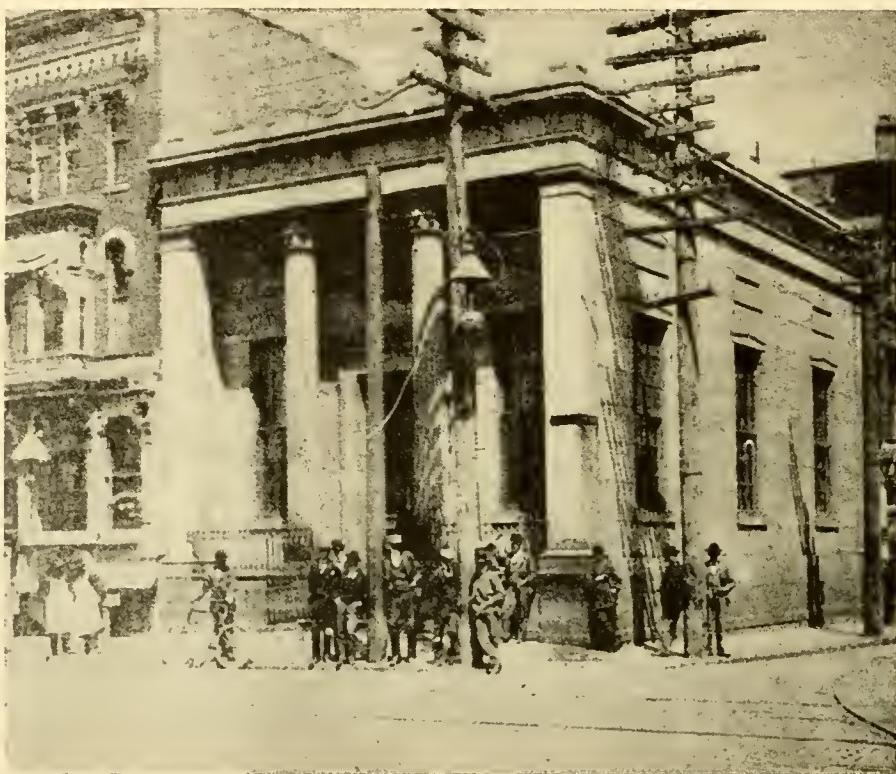
and a new era for the port began. By 1883, connections were made with the rich Pocahontas coal region of southwest Virginia and West Virginia, and the first car of coal arrived in Norfolk. The Eastern Branch terminal was found too cramped for this new activity, and in 1886 the new piers at Lambert's Point were put in service. In the following year, the line pushed farther on to the west from Bristol through Kentucky to the Ohio and on to Columbus, thus tapping the western grain belt.²³

Meanwhile other rail lines were seeking links with the ports on the Elizabeth. The Elizabeth City & Norfolk Rail Road, chartered in 1870, began operation in 1881, was extended to Edenton, and was consolidated with the Albemarle & Pantego in 1891 to form the nucleus of the present Norfolk & Southern. This line to some extent superseded the two canal connections with North Carolina. As early as 1867, a line was projected from Norfolk to Danville; in 1882 the Atlantic & Danville was chartered, was completed to Danville in 1890, and in 1899 was leased for fifty years to the Southern Railway system which thus gained a deepwater outlet at Pinner's Point, across the river from Norfolk. Another company was looking in the same direction in 1886, and arrangements were made to join the Western Branch Belt Line (to Suffolk), the Tunis & Serpell Lumber Company narrow gauge (which was standardized) and the Chowan & Southern to Tarboro, North Carolina; in 1889, these were merged into the Norfolk & Carolina as part of the Atlantic Coast Line system with a terminal at Pinner's Point. This completed the cycle with the exception of an outlet to the North, a difficult thing to accomplish in view of the water obstacles in that direction. But this, too, was accomplished in 1883 by the building of the New York, Philadelphia & Norfolk line (familiarly known as the "Nyp'n'N") with strong influence and backing of the Pennsylvania. From its southern terminus at Cape Charles, passengers and freight were ferried to Norfolk via steamer and car-barge. In 1898, the management of this line took the initiative in the establishment of the Norfolk & Portsmouth Belt Line Rail Road, jointly owned and managed by all the railway companies of the port, to facilitate the distribution and transfer of freight among all points along the waterfront. To complete the picture, it should be pointed out that in 1868 the Chesapeake & Ohio had its eye on a Hampton Roads outlet, but chose Newport News instead of Norfolk because of the absence of competing lines on the Peninsula; this is a story for another chapter.²⁴

Of great importance in reconstructing the post-war economy of Norfolk were its financial institutions. As has been noted, only the Merchants and Mechanics Savings Bank (founded in 1851) permanently survived the War, but soon after the conflict others appeared on the scene. In fact, the genesis of the two largest houses still in existence* occurred in the space of a few

* The Seaboard Citizens National Bank and the National Bank of Commerce (see next chapter).

months; they were the Citizens Bank and the Peoples Bank. Established in April, 1867, the Citizens Bank had as its president Richard Taylor, cashier W. W. Chamberlaine, and among its early directors were R. H. Chamberlaine, C. W. Grandy, R. C. Taylor, W. W. Sharp and Richard Walke, Jr. Some other early presidents were R. H. Chamberlaine, Goldsborough M.



(Courtesy Norfolk Chamber of Commerce)

NORFOLK—1896 PICTURE OF MARINE BANK BUILDING,
NOW A PART OF THE NATIONAL BANK OF COMMERCE

Serpell, and McDonald L. Wrenn. The Peoples Bank was chartered in October, 1867, with J. C. Deming, president, William S. Wilkinson, cashier, and a board of directors including Captain A. L. Seabury, Thomas D. Toy, James E. Barry and Jacob Vickery and others. In 1872 was founded the Marine Bank, with Richard Taylor as president, James C. Taylor as cashier, and directors including B. P. Loyall, Washington Read, M. L. T. Davis and George W. Dey; in 1877 Colonel Walter H. Taylor became its president. In 1885 was founded the Norfolk National Bank, with C. G. Ramsay as president, C. W. Grandy as vice-president and Caldwell Hardy as cashier. There was also the City National Bank whose officers in 1900 were president A. E. Krise, vice-

president C. A. Nash, and cashier B. W. Leigh. These were the principal financial institutions here before 1900.²⁵

In addition to the Gas Company previously mentioned, other public services and utilities made their appearance. In 1871, Thomas J. Keville became first paid fire chief. In 1871 also, the supplying of water began from the new pumping station at Moore's Bridges, still the location of the Norfolk City Waterworks. Franchised in 1866, the Norfolk City Railroad Company began laying tracks in 1869, and its horse-drawn streetcars began to run the length of Main Street in 1871. By 1893, the cars were running also to Brambleton, Huntersville, Ghent and Atlantic City. In the latter year it was decided to electrify and in October, 1894, the first electric trolley was operating.²⁶

During the occupation in 1862, the Norfolk Academy was preempted by Federal authorities and converted into a hospital. It was returned to the Academy trustees in September, 1865, and was reopened the following month with Reverend Robert Gatewood as headmaster. In 1877, the city authorities attempted to take over the building for use as a high school on the theory that the property had been intended for public education; however, this move was unsuccessful and the Academy continued as a private school, which it had been since 1804. In 1882, it came under the guidance of Robert W. Tunstall and James Dillard, and from 1887 to 1900 Mr. Tunstall was headmaster alone. In 1894, the Hemingway School, a private institution in Brambleton, was purchased by the city and became the first High School.²⁷

A great increase in Masonic activities took place in the post-war period. Owens Lodge No. 164 was chartered in 1867 on application of Thomas F. Owens, Samuel P. Moore and Walter H. Taylor, its principal officers. In 1869, James B. Blanks, J. A. Yancey and W. B. Seal petitioned for a dispensation to establish Ruth Lodge No. 89. The individuals named in each case were respectively master, senior warden and junior warden. Thus with four active lodges, as well as other related organizations—Royal Arch Chapter (1820) and Grice Commandery of Knights-Templars (1866)—a need was felt for more space than was afforded in the old Mason Temple on Church Street. Hence arrangements were made in 1869 to dispose of the latter and to acquire another site—back on the "old street" this time—at the southeast corner of Freemason and Brewer Streets. The corner-stone was laid in April, 1871, in the presence of Colonel Thomas F. Owens, Grand Master, and in November, 1875, the completed Temple was dedicated by Grand Master, General William B. Taliaferro. It was a massive four-story structure of red brick, and still stands but is slated for early dismantling as these lines are being written.²⁸

In the newspaper field there was only one real survivor of the War, the *Norfolk Day Book*, founded in 1857 and which finally suspended publication in 1880. The first founded after the War and the longest-lived of Norfolk

papers was the *Norfolk Virginian* which began publication in November, 1865; in 1867 Michael Glennan bought into the company and became sole owner in 1876. In 1898, the *Virginian* was merged with the *Daily Pilot*, then only four years old, under the name of *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*. The *Norfolk Journal* (established in 1866) and the *Norfolk Landmark* (founded 1870) were merged under the latter name in 1874; this paper had a well-known editor in Captain James Barron Hope, soldier, poet and school superintendent, descendant of a distinguished family. The *Public Ledger* was founded in 1876 by J. Richard Llewelyn, Walter A. Edwards and Joseph G. Fiveash; and the youngest of all the above groups was the *Norfolk Dispatch* which began publication in 1896. How all these newspapers came under the same management is a story for the next chapter.²⁹

After the War of 1861 and with the constant increase in population, the Norfolk churches continued to grow in both numbers and influence. In 1871, the Second Presbyterian Church was organized by a group which included William H. Broughton and Luther Sheldon; its new building was dedicated in October, 1873, on the south side of Freemason Street just west of Boush. About 1870, a Protestant Episcopal Guild was formed by Christ Church and Saint Paul's Church, and a cornerstone was laid for its building in April, 1873. This was the beginning of Saint Luke's. The site was on the north side of Bute Street between the intersections of Granby Street and James Street (Monticello Avenue); the former did not then extend north of Bute and the latter did not extend south, and the lot would now be between Granby Street and Monticello Avenue. In 1876 the Baptist Church on Bute Street was destroyed by fire, and a new red-brick building was erected on the same site and dedicated in 1877.³⁰

In 1891, the trustees of Granby Street Methodist Church* purchased the lot at the northeast corner of Freemason and Boush Streets and began construction of a new building. In 1894, the new church was dedicated under the name Epworth Methodist Church, the old street designation being no longer appropriate. The old site was purchased by John L. Roper, who sold it the following year (1895) to the trustees of the First Baptist Church. This must not be confused with the all-Negro church on Bute Street; as early as 1886 it used the name Cumberland Street First Baptist Church and, upon moving, simply dropped the street designation. The lovely old building on Cumberland Street, built in 1816, was soon dismantled.³¹

Of the many other churches which grew up after mid-nineteenth century, we pause to enumerate the most familiar ones: Berkley Avenue Baptist (1873), Central and Park Avenue Baptist (1885), Spurgeon Memorial Baptist (1892), Burrows Memorial Baptist (1894), Park Place Baptist (1900), Colley Memo-

* John L. Roper, B. T. Bockover, S. F. Pearce, G. S. Bruce, L. Clay Kilby, B. D. Thomas, R. A. Dodson, McDonald L. Wrenn.

rial Presbyterian Chapel (1883), Colonial Avenue Methodist (1884), First Christian (Congregational, 1847, in Berkley), First Christian (Disciples, 1872), Sacred Heart Roman Catholic Chapel (York Street, 1894), First Lutheran (Charlotte Street, 1894), Ohef Sholom (1859*), and Beth-El (1850).³²

Norfolk had a college as early as 1880. Growing out of the Norfolk Institute for Young Ladies, operated by Reverend R. N. Saunders before 1879, the Norfolk College for Young Ladies began enrolling students in 1880 under the direction of Mr. Saunders and a board of directors headed by John L. Roper, and including William S. Wilkinson (Treasurer), Kader Biggs, Luther Sheldon, George W. Dey, George M. Bain, A. A. McCullough and others. Its building was constructed that year at the northwest corner of Granby and Washington Streets, the latter of which became College Place in 1888. The college continued in existence only until 1899, when it was obliged to close its doors because of lack of local support. Some of the young ladies who attended were Misses Juliet Core, Fannie Dey, Virginia Gatewood, Nina Seabury, Henneye Spagat, Beulah Skinner, Margaret Roper, Rose Bruce, Clara Neeley, Lucy Brickhouse, Pearla Hayes, Sadie Spagat, Emma Pedrick, Emily Keeling, May Bellamy, Annie Dey, Effie Eley, Nettie Norsworthy, Fannie Seabury, Mamie Pedrick, Mae White, Ruth Owens, Grace Core, Celeste Jones, Pearl Eure and Mamie Bunting. This list is, of course, far from complete.³³

Another early educational institution of short duration but lasting influence was the Leache-Wood Seminary. Founded in 1871 by the two ladies who gave it their name—Irene Leache and Anna Cogswell Wood—this school for young ladies was held first in the Presbyterian Church, and later (1882) moved into a building on the south side of Freemason Street a little west of Granby. The school was leased in 1891 because of Miss Leache's ill health, and lasted only a few years longer. Still a third institution of learning is better known because of a later use of its building than on its own account. The Norfolk Female Institute, a boarding school for young ladies, was founded in 1849 in a large building covering a whole block on Holt Street near Saint Mary's; its principals were two ministers named Aristides Smith and Leonidas South. After the Institute ceased to exist the building was owned by Father O'Keefe, who was pastor of Saint Mary's until 1887. It then became a hospital with the quaint and meaningful name "Retreat for the Sick." Just about the turn of the century a new building was constructed on Raleigh Avenue and it became the Norfolk Protestant Hospital.³⁴

The Norfolk Light Artillery Blues—having given good account of themselves at Fredericksburg, Cold Harbor, Chancellorsville, Gettysburg and the Crater—were among the units which reached the end of the long road at

* This is the date of a new and permanent building for a congregation which had been in existence since 1836.

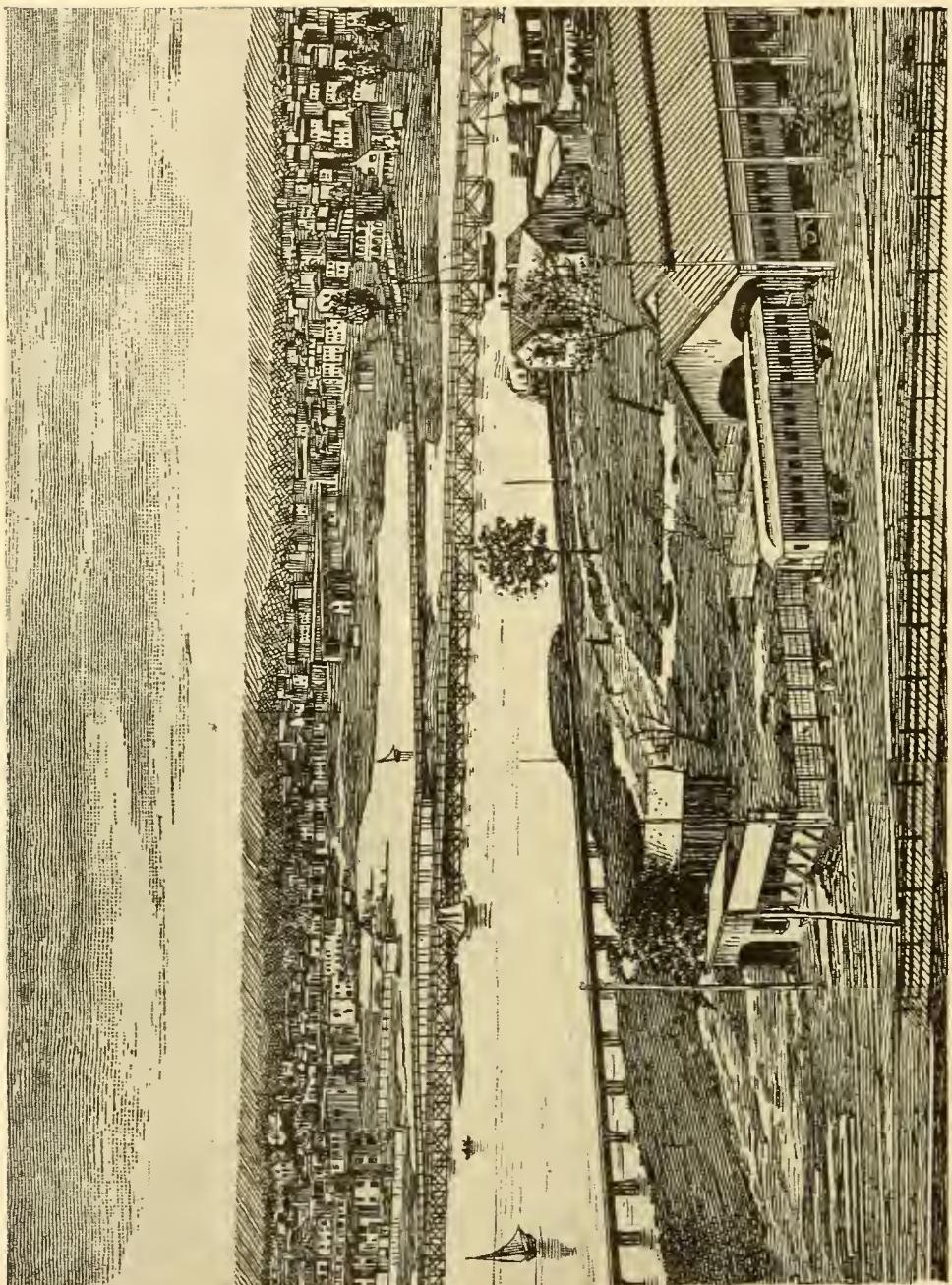


(Courtesy Norfolk Chamber of Commerce)

NORFOLK LIGHT ARTILLERY BLUES IN THE GAY NINETIES

Appomattox in 1865 and like many others were disbanded at that time. Reorganization of the Blues came after Reconstruction in 1871, and in 1872 William E. Taylor (second of this name) was elected captain. Captain Taylor lived in a tremendous mansion on a lot covering the whole block of Bute Street between Yarmouth and Dunmore and reaching back to York; it is now headquarters of the Y.M.C.A. The Blues did not see active service in the Spanish-American War; during that period of its existence the unit was officially known as Battery B, First Battalion of Artillery, Virginia Volunteers. Norfolk was also headquarters for the Fourth Infantry Regiment, Virginia Volunteers (forerunner of our present National Guard), commanded by Colonel C. A. Nash.³⁵

It was in late nineteenth century Norfolk underwent its first territorial expansion since acquiring the title of "city"—in fact, since the adjustment of boundary in 1807 mentioned in the previous chapter. The names of the newly annexed territories were Brambleton and Atlantic City.³⁶ Beginning as a subdivision on the farm of the late George Bramble in 1872, Brambleton was added to the city in 1887. It extended east of the original city territory as far as Ohio Creek and what is now Memorial Park, and was bounded north by present Corpew Avenue. Brambleton was joined to the old area by a causeway at the east end of Queen Street and a bridge at the foot of Holt Street, both crossing Plume's Creek (formerly Newton's, and earlier Dun-in-the-Mire). It was not long before the old creek bed was largely filled in, though part of it remained as Mahone's Lake at what is now Jackson Park and northward; even today this area is drained by a culvert known as Mahone's Canal. Atlantic City is a term now applied to a small area of riverfront on both sides of Colley Avenue, southwest of Olney Road. As a matter of fact, when annexed in 1890, Atlantic City reached from the Norfolk & Western terminal at Lambert's Point, and touched the railway tracks (23rd Street) as far as Elmwood Cemetery. This is why—when three new public schools were built in this area after the turn of the century—they were called Atlantic City No. 1 (now Patrick Henry), Atlantic City No. 2 (now Robert E. Lee) and Atlantic City No. 3 (now John Marshall). The most important part of the 1890 annexation was Ghent, which soon became a fashionable residential section. This, too, is a name that is loosely used and little understood nowadays. It is traditional that one Commodore Drummond had a ship named *Rob Roy* which brought back a copy of the Treaty of Ghent (or Gaunt, in Belgium) in 1814 at the close of our second war with England; his residence is said to have been named "Ghent" on that account. A map of 1876 shows that label on a mansion near where Drummond Place meets Warren Crescent, approached from the south by a foot-bridge from Botetourt Street and from the north by a lane (present Moran Avenue) joining the main east-west road (Princess Anne Road). Another tradition connects the name with one of the



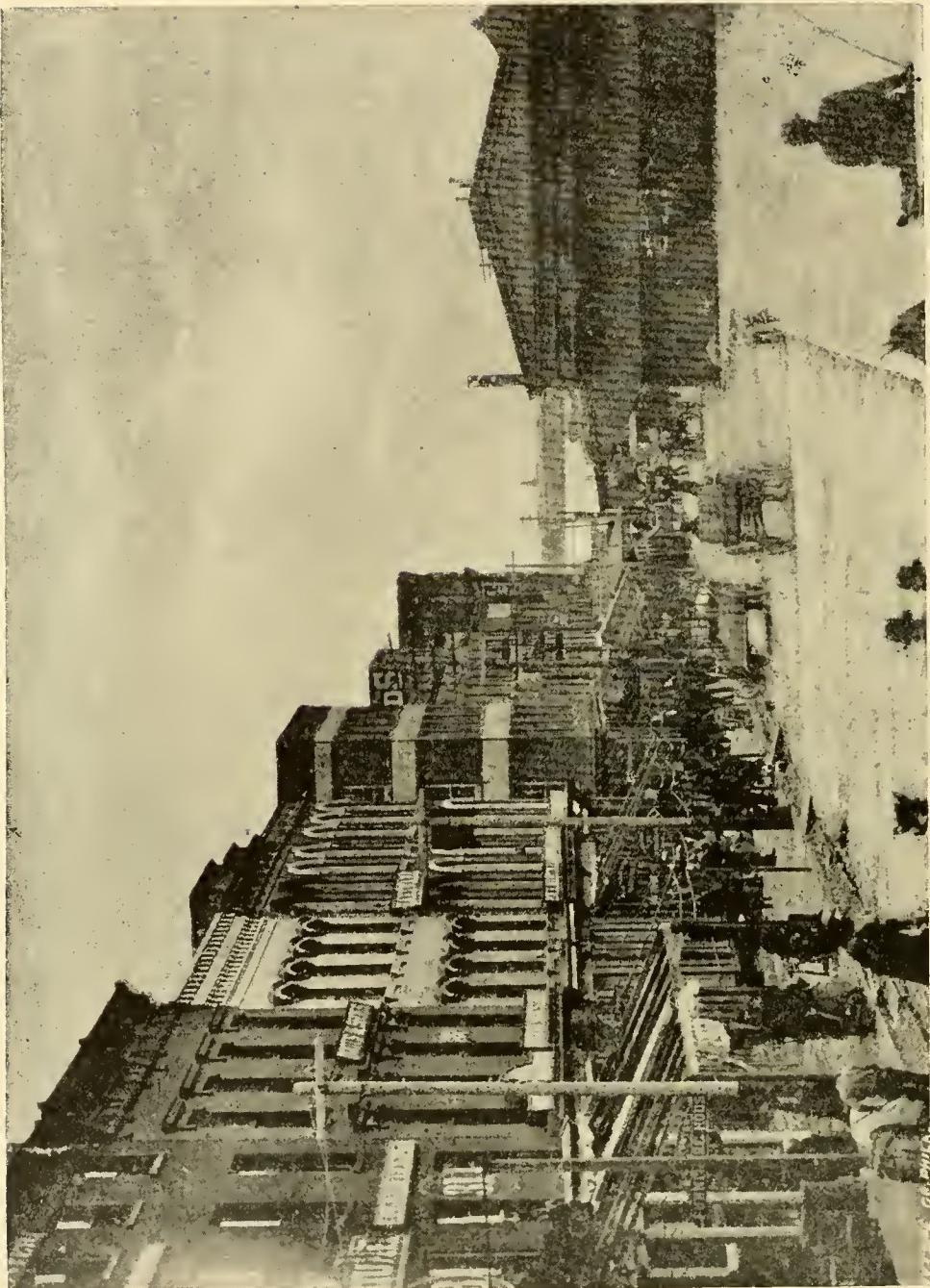
NORFOLK—1888 VIEW SHOWING CAR HOUSES OF
NORFOLK AND WESTERN RAILROAD

promoters of the development, J. P. André Mottu,* a gentleman of Belgian antecedents; this would also explain the presence of two Dutch names in the area—Holland being a “next-door neighbor” of Belgium—in the Hague, the body of water touching Mowbray Arch, and in Boissevain Avenue. As originally laid out, Ghent reached roughly from Mowbray Arch to Princess Anne Road and from Moran Avenue to Langley Road. It was not long before this area began to replace the “west end” (Freemason, Bute and York Streets) as the most desirable residential district, though many of the older families clung to the old section, and even today there are a handful of private homes in that now downtown area. Even Granby Street in the latter nineteenth century was still largely residential; in addition to those already mentioned, there were the Cincinnatus W. Newton residence (west side between Plume Street and City Hall Avenue), the Dickson residence (southeast corner of Tazewell Street), the Tazewell Taylor residence (southeast corner of Market Street), the Caldwell Hardy residence (northeast corner of Market Street), the C. A. Nash residence (north of the Granby Street Methodist Church). On Boush Street there were the Judge W. B. Martin residence (east side north of Tazewell Street), the former William Dey residence (northeast corner of College Place) and the Reverend Robert Gatewood residence (just north of where Epworth Church now is); on Duke Street at the head of College Place was the Serpell residence.

There is a disconcerting tendency in Norfolk to change street names with more than usual frequency. It must be admitted that there are laudable motives behind such a principle: it eliminates duplication for one thing, and it also puts under a single name one street which may have formerly been known by a series of names. But we wonder sometimes whether these two advantages—especially the latter—are worth the sacrificing of old and meaningful names which lend charm and personality to the city in proportion to its years, now nearly three centuries worth of them. Let the reader imagine, for instance, the loss that would be entailed by combining under the same name Piccadilly, Knightsbridge, Kensington Gore Road, Kensington High Street and Hammersmith Road; or the Strand, Fleet Street, Ludgate Hill and Cannon Street. The same loss is present—in lesser proportion, probably—in Norfolk. It would not be profitable to enumerate all such name changes, but some are important to be noted. A city ordinance of 1871 listed the alterations in street names that had occurred in the preceding six years, some of which were:

- Catharine Street* to Bank Street
- Wide Water Street to Water Street
- Little Water Street to Elizabeth Street (now Upton's Lane)
- Gray Street to Atlantic Street

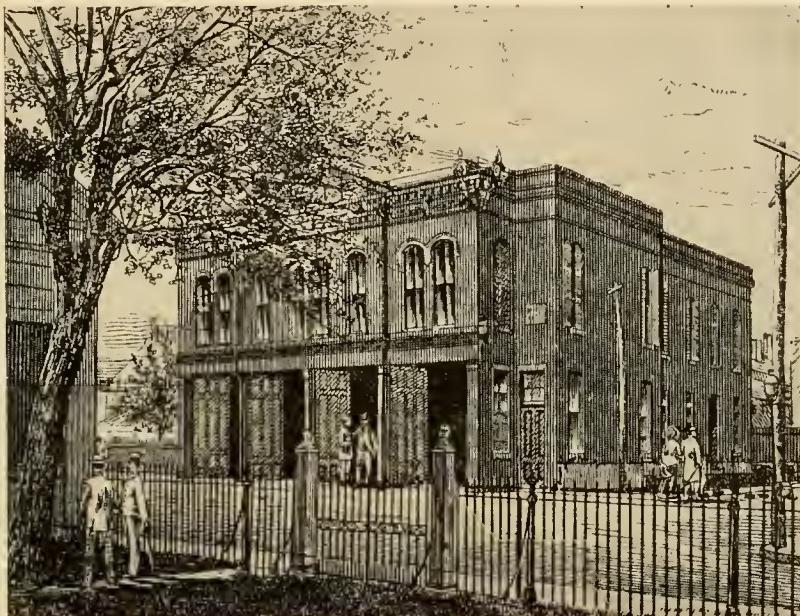
* Namesake of J. P. André, whose French-inscribed tombstone in the old churchyard shows he died in 1809.



(Courtesy Norfolk Chamber of Commerce)

NORFOLK—A PORTION OF MARKET SQUARE (NOW COMMERCIAL PLACE) IN 1888

Amelia Street* to Boush Street
 Princess Street* to Duke Street
 Marsh Street to Cove Street (both are now City Hall Avenue)
 Wolfe Street to Washington Street



(Courtesy Norfolk Chamber of Commerce)

NORFOLK—NORFOLK FIRE DEPARTMENT IN 1888.
 THIS BUILDING, ON PLUME STREET, IS STILL USED AS FIRE HEADQUARTERS

A little later, some additional important changes were made:

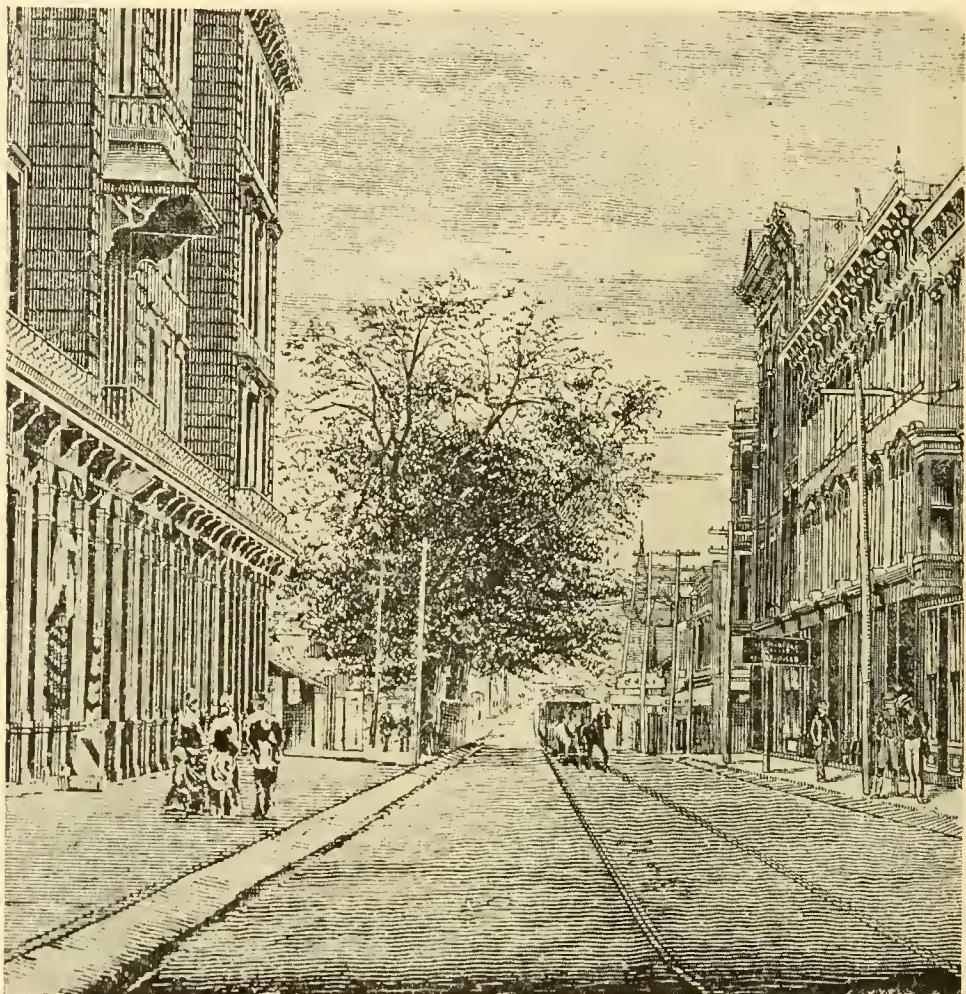
Washington Street back to Wolfe Street (1880). (it is now Market Street)
 City Hall Avenue, "now [1885] being graded from Bank Street to Granby Street"; this was the end of the Stone Bridge and the Back Creek.
 Washington Street to College Place (1888) (west of Granby).
 Brambleton Avenue,* east from Queen Street (1889).
 Market Square and Commercial Row combined to form Commercial Place (1894).³⁷

Old city maps and newspaper advertisements—and other sources too numerous to cite—furnish the names of business and professional firms and individuals, some of which survive in altered firm styles and many of which are only a nostalgic memory of an older generation. Before the War of 1861,

* Each of these was the northward extension of the following name, though Catharine was older than Bank by forty years.

* Eventually replaced Queen Street entirely.

for instance, there were John Burrow (druggist), John D. Couper's Marble Works, John D. Gordan and Company (bankers), Burruss, Harrison and Company (bankers), George W. Dey and Company (drugs and chemicals),



(Courtesy Norfolk Chamber of Commerce)

NORFOLK—GRANBY STREET ABOUT 1878. OLD ATLANTIC HOTEL ON LEFT

L. C. Dey and Company (merchant tailors) of which the senior partner was William Dey, Ferguson and Milhado (merchants), M. A. & C. A. Santos (established 1819, drugs and chemicals), King and Toy (or Thomas D. Toy and Company, established 1835, drugs and chemicals), C. W. Grandy and Sons (cotton factors, established 1845), Vickery and Company (books and stationery), W. S. Spratley (firearms), Jenkins and Wrenn (carriages) and Ferguson and Wilkinson (auctioneers). Just after the War, there were Bur-

row and White (druggists), Hofheimers and Company, Baird and Roper's shipyard (where they launched, in 1875, a three-masted schooner, the *Lydia H. Roper*), Taylor and Martin, later Taylor, Elliott and Watters** (hardware), George W. Dey (later George W. Dey and Son, insurance), C. F. Greenwood and Brother and D. P. Paul (two jewelers, later combined in Paul-Gale-Greenwood Company), M. Umstadter (dry goods), Peter Smith (dry goods), Taylor and Loyall (groceries), A. A. McCullough (lumber), Batchelder and Collins (building materials), A. Wrenn (carriages, see above, later A. Wrenn and Son, one of the first automobile agencies here), Sterling T. Oliver (undertaker). In 1871 and 1872 respectively, R. S. Dodson was operating the Atlantic Hotel and the "Vue de l'Eau" Hotel; the former was at Main and Atlantic Streets and later at Main and Granby, while the latter was at Pine Beach (Seawell's Point) near where the Jamestown Exposition was later to be. From the last decade of the century date the city's three well-known department stores: Smith and Welton, formed by a partner of Peter Smith and Company and a partner of Lawrence and Welton; the W. G. Swartz Company, formerly Miller, Roads and Swartz, the first two names of which are still well known in Richmond; and Ames and Brownley, formerly Ames, Brownley and Hornthal. Still another—Watt, Rettew and Clay—is no longer in existence.

Some of the mayors of the last half of the century were as follows:

119. Simon S. Stubbs	24 June 1851	
120. Hunter Woodis	— 1853	
121. Simon S. Stubbs (2)*	— 1854	
122. Hunter Woodis (2)	— 1855	died of yellow fever.
123. Ezra T. Summers	Nov. 1855	
124. Finlay F. Ferguson	24 June 1856	
125. William W. Lamb (1, 2, 3)	— 1858	elected 3 terms and served until imprisoned by the Yankees in 1863.
126. William H. Brooks	— 1863	
127. James L. Belote	— 1864	
128. Thomas C. Tabb	— 1865	appointed Judge in May, 1866.
129. William W. Lamb (4)	May 1866	
130. John R. Ludlow	24 June 1866	removed by military authorities.
131. Francis De Cordy	Mar. 1868	
132. John B. Whitehead	July 1870**	
133. John R. Ludlow (2)	— 1872	
134. John B. Whitehead (2)	— 1874	

** Now Watters & Martin.

* As before, the parenthetical numbers indicate those who served more than one term.

** From this point on, took office upon election in July for two years.

135.	John S. Tucker (1, 2)	—	1876	served 2 terms.
136.	William W. Lamb (5, 6, 7)	—	1880	served 3 terms.
137.	Barton Myers	—	1886	
138.	R. G. Banks	—	1888	
139.	E. M. Henry		Mar. 1890	
140.	Frank Morris		July 1890	d. Jan. 1892
141.	S. Marx		Jan. 1892	
142.	A. B. Cooke		July 1892	
143.	Charles W. Pettit	—	1894 ³⁸	

NOTES ON CHAPTER XV

N.B. See remark at beginning of Chapter I notes.

1. *Norfolk Ordinances (1845)*, pp. 273-280.
2. Forrest, *Norfolk*, pp. 235, 254-6, 212.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 229.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 245-6; Burton, *Norfolk*, pp. 215-6.
5. Forrest, *op. cit.*, pp. 237, 241-3; *Norfolk City Records*, Deed Book 31, p. 352.
6. Forrest, *op. cit.*, pp. 240, 256-8; R. Jones, *Portsmouth Association*, p. 151; W. H. Hipp, Jr., in *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*, 16 October 1955; *Norfolk City Records*, Deed Book 31, p. 63-4. The original records of Freemason Street Baptist Church show 77 constituent members, and any different statements are incorrect.
7. R. Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 46, 52, 224-5; *First Baptist Church Sesquicentennial Jubilee Program (1950)*, p. 4.
8. *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*, 1 November 1936, 26 June 1940.
9. *Ibid.*, 16 October 1955.
10. Wertenbaker, *Norfolk*, p. 196; Forrest, *op. cit.*, pp. 226, 282; Burton, *op. cit.*, p. 12.
11. Burton, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-15, 18, 30, 37; Wertenbaker, *op. cit.*, p. 201.
12. Burton, *op. cit.*, pp. 13, 37; see Chapter XI, *supra*.
13. Forrest, *op. cit.*, p. 264; Burton, *op. cit.*, pp. 15, 29; *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*, 26 June 1940.
14. Burton, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-24; Wertenbaker, *op. cit.*, 209-16; Armstrong, *Summer of the Pestilence (passim)*.
15. Georgianna Taliaferro in *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*, 13 May 1956; see also *Ibid.*, 27 November 1938; *Norfolk City Records*, Deed Book 38, p. 83.
16. Saint Mary's Parish, pp. 13, 16, 20-21, 32-33, 38-39, 45.
17. Ralph Pool in *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*, 1 November 1936; Col. William Couper, *Ibid.*, 16 January 1955.
18. Burton, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-9.
19. *Ibid.*, pp. 51-68 (*passim*); *Union and Confederate Army Records*, I (Part II), 51.
20. Burton, *op. cit.*, pp. 88-9, 78; Porter, *Norfolk County*, pp. 135, 143, 312.
21. Burton, *op. cit.*, pp. 79-135 (*passim*). Wertenbaker, *op. cit.*, pp. 242-3, 246.
22. Alf J. Mapp, Jr., in *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*, 18 September 1955.
23. Burton, *op. cit.*, p. 135; Wertenbaker, *op. cit.*, pp. 298-310 (*passim*).
24. *Ibid.*, pp. 305-8.
25. Joseph R. Bobbitt, Jr., in *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*, 26 June 1940.
26. Wertenbaker, *op. cit.*, pp. 316-8; Burton, *op. cit.*, p. 218.
27. Wertenbaker, *op. cit.*, pp. 280-1.
28. Squires in *Norfolk Ledger-Dispatch*, 21 July 1938; Georgianna Taliaferro in *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*, 30 October 1949; Burton *op. cit.*, pp. 139, 164.
29. *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*, 1 November 1936.
30. Burton, *op. cit.*, pp. 149, 152; *First Baptist Church Sesquicentennial Jubilee Program (1950)*, p. 4.

31. *Norfolk City Records*, Deed Book 96, p. 209; Deed Book 116, p. 125; I have seen an old "Cumberland Street First Baptist Church" bulletin of 1886, and copied the title, but do not know now where it is (Editor's note).
32. *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*, 26 June 1940.
33. *Loc. cit.*
34. Ronald May in *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*, 23 October 1955; Forrest, *op. cit.*, p. 245.
35. J. C. Emmerson, Jr., in *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*, 26 June 1940; Burton, *op. cit.*, p. 142; record of enlistment and discharge (1897-1902) of Private Claude L. Whichard in possession of the writer.
36. Wertenbaker, *op. cit.*, pp. 286-7; 318-9.
37. *Norfolk City Ordinances (1894)*, pp. 263-6.
38. Burton, *op. cit.*, p. 234; *Norfolk City Ordinances (1894)*, p. 316. For Mayors after 1894, the reader is referred to easily available City Records.

Chapter XVI

The City of Norfolk

1900-1957

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY is over half gone and we, who are accustomed to counting time by centuries, realize with difficulty that we have been eye-witnesses to the happenings of over half of one of them. Norfolk has finally begun to realize its potentialities in both economic and cultural areas, and has become Virginia's largest city. A recognized historian, who wrote a history of Norfolk over a quarter-century ago, outlined the pitfalls in the path of those who would write contemporary history: lack of historical perspective, for instance, and the impropriety of writing critically of living persons. We shall follow his lead and chronicle the events of the present century with no attempt to interpret them, leaving such accomplishment for future generations.¹

After 1900, the city's territorial expansion by annexation of surrounding areas was accelerated at a remarkable rate, so that within a quarter-century the increase was many-fold what it had been in the previous century and a half. In 1902 there was the Park Place annexation: this took in roughly what is now known as Park Place, Riverview, Colonial Place, plus a small segment west of Colley Avenue. Next, in 1906, came the town of Berkley—mentioned in an earlier chapter—approximately a square mile at the confluence of the Eastern and Southern Branches of Elizabeth River. Following this, in 1911 there were the annexations of Lambert's Point and Huntersville: the former was north of the N. & W. tracks, west of Park Place, and its northern boundary was 49th Street; the latter—Huntersville—was sandwiched in between the old city and Brambleton on the south and Park Place on the north, and reached almost to Lafayette Park to include Villa Heights. The biggest increase of all came in 1923, when the city's boundary was extended to Berkley Avenue on the south, then followed the Virginian Railway tracks to Granby Street, then the latter to Mason's Creek, then eastward to the Princess Anne County line on the bay shore. This line took in Campostella and Newton Park (home of the Ford Motor Company's assembly plant), Chesterfield Heights, Ballentine Place, Lafayette Residence Park and Annex, Winona, Lakewood, North Granby Street, Larchmont, Edgewater, Algonquin Park,

(Courtesy Norfolk Chamber of Commerce)

NORFOLK—DOWNTOWN GRANBY STREET
LOOKING SOUTH FROM FREEMASON STREET



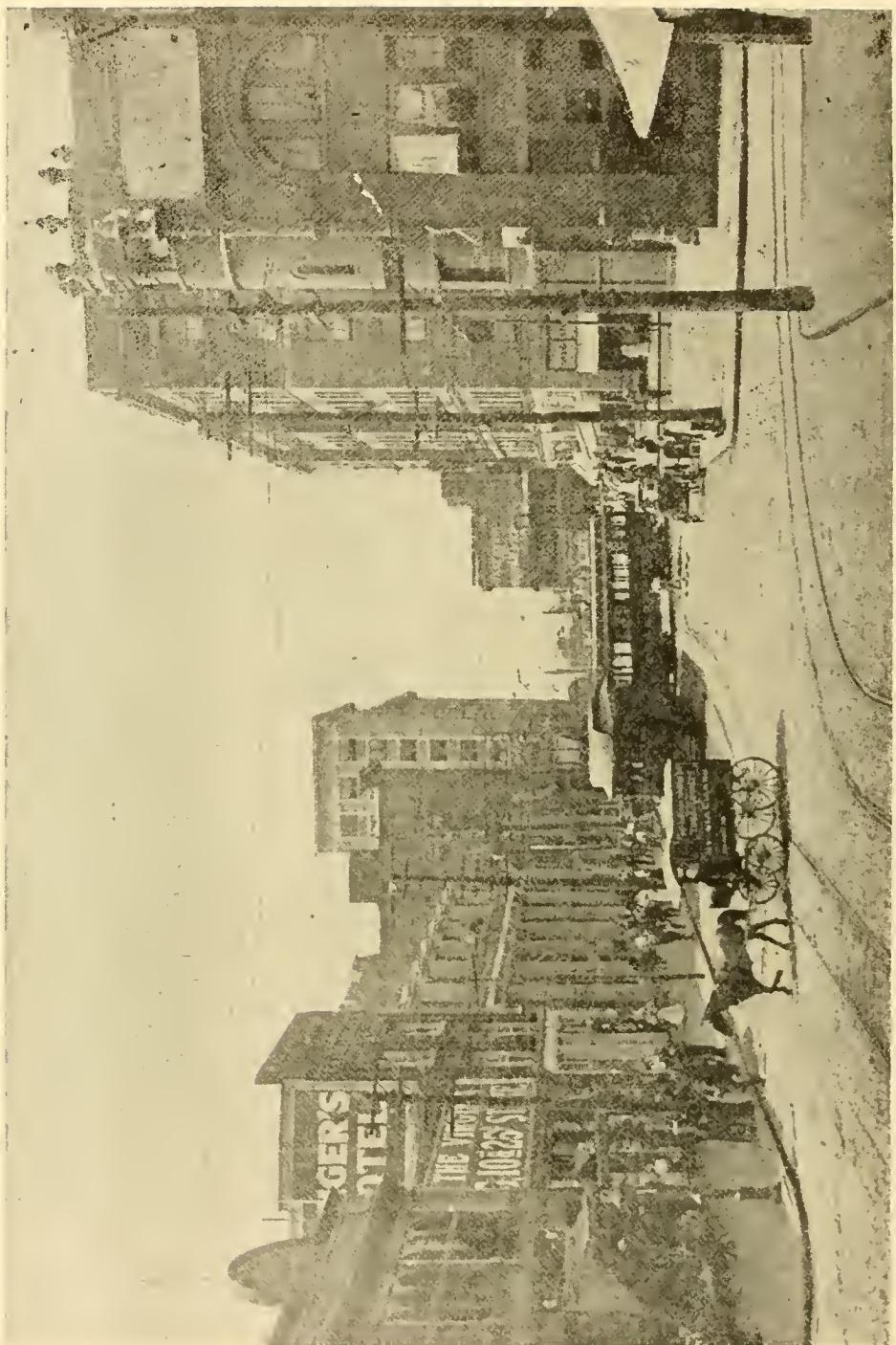
Meadowbrook, Lochhaven, all the area north to Willoughby Bay (except Federal property), plus Willoughby Beach, Ocean View, and the Cottage Line to Princess Anne County line, above mentioned. As noted in Chapter XI, this left only a small part of Tanner's Creek District, Norfolk County, bounded by Ocean View, Princess Anne County, the Eastern Branch and the Virginian Railway; this was taken into the city in 1955. By the time these lines reach press, the first expansion outside of Norfolk County will have occurred, and Norfolk will annex a part of Kempsville District, Princess Anne County, reaching from the mouth of Little Creek on the bay shore south to the Eastern Branch about a mile and a half east of Broad Creek.²

Such expansion went hand in hand with increased and improved transportation facilities. Gone were the days when gentlemen could walk to their offices and places of business. Before 1900 the horse-cars had given way to the electric trolley-car and soon the expanded city was covered by its lines. Many of us can still remember the dinky four-wheel street cars that ran from Ghent (West Redgate Avenue) in the west to Chesterfield Heights outside the city in the east, and from Main Street north to Riverview. There were also three principal suburban electric lines: the Norfolk & Atlantic Terminal Railway to Pine Beach (Seawell's Point), the single-track Bay Shore Line out Tanner's Creek Road (Granby Street extended) to Ocean View, and the Norfolk & Ocean View Railroad. The latter began as a steam line with its terminal on Henry Street, but was soon electrified and ran from Main and Granby to 18th Street, past the car-barns on Church Street and out 26th Street and Lafayette Boulevard, through Fairmount Park and Old Town Crossing (now Norview Five Points) to Ocean View and Willoughby Spit to connect with a small passenger steamer to Old Point Comfort. The Norfolk & Portsmouth Traction Company gave way to the Norfolk Railway & Light Company, which became the Virginia Railway & Power Company, under whose management all urban and suburban lines were consolidated. The latter was reorganized as the Virginia Electric & Power Company, and the Bay Shore Line was double-tracked and became the principal route to Ocean View and Willoughby. Gradually the street cars were replaced by busses and today have entirely disappeared; the bus lines are now operated by the Virginia Transit Company. Public transportation was soon supplemented by a revolution in private transportation in the form of the "horseless carriage," which first appeared in Norfolk in 1899; in 1900 the first automobile delivery service was inaugurated by Swift & Company. The electric line to Virginia Beach has been treated in another place.³

In the early days of this century, Norfolk's newest railroad came into being. Sponsored by H. H. Rogers of New York, the Virginian Railway was planned as early as 1905 and was put in operation in 1909 connecting the West Virginia coal fields near Deepwater on the Kanawha River with a "deep

(Courtesy Norfolk Chamber of Commerce)

NORFOLK—CITY HALL AVENUE, 1910



water" terminal at Seawell's Point. The Virginian, of course, also handled freight and passengers, but it was designed primarily as a coal carrier; its road-bed was laid out in the most direct line without regard for towns and was graded so evenly that it has been said a coal gondola could roll by gravitation alone from Deepwater to Norfolk. This is probably an exaggeration, but it is certainly true that the gradient permits the movement of coal trains with great economy of steam power. The combined coal dumpings of the Virginian at Seawell's Point, the Norfolk & Western at Lambert's Point (since 1886) and the Chesapeake & Ohio at Newport News (since 1883) have made of Hampton Roads the world's greatest coal port: in 1955 the total was 37.5 millions of net tons, of which 19.2 millions were dumped on the Norfolk side and 18.3 millions in Newport News. In 1956 the total for the port was 52 millions.

Two other developments in the railroad service of the port should be mentioned. In the first place, the Southern Railway's fifty-year lease (1899) of the Atlantic & Danville expired in 1949, and the latter road is now active in management again. This has made no appreciable change in the service supplied, and both lines still maintain their freight connection with Norfolk over the A. C. L. tracks to Pinner's Point and thence by barge or lighter. In the second place, the N.Y.P. & N. lost its nominal separate identity and became a branch of the Pennsylvania system, but this was more of a change in name than in fact. A new freight terminal was built at Little Creek, at first nearly five miles outside the city but now right at its edge, to which loaded freight cars were ferried from Cape Charles. The Chesapeake & Ohio still maintains its car-ferry terminal from Newport News in the heart of downtown Norfolk at Boush Street and Brooke Avenue.

Thus Norfolk is served by nine trunk lines and a belt line: three by land (Norfolk & Western, Norfolk & Southern, and Virginian), six by ferry (Pennsylvania, Chesapeake & Ohio, Seaboard Airline, Atlantic Coast Line, Southern, and Atlantic & Danville), and the Norfolk & Portsmouth Belt Line encircling the two cities and connecting all the others and the waterfront facilities. Of the six principal steamship lines that formerly served Norfolk (two to Baltimore, the Washington Line, the Old Dominion to New York, the Merchants' and Miners' to Boston and the Clyde Line to Philadelphia) only one is left, the Baltimore Steam Packet Company or "Old Bay Line," which alternates between Baltimore and Washington. Beginning with the first service to Liverpool in 1866 under the agency of Colonel William Lamb,⁵ Norfolk is now connected by direct ocean freight service—plus some limited passenger service—to all parts of the globe: Europe, Africa, South America, West Coast U.S. ports, Australia, New Zealand and the Far East.

Two new modes of travel have been largely responsible for the changing transportation picture; we refer, of course, to the bus and airplane. Two

major bus systems—Greyhound and Trailways—each with its modern convenient terminal downtown, operate lines and connections to all points north, south and west. The first airplane ascension took place here in 1910 on Lee's Parade, at the former Jamestown Exposition, now the United States Naval Base. Later, charter service and instruction facilities were established at a small airport on north Granby Street opposite Forest Lawn Cemetery. Today a modern Municipal Airport is managed by the Norfolk Port Authority; it was at first six miles from the city in Kempsville District of Princess Anne County, but will soon be within the city limits with the annexation of that part of the county. Three principal airlines have terminals here. The oldest of these is Capital Airlines, established in 1938, now operating service to Washington, Baltimore and to Midwest and Southwest points. Next came National Airlines in 1945, which now provides service from New York to Florida and Havana with connections to Europe, South America and the West Coast, and service to Washington and Boston. In 1948, Piedmont Airlines began operations, and now run to Cincinnati, Columbus, Louisville and Knoxville, with intermediate stops in both Virginia and West Virginia.

Another form of transportation was at one time indispensable here, but is gradually disappearing. We saw in early chapters how ferries were established at Elizabeth River in 1636 and across Hampton Roads in 1705. In 1952, the Elizabeth River Bridge-Tunnel Commission opened its bridge to Berkley and tunnel thence to Portsmouth, and the ferries to those points were in 1955 discontinued; a second such crossing is planned from Norfolk to Pinner's Point. In 1957 the Hampton Roads Bridge-Tunnel was inaugurated, connecting Willoughby Spit with Hampton by a tunnel under the main Hampton Roads channel and low-level bridges to each terminus; this eliminated the necessity for the two State-operated ferries to Old Point and Newport News. Now on the planning boards is a similar combination to connect with the Eastern Shore by a tunnel under Thimble Shoal Channel and bridges to the land termini; this will eliminate the ferry now operating between Little Creek and Kiptopeke, a little south of Cape Charles, and will use approximately the same points of departure. Thus finally will Norfolk have overcome its isolation by water on the north, the west and the south.

In 1905, the *Public Ledger* (1876) and the *Norfolk Dispatch* (1896) were consolidated under the name *Norfolk Ledger-Dispatch*; in 1912 the *Virginian-Pilot* (1865, 1898) and the *Norfolk Landmark* (1870) were merged with both names at the masthead but now the paper goes by the name of *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*. In 1933, both papers came under the combined management of Norfolk Newspapers, Inc. More recently this company acquired the *Portsmouth Star* (founded 1894), which is now published in conjunction with the *Pilot* on Sunday and the *Ledger* on week-days. In 1901,

the *Norfolk Journal and Guide*—now one of the leading Negro newspapers in the South—was founded by P. B. Young, Sr.⁶

Some recent developments in the banking field should be noted. In 1902 was founded the Virginia Savings Bank and Trust Company, with J. W. Hunter as president and William C. Whittle as cashier; it became the Vir-



(Courtesy Norfolk Chamber of Commerce)

NORFOLK—ENTRANCE TO MUNICIPAL GARDENS
SITE OF ANNUAL AZALEA FESTIVAL

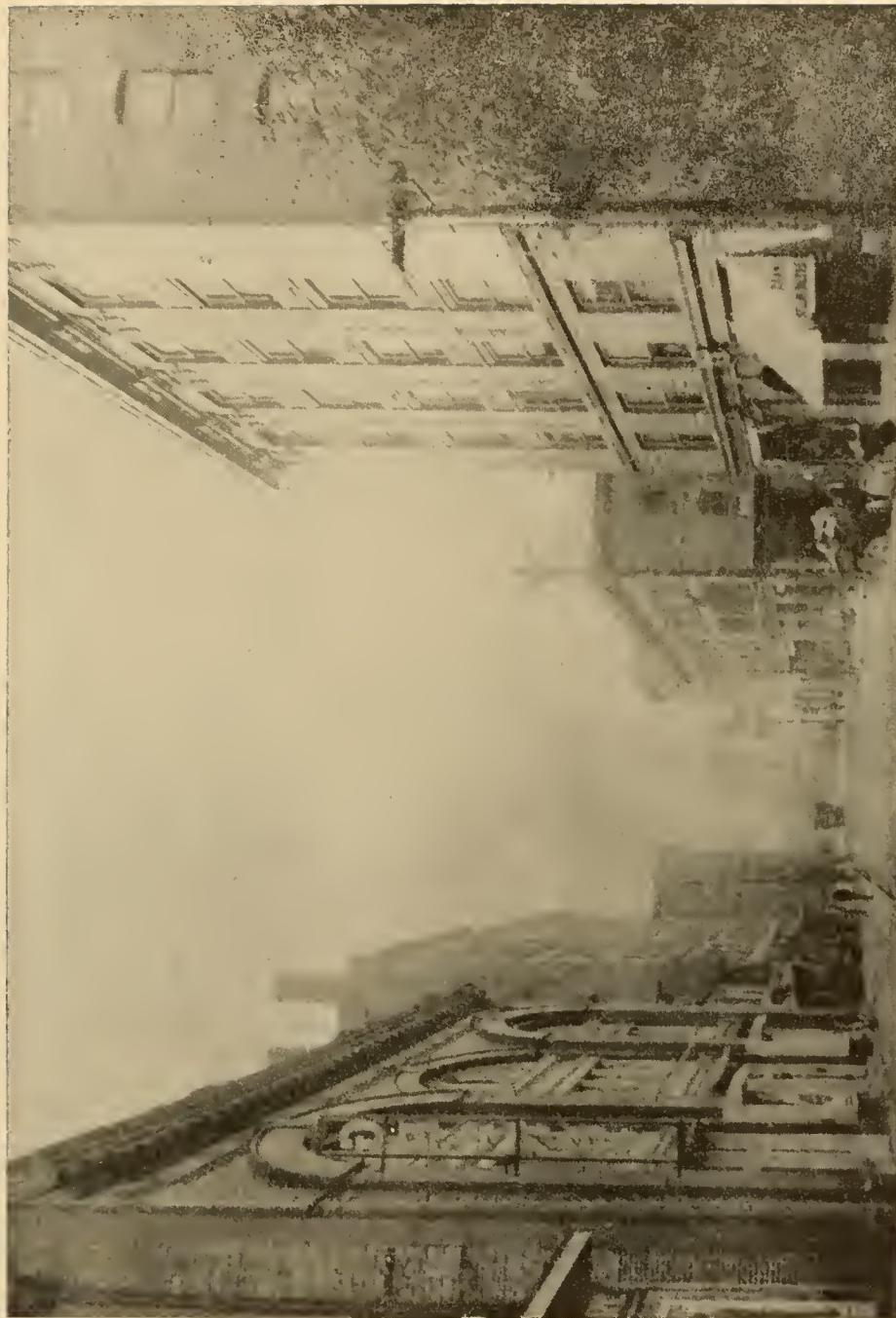
ginia National Bank in 1910 and had its headquarters in a handsome building at the corner of Main and Granby Streets. In 1921 the National Bank of Commerce absorbed the Marine Bank, and in 1927 was merged with the Norfolk National Bank and the Trust Company of Norfolk under the lengthy name of Norfolk National Bank of Commerce and Trusts; in 1933 it absorbed the Virginia National Bank and returned to its simpler style, the National Bank of Commerce. In 1905 the Seaboard National Bank was established with Judge M. L. Eure as president and fifteen directors, including J. A. Ridgewell, James Mann, L. R. Britt and S. Heth Tyler. In 1908 its president was Goldsborough Serpell, son of a former president of the Citizens Bank; Mr. Serpell was still president at the time of the merger of the Citizens and Seaboard Banks in 1928, and later became Chairman of the Board of the Seaboard Citizens National Bank. In 1938 this bank absorbed the Merchants and Mechanics Savings Bank. In 1900 was founded the Merchants and Planters Bank of Berkley, which merged with the National Bank of Commerce in

1957. The original Morris Plan Bank was established in Norfolk in 1910 by Arthur J. Morris, a pioneer in installment loan and industrial banking; it now goes by the name of Bank of Virginia and has branches in several cities. Norfolk's youngest major financial institution is the Southern Bank, chartered in 1932, which originated with the Southern Savings and Finance Company in 1917. The Southern Bank has its headquarters in the former Virginia National Bank building, and the main office of the Bank of Virginia in Norfolk is the old Norfolk National Bank building on Main Street. Norfolk also has a number of "building and loan" concerns, such as the Mutual Federal Savings and Loan Association (founded in 1889) and the Atlantic Permanent Building and Loan Association (founded in 1893).⁷

One of the big events in Norfolk early in this century was the Jamestown Exposition, which has been treated in detail in a separate chapter.⁸ The advertisements in various illustrated booklets of that period—plus those in daily papers, plus some personal reminiscence—furnish the names of some familiar commercial establishments. Some of these are still in existence, some go by different names, and some have disappeared from the local scene; wholesalers and jobbers: Southern Distributing Company (E. L. Woodard and C. E. Herbert), Charles Syer & Company, L. J. Upton & Company, Max Pincus & Company, A. Brinkley & Company, Old Dominion Tobacco Company, E. & M. Hirschler Company (formerly Hecht, Hirschler Company), Dodson, Fearing, Millar Company, Whichard Brothers Company, Incorporated (formerly Winston-Whichard Company, Harris-Woodson-Barbee Company, The Four Company; men's clothing: Hatch & Dean (Hatch & Koolidge), Shulman's, The Hub (Mansbach Brothers), Carr, Mears & Dawson (formerly Carr, Mears & Peebles); shoes: Hofheimer's, Lowenberg's, George W. Thomas, S. J. Thomas; grocers: L. P. Roberts & Company, D. Pender Grocery Company (parent of the D. P. Stores, predecessor of the Colonial Stores chain); tailors: Bonney & Gilbert (George W. Gilbert & Company), Rudolphi & Wallace; hotels: the Monticello, the Fairfax, the Lorraine (now the Thomas Nelson), the Lynnhaven (later the Southland and now the Commodore Maury); miscellaneous: Consumers' Brewing Company, Garrett Wineries, P. J. Malbon Company (hardware), Hampton Roads Paper Company, J. S. Bell, Jr., & Company (meat), Burke and Gregory (printers), Bosman, Lohman Peanut Company (local originators of the now universally popular peanut butter). The late Charles H. Consolvo, in addition to the Monticello Hotel, also operated the Ocean View Hotel and the Pine Beach Hotel; he was, moreover, interested in the monument business (Consolvo & Overmeyer) and in outdoor advertising (Consolvo & Cheshire). The advertisements of many of the above firms inform the public that the companies were on "both phones;" this takes us back to the time when there were two competing phone companies, the Southern Bell and the Southern States. The present

(Courtesy Norfolk Chamber of Commerce)

NORFOLK—GRANBY STREET, 1902
LOOKING SOUTH FROM TAZEWELL STREET



Chesapeake & Potomac Telephone Company, their successor, inaugurated the first city-wide automatic dial exchange in the country in Norfolk in 1919. Norfolk's—and Virginia's—pioneer radio station was WTAR, which first broadcast in 1923 on 15 watt power from the Reliance Electric Company on the south side of 21st Street just west of Colonial Avenue. It first broadcast network programs in 1929; gradually increasing power to 500 watts in 1927, 1000 watts in 1932, it finally reached its present day and night strength of 5000 watts in 1941. WTAR entered the combined AM-FM field in 1946, and added a television channel to its service in 1950.⁹

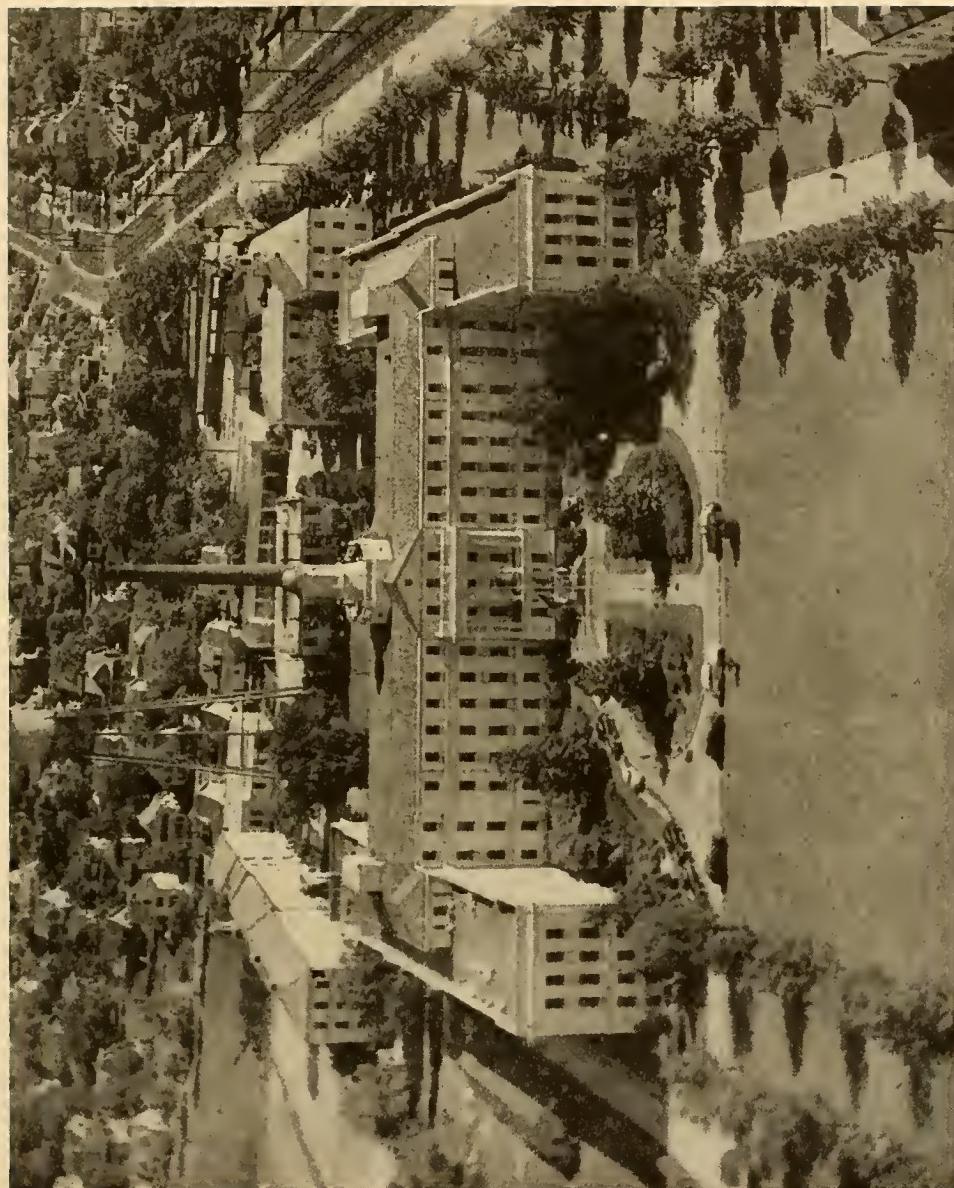
In the major professional fields, it would be an impossibility to name all the doctors and lawyers who have gained a reputation for themselves here. As to law firms, a few interesting combinations of names come to mind: Venable, Miller, Pilcher and Parsons; Venable, Parsons, Kyle and Hylton; Hughes, Little and Seawell; Seawell, Johnston, McCoy and Winston; Willcox, Cooke and Willcox; Willcox, Cooke, Savage and Lawrence; Williams, Cocke, Worrell and Kelly; Mann and Tyler. And in the field of medicine, mention should be made of a national honor which came to a Norfolk physician recently: Dr. Walter B. Martin served a term as president of the American Medical Association (1954). It is not unheard of—but certainly unusual—when son follows father for four generations in the same profession; so we cannot refrain from mentioning the Doctors Payne.¹⁰

The reader is reminded that these short paragraphs on business and professional activities are intended to do no more than give a cross-section of those phases and are in no way all-inclusive. Many further details will be found in the biographical sketches of Volume III.

In 1957 there were listed in a local directory between 250 and 300 churches in Norfolk and South Norfolk combined. It is obvious, therefore, that limitations of space make it impossible to do more than give passing mention of new developments concerning the older organizations, for the history of the newer bodies has yet to be written. In 1901 the Cumberland Street Methodist Church abandoned its original site on which it had dedicated three structures since 1800, and built its fourth on the southwest corner of Cumberland and Freemason Streets. The old (third) building was used for a while as a synagogue, but has now been dismantled. The church gave up its Cumberland Street location in 1922 and dedicated its present building in Lafayette Residence Park in 1923 under the name First Methodist Church, the former designation being no longer appropriate. The fourth building—above mentioned—is now St. Joseph's Roman Catholic Church. In 1906 the First Baptist Church on Bute Street dedicated its handsome new structure on the 1830 site; in 1909 the other First Baptist Church completed its present building on the corner of Westover and Moran Avenues, and the lovely old building at Granby and Freemason was taken down. A similar fate befell

(Courtesy Va. Peninsula Ass'n of Commerce)

NORFOLK—U. S. PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE HOSPITAL
HAMPTON BOULEVARD



the historic First Presbyterian Church on Church Street in 1912, when it combined with the new church on Colonial Avenue, just erected the year before.¹¹ The Second Presbyterian Church left Freemason Street for its present building on the Hague at Yarmouth Street in 1902. Christ Church left its Freemason Street site in 1912 for its handsome Gothic pile on Olney Road at the Hague. Saint Luke's Church on Bute Street was destroyed by fire in 1922, and after occupying a temporary building on Colonial Avenue at Spotswood for a dozen years, merged with Christ Church in 1935 under the name Christ and Saint Luke's. Saint Andrew's Episcopal Church began in 1911 through the efforts of Judge William B. Martin, was constituted in 1912 on Graydon Avenue, and in 1921 completed its permanent building on the same site. It was originally part of the 1935 merger—above mentioned—but soon became again separate and independent.¹²

War again came to Norfolk in the second decade of this century—the fourth armed conflict of major influence on this strategically-placed port—but not, this time, in the form of destruction (1776) or strangled commerce (1812) or military occupation (1862). The War of 1914-18, or the First World War as we have come to call it, left its marks none the less visible on this city by the sea.¹³ The period of the war prior to our participation (1914-1917) saw a tremendous increase in exports; for example, during that time Norfolk became the fourth cotton port in the country. However, after the declaration of war in April, 1917, local activities were along more warlike lines. A concerted recruiting effort was begun to enlist volunteers in both Army and Navy. In June the two historic organizations, Norfolk Light Artillery Blues and Fourth Virginia Infantry Regiment, were mustered into service as Battery B, 111th Field Artillery, and 116th Infantry Regiment respectively, and became component units of the newly-organized National Guard's 29th Division. It soon became clear that more men were needed than the volunteer recruits, so a draft law was passed by the Congress; draftees from Norfolk were for the most part members of the 318th Infantry Regiment, 80th Division. A Home Guard was organized to replace the departing troops. The port of Hampton Roads really came into its own when it was realized that all war shipping could not be handled through the northern ports. Here were built the greatest Army Base and the greatest Naval Base in the country. The former was located on Hampton Roads just south of Seawell's Point and north of Tanner's Creek; it was a deepwater terminal on the Belt Line for transportation of troops and supplies and for other purposes. The Naval Base was the former Jamestown Exposition grounds at Seawell's Point which soon bristled with piers, barracks, training facilities, and landing fields; its history will be mentioned further in a later chapter. All these activities—as well as those of private industry—created a tremendous demand for labor, thereby entailing importation of that "commodity" from



(Courtesy Norfolk Chamber of Commerce)

NORFOLK—VIEW OF NORFOLK SHIPBUILDING AND DRYDOCK CORPORATION

other parts of the country, and increase in population by leaps and bounds. This further entailed acute shortages of fuel, food and housing; there was soon volunteer rationing of fuel and food, and most hotels, restaurants and private homes observed "meatless Tuesdays" and other days on which other articles of food were dispensed with. Construction of emergency housing facilities was scarcely completed before the war ended.

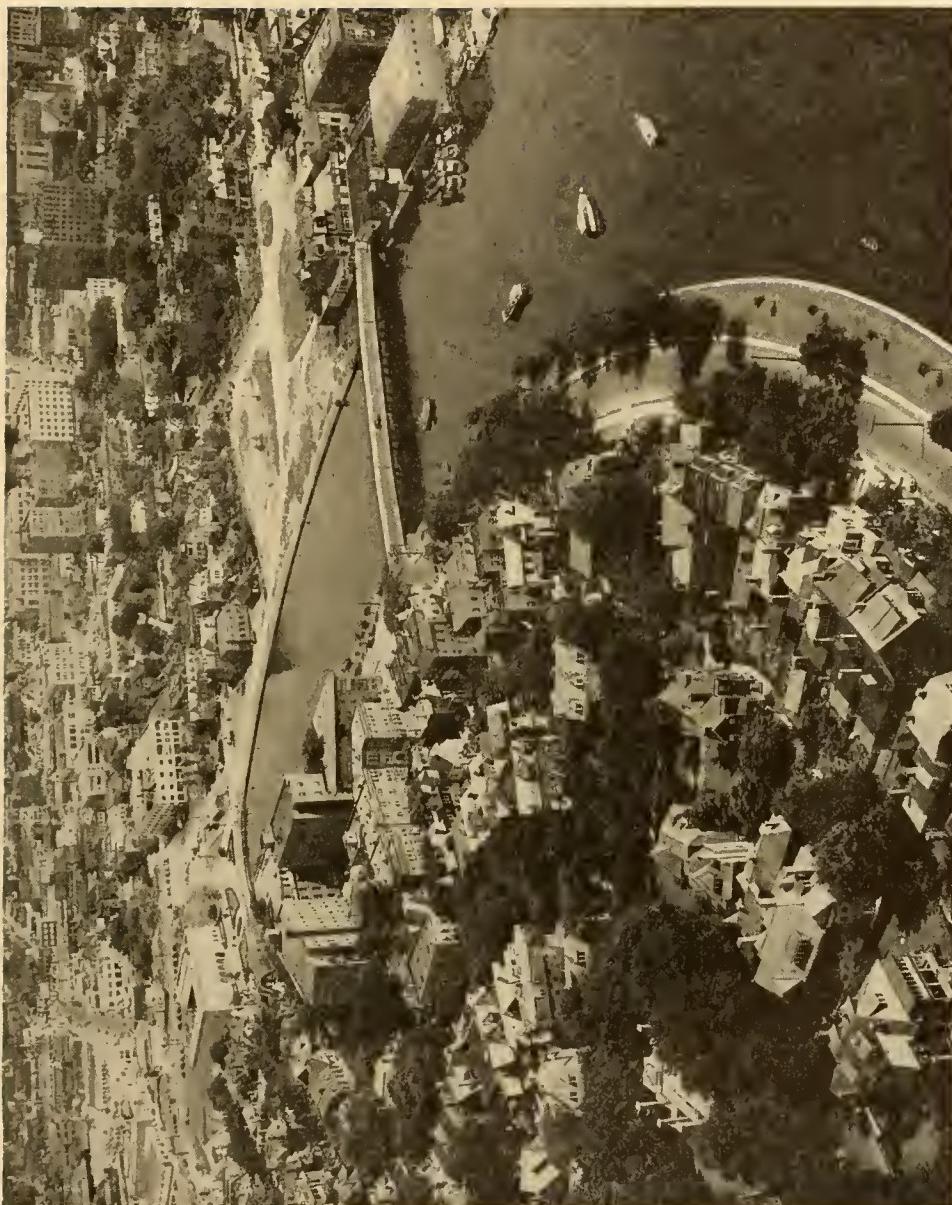
In the summer of 1918, after training at Camp McClellan in Anniston, Alabama, and elsewhere, the combat units mentioned above—plus others such as the 111th Ambulance Corps—were embarked in transports and landed in France at the port of Saint-Nazaire. Both volunteers and draftees arrived in time to take part in Pershing's fall offensive that was to break the back of German resistance, and the 29th Division especially was one of those that bore the brunt of the bitter fighting on the Meuse-Argonne front. Thus did our Norfolk boys—with other Virginians and Americans—learn the principles of trench warfare, what it meant to go "over the top," and how to deal with "cooties." It was a glad day for them when the Armistice was signed on 11 November 1918, but the 29th Division was not able to return home until six months later. The reception they received, the carnival-like atmosphere, the free cigarettes and refreshments, the joy and the tears, are things which will not soon be forgotten here.

Close on the heels of war came pestilence again; in fact, before the war was over Norfolk was struck by the world-wide epidemic of influenza. Starting in Europe it soon reached Boston and spread rapidly down our east coast. On 23 September 1918, a little over a hundred cases were reported and within ten days that figure had increased tenfold. At the peak of the epidemic there were nearly 9000 cases; hospitals were jammed, many school buildings were being used as emergency hospitals, and all kinds of public gatherings were banned. By 4 November the epidemic was practically over, but in its slightly more than a month's duration it had claimed 562 lives here.

The rapid growth of the city during war time brought about the necessity for a change in city government. We no longer had the unwieldy tri-cameral system (aldermen, select council and common council) of mid-nineteenth century, but the bi-cameral government of pre-War days moved slowly and found it difficult to take decisive action. At that time the city government consisted of a chief executive or mayor elected by the people, a Board of Aldermen of ten and a Common Council of fifteen (elected on the ward system with two Aldermen and three Councilmen chosen from each of five wards), and a three-man Board of Control which—as one observer put it—acted as a sort of "three-headed" City Manager in exercising its authority over the various departments of administration. Late in 1917 a new charter was proposed to establish the "commission-manager"—popularly known as the "city manager"—form of government. The proposal was adopted at the

(Courtesy Norfolk Chamber of Commerce)

NORFOLK—THE HAGUE
GHENT BRIDGE AND MOWBRAY ARCH



polls by the people, though not without considerable opposition, and the new charter was put into effect on 1 September 1918. Under this system, a City Council of five men (recently increased to seven) is elected at large with no regard for geographical distribution, the Council elects one of its number president (who has the title of Mayor for ceremonial purposes) and the Council also hires the City Manager. The latter appoints—subject to Council confirmation—the heads of all city departments (Public Welfare, Public Works, Public Safety, Law and Finance) except the School system which is under a State-appointed superintendent. The first Council was composed of Albert L. Roper (president), Hugh L. Butler, C. E. Herbert, J. Watts Martin and I. Walke Truxton. The first City Manager was Charles E. Ashburner, pioneer and founder of a new profession, who had previously held two similar appointments (Staunton, Va., 1908, and Springfield, Ohio, 1911). Within the short space of five years a remarkable transformation took place in the city. Here are only a few of the accomplishments of the new government in that time: taking over the Army Base piers, which became the Norfolk Tidewater Terminals; building a grain elevator and terminal between the Army Base and the Virginian Railway terminal; building a new Armory; modernizing the water supply; reorganizing police, fire, and educational systems; nearly doubling the mileage of paved streets; building "the finest city market in the world."* Mr. Ashburner remained in Norfolk exactly five years and became City Manager of Stockton, California, on 1 September 1923.¹⁴

The old City Hall and Court House had by this time become exclusively a Court House, and most of the city offices were located in the old Armory and Market building on Monticello Avenue. In 1934 the Federal government moved into its new Post Office and Court House building on Granby Street at Bute, and shortly thereafter the city purchased the former Post Office at the corner of Plume and Atlantic Streets (built about the turn of the century) and converted it into a City Hall.

The historic Norfolk Academy—now one-third of the way along in its third century—continues active in the educational life of the city. In 1915 its operations were temporarily suspended for the purpose of finding a more suitable site, and during the first World War the old building on Bank Street was Red Cross headquarters; later the city's Juvenile Court was located there and so continues today. In 1924 the trustees* acquired a site west of north Granby Street near Ward's Corner and soon erected a classroom building and headmaster's house. Things went well until the depression of the 1930s, and it was decided to suspend operations again just prior to World War II. The school was reopened again in 1946 as a country day-

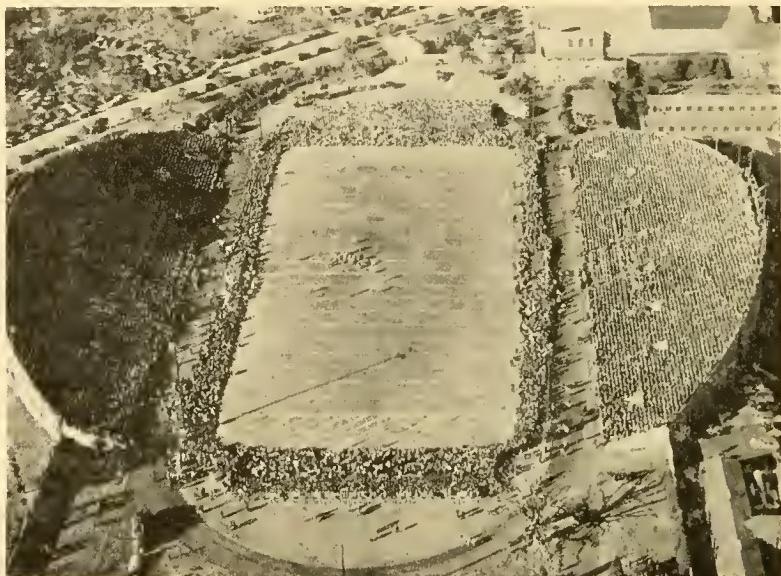
* Which has now been removed to make way for a combination office building and garage.

* Two of the most active of whom were C. Wiley Grandy and Calvert R. Dey.

school for boys. Today its 18 acres contain, in addition to the main building (Upper School) and headmaster's residence, two buildings housing the Lower School, a gymnasium (1950), a dining hall (1951), a faculty apartment building (1952), a science building and two faculty residences (1956), plus tennis courts and other athletic and recreational facilities.¹⁴ The Norfolk city public school system has grown tremendously in the past thirty years, and as of 1957 comprised four high schools (Maury, Granby, Norview and Booker T. Washington), five junior high schools (Blair, Ruffner, Norview, Northside and Jacox) and forty-seven elementary or grammar schools. The principal parochial schools are Saint Mary's, Sacred Heart, Blessed Sacrament and Holy Trinity—plus the recently-completed Norfolk Catholic High School. There are also a number of excellent small private schools, chiefly at the kindergarten and elementary level, although a few carry on through the secondary grades.

In the decade preceding the outbreak of World War II, Norfolk experienced some disasters of relatively minor importance—relatively, that is, as compared with the yellow fever epidemic of 1855 or the influenza in 1918. We refer to an economic depression and three hurricanes. The four years following the stock market crash of October, 1929, were felt here in much the same way they were elsewhere, though probably in lesser proportions. Unemployment was high, jobs hard to find, petty crime on the increase and business failures up. It was not until mid-1933, as those who lived through this difficult period well know, that some relief was experienced; and the National Recovery Act, though later adjudged unconstitutional, did much in its short span of life to create employment and build up confidence. The Atlantic coast of the United States, since history began, has been plagued—usually in the months of August and September—by those "tropical disturbances" which are spawned in the Caribbean and move slowly and erratically northward, swirling counter-clockwise and carrying with them howling winds of hurricane force, driving rains and abnormal tides. Elsewhere in these pages reference has been made to storms in August, 1667, and in 1749. Some of an older generation now living remembers the "great August storm" of 1879 when the Freemason Street Baptist Church's tall steeple was laid low. On the night of 22 and morning of 23 August 1933 occurred one of the most severe storms of this kind in local weather annals. Winds blew at nearly 70 knots for hours, tides nearly ten feet above normal were recorded, stores in the downtown shopping district stood in water up to their display counters, property damage was high. Hardest hit, naturally, were the exposed shore areas, and worst of all was the Ocean View and Willoughby Spit area, where the amusement park was a shambles, summer cottages were toppled from their foundations and some even disappeared; the narrow spit of sand that is Willoughby virtually disappeared for a time

beneath the rising waters. At Virginia Beach the storm's fury was just as great; the concrete walk and seawall protected the resort as far as it ran but elsewhere the damage to property was terrific. Fifteen persons lost their lives during this storm in the immediate vicinity of Norfolk. The people were still digging out of this storm when another hit on 16 September, just three and a half weeks later. Winds were almost as high, but a sudden shift in the

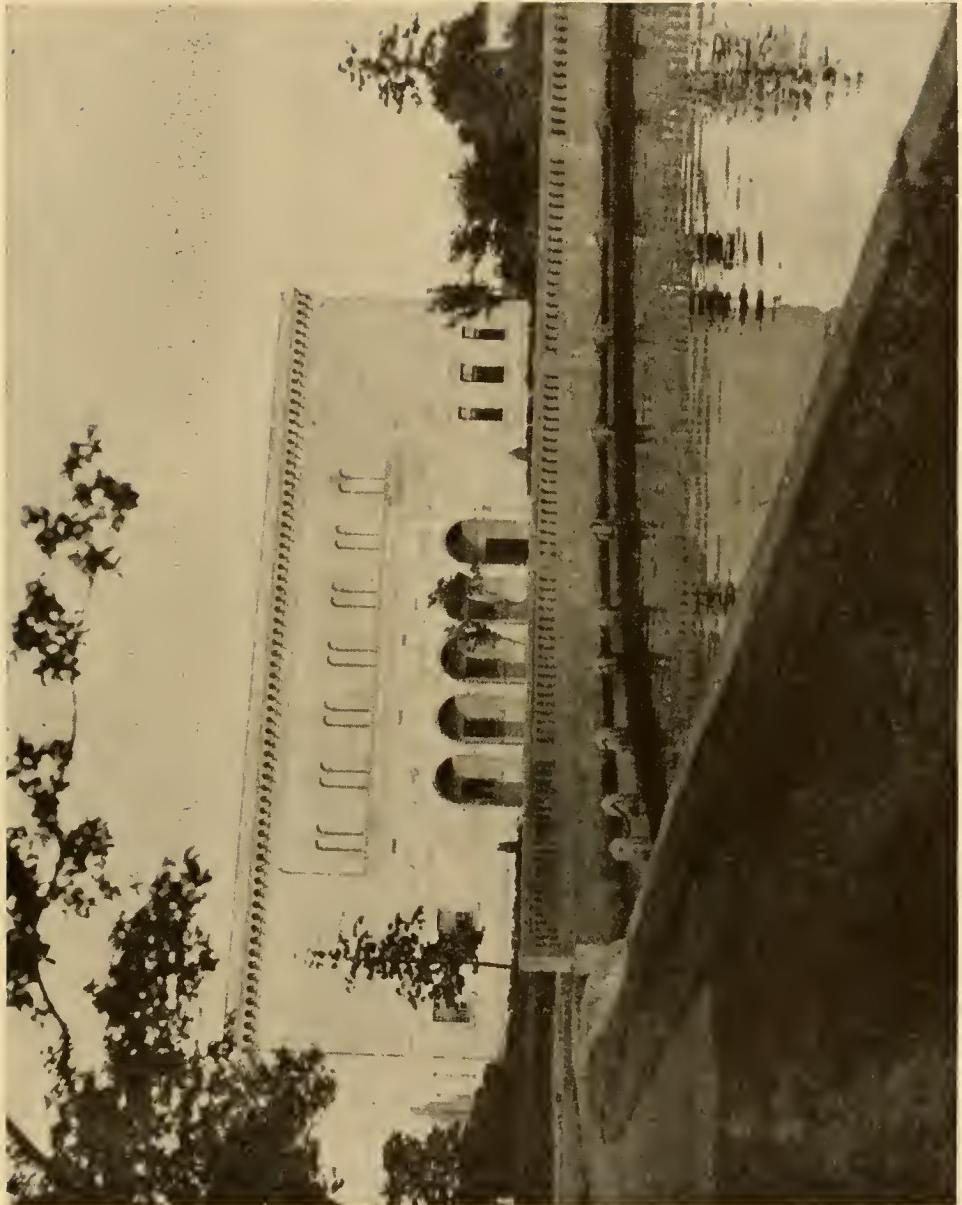


(Courtesy Norfolk Chamber of Commerce)

NORFOLK—FOREMAN FIELD
COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY IN NORFOLK

direction of this second hurricane averted loss of life and serious property damage. The events of those days made clear the necessity of advance information, and by the time the next serious hurricane visited this area—18 September 1936—the population was forewarned. The area weathered this storm—in many ways worse than the previous ones—with no loss of life and a minimum of damage. Nowadays, with the United States Navy's hurricane patrol working in conjunction with the Weather Bureau's hurricane warning and information system, it is not expected that Tidewater will be taken unaware as in 1933.¹⁵

The depression of the thirties may be said to have had its profitable results here as well as its harmful effects, since it gave birth in some measure to two institutions of learning above the secondary level. We refer to the local branches of the College of William and Mary and of the Virginia State College. Shortly after the close of World War I, members of the faculty of the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg began commuting to

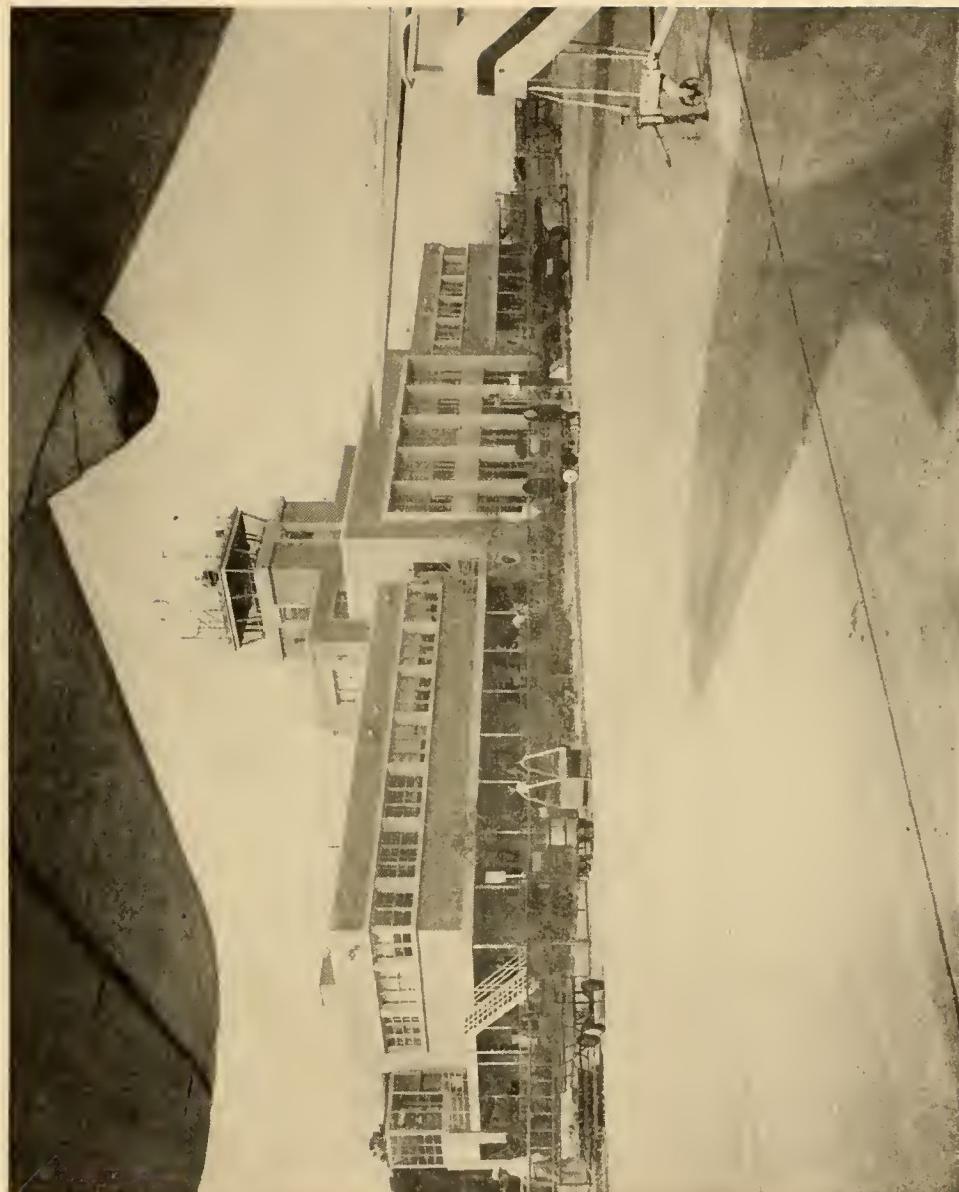


(Courtesy Norfolk Chamber of Commerce)

NORFOLK MUSEUM

Norfolk in the afternoons and evenings to conduct extension classes for teachers and other adult groups. In 1930 Major S. Heth Tyler (Mayor) and A. H. Foreman (Chairman of School Board) offered the College the abandoned Larchmont School building and that fall the Norfolk Division began operations with a faculty which was largely still commuting from Williamsburg. In 1931 the Virginia Polytechnic Institute joined forces with William and Mary, thus making possible the addition of an engineering curriculum to the liberal arts program. Within the next few years, additional permanent members of the faculty were hired, some of whom are still active today.* The Division was truly a child of the depression in that it fulfilled a real need in the lives of the unemployed youth of those difficult times, offering college training at the freshman and sophomore level to many who would have had no college education at all if they had been required to undergo the expense of going away from home for training at that level. By 1935 the entire faculty was on a permanent basis and a building program was undertaken, beginning with a modern building which now houses the administrative offices, the college library, two gymnasiums and a swimming pool. In 1936 a stadium, Foreman Field, was dedicated; through later improvements it will now seat 28,000 spectators, and is leased to the City of Norfolk for athletic contests of more than local interest. Within the past few years, the College of William and Mary in Norfolk (as it is now called) has begun a broad expansion in both physical plant and curriculum. With the support of the city government, which has acquired considerable additional land for it, the College has planned a campus which will stretch from its present limit north of Bolling Avenue southward to 45th Street and from Hampton Boulevard west to Bluestone Avenue. In the older part a modern Science Building has been completed, with a wing housing bookstore, snack bar and cafeteria. To the south a Library is now nearing completion, to be followed by a Fine Arts Building (Languages, Music and Art), now ready for construction to begin, plus five other classroom buildings, an auditorium and other structures. In the field of programs offered there has been a constantly widened vista. In 1954, the College was authorized to offer curricula leading to bachelors' degrees in both arts and sciences, and at present such degrees are granted in Business Administration, Teacher Training, Nursing, Biology, Chemistry, Medical Technology, History, Mathematics and English; it is expected that such offerings will soon be extended to include other fields. The College also continues its two-year terminal program (Junior College), and operates an Evening College, a Summer Session and a Technical Institute for vocational training.¹⁶

* W. Gerald Akers since 1931 (now head of the Department of Modern Languages and Chairman of the Humanities Division), Lewis W. Webb, Jr., since 1932 (now Provost or Director), and Edward L. White since 1932 (now Professor of Engineering and V.P.I. representative).



(Courtesy Norfolk Chamber of Commerce)

NORFOLK—MUNICIPAL AIRPORT ADMINISTRATION BUILDING

As mentioned above, there is also in Norfolk a branch of the Virginia State College. It had its origin as the Norfolk Unit of Virginia Union University, established in 1935 to offer junior college training for high school graduates of the area. First housed in a Y.M.C.A. building on Brambleton Avenue, it moved to a new location on Bank Street three years later. In 1942 the Norfolk Polytechnic College was formed to take over the plant of the Norfolk Unit and continue its services. With a constantly expanding program the N.P.C. continued until 1944, when an Act of Assembly created the Norfolk Division of the Virginia State College to take over its facilities. At that time the school began to occupy the building on Church Street which had formerly been Saint Vincent's Hospital. Continued increase in number of students and in courses offered soon caused the Institution again to out-grow its quarters, and in 1953 the city donated 50 acres of the Memorial Park golf course as a permanent campus. Construction was begun at once and in 1955 the new campus was christened with the occupancy of a modern administration and classroom building which, it is expected, will soon be supplemented by further construction. In 1956 the Norfolk Division of Virginia State College was authorized to offer programs of study at the junior and senior level and to grant bachelors' degrees therefor. Lyman H. Brooks, Ph.D., has been Director since 1938, and the present Chairman of the Advisory Committee is P. B. Young, Sr.¹⁷

The story of Norfolk during World War II is not unlike the story of any other American city of comparable size, with due exception made for the strategic importance of the port and concentration of activities of the Armed Forces here. In fact there were many phases of the period 1939-1945 which were reminiscent of the first World War, though naturally on a much larger scale. The United States Naval Base was the center of greatly increased activity: in addition to the training facilities, there now arose a tremendous Supply Center to fill the wants of the ships of the fleet, and a Public Works Center to provide for the planning and execution of a great building program. The adjacent but separate Naval Air Station was "bursting at the seams," and soon was expanded along the south shore of Willoughby Bay, reaching Granby Street on the east and looking southward to the Virginian Railway's line to Seawell's Point. There were housing problems, too, arising from the influx of war workers and service men's families, and soon new housing developments came into being, such as, Benmorell, Commodore Park, Commonwealth Apartments, Broad Creek Village and Merrimac Park, just to mention a few. The Tidewater Terminals returned to their former status as Army Base, and the Hampton Roads Port of Embarkation was born. There were War Bond drives reminiscent of the Liberty Loans of former days, and a Virginia Protective Force—like the old Home Guard—organized to replace the absent units of the National Guard.

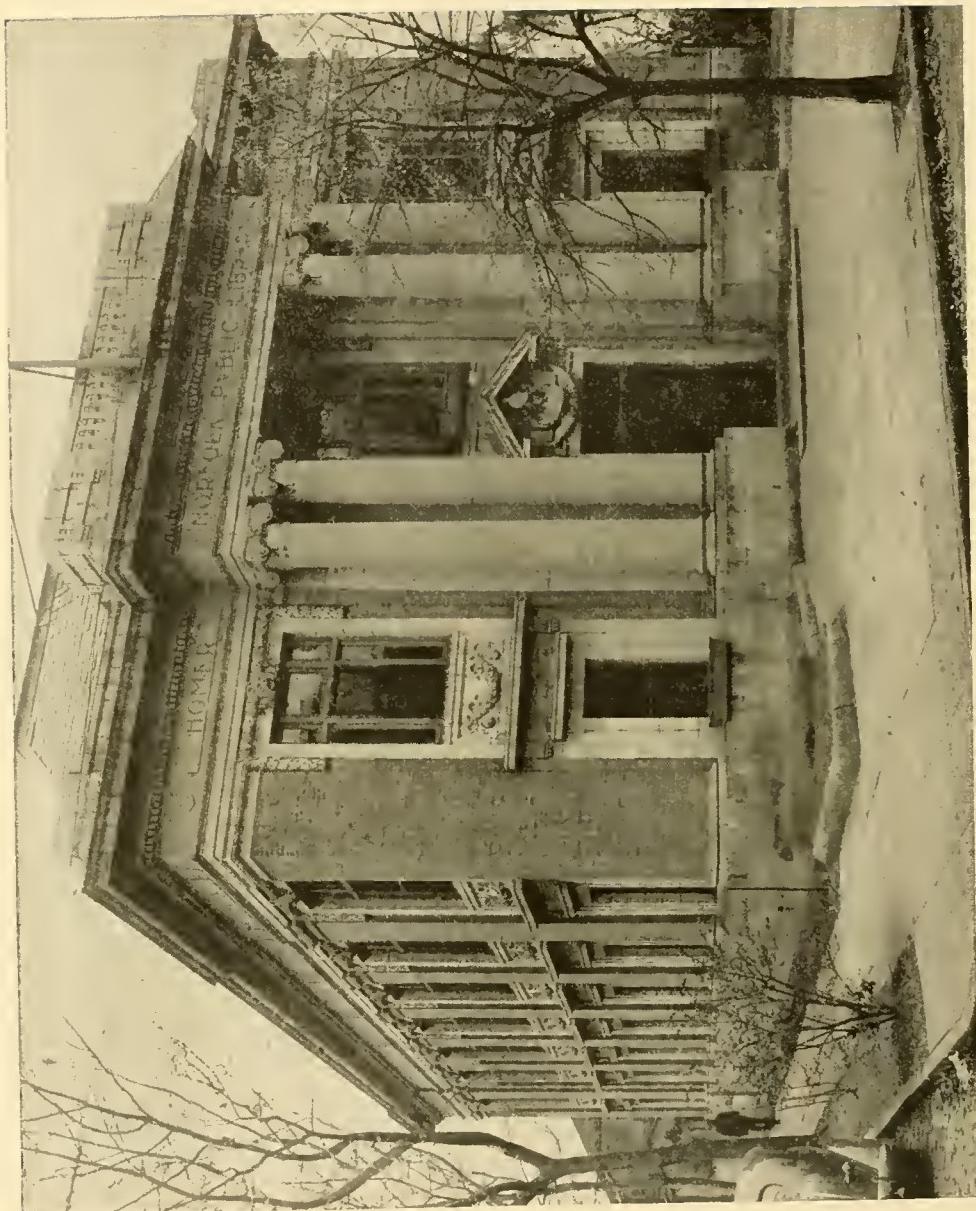
But there were many angles to this new world conflict which had never been envisioned in the old one. We had had voluntary rationing before, it is true, but now the Federal Government stepped into the picture, and issued ration books for food, fuel oil, gasoline, and many other war-critical items. There were conservation and salvage of things like tin cans, tooth-paste tubes, fats and grease, and such articles which could play a part in the manufacture of munitions. The greatest difference lay, however, in the ac-



NORFOLK—AERIAL VIEW OF COLONNA'S SHIPYARD, INC.

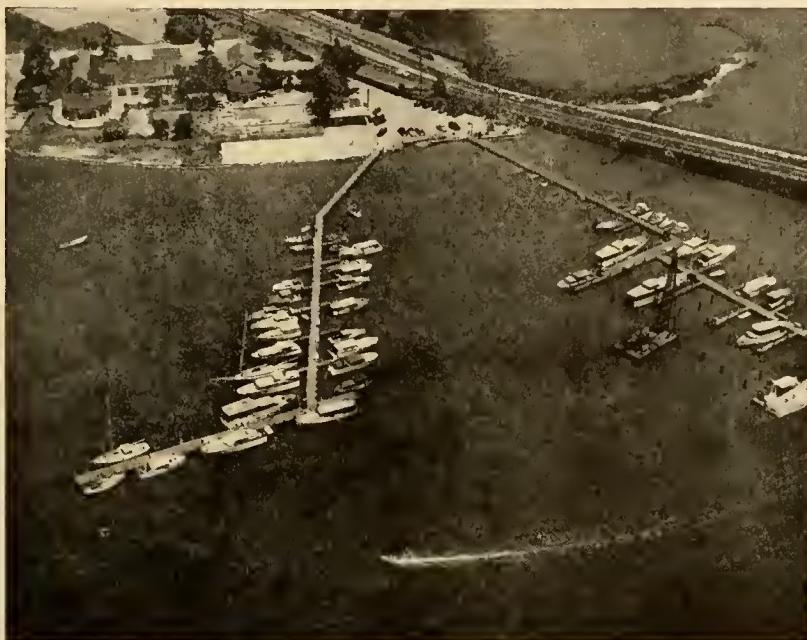
tivities centered around fear of and protection against "sneak attack" of the Pearl Harbor variety. Norfolk became not only a defense port of major importance, but virtually an armed camp. Pursuit planes were stationed at the municipal airport; volunteer aircraft spotters and filter center workers were recruited; batteries of anti-aircraft artillery encircled the city. Taking a page from the experience of our British allies, Civilian Defense activities were organized: air-raid wardens were appointed, warning sirens were installed, blackout was enforced. And through it all was the constant reminder that "a war was going on" in the absence of friends and loved ones serving in far-off places with the armed forces, some of them never to return. From early in 1940 there were enlistments in the Army and Navy, recall of reserves to active duty and again the draft, then called by the slightly higher-sounding title of Selective Service; and the constant flow of men and materials continued through this port right up to and past the end of the War

NORFOLK—CENTRAL BUILDING, NORFOLK PUBLIC LIBRARY



in 1945. Those who would read in more detail of the city's part in World War II, of the citizens who contributed to the war effort, of those who made the supreme sacrifice, are referred to the very excellent volume published a few years ago by the Norfolk War History Commission.¹⁸

In 1944 the Hospital of Saint Vincent de Paul left its old site on Church Street and moved into a new plant on north Granby Street; its name was also changed at that time to De Paul Hospital. The old building, as noted above,



(Courtesy Norfolk Chamber of Commerce)

NORFOLK YACHT AND COUNTRY CLUB

was occupied for a while by the Norfolk Division of Virginia State College, and was torn down after that school moved to its new campus in 1955. The Norfolk General Hospital (formerly the Protestant Hospital) recently completed a nine-story building just south of the original building and its additions on Raleigh Avenue. The modern structure will soon have as its neighbors a Municipal Public Health facility, the King's Daughters Children's Clinic and a Medical Tower or office building. There is also, on the Hague, the Leigh Memorial Hospital, formerly Sarah Leigh Hospital, founded by the late Dr. Southgate Leigh, Sr.

In earlier chapters, we have given various details of the history of the Masonic Fraternity here—its beginnings in 1733, its first Lodge Hall on Freemason Street in 1764, its move to Church Street in 1806, and its return to Freemason Street in 1871. In 1949 the various Masonic organizations

planned to build a new Masonic Temple, and shortly thereafter its cornerstone was laid on the new site on the west side of north Granby Street. As these lines are being written, the finishing touches are being added to the new Temple. Thus, after being associated with historic Freemason Street nearly two centuries ago, the Order has moved on to a more suitable and less crowded location.

In 1951, with the establishment of the Norfolk Housing and Redevelopment Authority, Norfolk embarked on an extensive plan of slum clearance and rehabilitation of blighted areas. First on the list was the area north of Brambleton Avenue and west of Church Street, where 45 acres were cleared of obsolete and dilapidated construction, and where modern housing units were constructed. Now under way are similar projects in the downtown area (where a civic center is planned), in the old West End (York and Botetourt Streets), and in Atlantic City (from Front Street north along Colley Avenue to the new Medical Center above-mentioned). The advantages of such a program are obvious, but it is to be regretted that we are losing in many instances even the streets laid out in those areas, which are in most cases the only relics of and ties with the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that we have left.

Some years ago, the Cosmopolitan Club of Norfolk, a local civic organization with national affiliations, initiated a plan to recognize outstanding contribution and service to the community. In 1928, the "First Citizen" award was inaugurated; it consisted of a Distinguished Service Medal and citation presented to an individual who, in the opinion of a committee of non-club members, had given of himself or herself most unselfishly and continuously to community service. It seems appropriate to end the present chapter with a list of these "First Citizens" from the first award to the present time:

1928	W. Willis Houston
1929	Dr. Southgate Leigh, Sr.*
1930	Charles L. Kaufman
1931	George H. Lewis*
1932	Mrs. Florence K. Sloan*
1933	David Pender*
1934	Winder R. Harris
1935	A. H. Foreman
1936	A. B. Schwarzkopf*
1937	C. Wiley Grandy*
1938	Rev. Sparks W. Melton*
1939	Rev. W. H. T. Squires*
1940	Robert P. Beaman*
1941	Daniel M. Thornton

* Deceased when this list was drawn up.

1942	Richard D. Cooke*
1943	James W. Roberts
1944	James Mann, Sr.*
1945	Mrs. A. O. Calcott
1946	Colgate W. Darden, Jr.
1947	Oscar F. Smith*
1948	M. T. Blassingham
1949	Stephen A. MacDonald
1950	Thomas P. Thompson*
1951	E. T. Gresham
1952	John S. Alfriend
1953	Hunter C. Phelan
1954	Crawford S. Rogers*
1955	Dr. Walter B. Martin
1956	W. Fred Duckworth
1957	Samuel W. Northern
1958	Henry Clay Hofheimer II

NOTES ON CHAPTER XVI

N.B. See remark at beginning of Chapter I notes.

1. Wertenbaker, *Norfolk, Historic Southern Port* (see bibliography), preface, p. vii. Dr. Wertenbaker has given an excellent account of Norfolk from the Revolution to 1930; for this reason, Chapters XIV, XV and XVI of the present work have been largely confined to topography, personalities and institutions—otherwise there would have been considerable duplication in this phase of Lower Tidewater history.
2. *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*, 13 March 1949 and 26 June 1955.
3. Wertenbaker, *op. cit.*, pp. 317-21; see Chapter XXI, *infra*.
4. Wertenbaker, *op. cit.*, pp. 310-11; Harry P. Moore in *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*, 1 January 1956.
5. Wertenbaker, *op. cit.*, pp. 312-3.
6. *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*, 1 November 1936.
7. *Ibid.*, 26 June 1940.
8. See Chapter XXXII, *infra*.
9. *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*, 21 September 1958.
10. Doctors Robert Lee Payne, Sr. and Jr., who are actually third and fourth of that name; the first (1834-1895) was president of the North Carolina Medical Society, and the second (1857-1918) came to Norfolk. See *Alumni History of the University of North Carolina, 1795-1924*, p. 480.
11. Information from the late Rev. Dr. W. H. T. Squires, Presbyterian clergyman and historian.
12. This paragraph on churches after 1900 is based on personal knowledge plus an article in *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*, 26 June 1940.
13. Wertenbaker, *op. cit.*, pp. 331-49.
14. Information from the Academy's current catalogue (1957).
15. *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*, 26 June 1940.
16. Information from current catalogue (1957) of the College of William and Mary in Norfolk; see also *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*, 25 September 1955.
17. Information from current catalogue (1957) of the Norfolk Division, Virginia State College.
18. Marvin W. Schlegel, *Conscripted City: Norfolk in World War II* (Norfolk: 1951, 396 pp.).

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